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General Index to Research Notes for: A History of Blacks in Kentucky, Part II

Marion B. Lucas
Western Kentucky University, marion.lucas@wku.edu

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LOUISVILLE JOURNAL PROTEST THAT WHITES NEVER GOT A FAVORABLE
DECISION IN FREED BUREAU COURTS NOT TRUE

G R Bentley, Hist of Freed Bureau, (1955) 1970

p 159/ Louisville Journal expressed this opinion on Freedmen's Bureau courts: "'When disputes or difficulties in the South between the white men and the freedmen come before the Freedmen's Bureau . . . justice is not to be expected. The white men have no chance in the world. . . . The Bureau doesn't seem to understand the possibility of a white man's being right in a contest or difference with a negro. The color of the skin is treated as constituting the whole merit of every question.' But Bentley says this statement is an exaggeration and gives illustrations. Of 286 cases Bentley went through, 194 decided in favor of blacks; 92 in favor of whites. Says some courts were more prejudiced than others; does not indicate states of these cases. In some states the decisions were about 50-50. /begin p 160/ "Certainly, then, the decisions of these fifteen courts did not bear out the Louisville Journal's allegation of complete Negro prejudice on the part of the Freedmen's Bureau."

FISK'S STATEMENT (1866) ON HARSH TREATMENT OF RETURNING KY BLACKS

G R Bentley, Hist of Freed Bureau, (1955) 1970

p 111/
"In many cases it was hard to determine what was the truth. For instance, several newspapers reported that after a visit to Lexington Fisk had said: 'Thirteen discharged colored soldiers stood in the streets, in full sight of Henry Clay's monument, with their bodies lacerated, their backs bleeding from the cruel lash, their heads cut to the scalp, and one or two of them with their eyes put out; and what for, do you suppose? Simply for going to their former masters and asking for their wives and children.' Fisk maintained that he was misquoted, that he really had said that the abused Negroes had come to him in Lexington to complain of outrages committed on them elsewhere. He did not furnish to a legislative investigating committee the names of any outraged freedmen, or send witnesses to substantiate his charges, but his failure to do so may have been occasioned by his opinion that a majority of Kentucky's lawmakers were 'vindictive, pro-slavery, rebellious legislators.' The committee decided that Fisk's statements were 'false and slanderous,' and the Lexington Observer and Reporter denied that it could find in its city even one discharged soldier who had suffered any ill-usage whatsoever from his former master. A careful reader of several newspapers would have had to conclude that he could not tell what had happened where or who had said what."
The Occupations of 20,576 Union Army Kentucky Black Soldiers Contrasted with the F + E Estimates: A "Test" of the F + E "Thesis"

The fourth set of comparative statistics — and by far the most convincing — comes from Kentucky Union Army recruitment records and has been collected by Leslie Rowland as part of her continuing major study of Kentucky blacks during the Civil War. She generously has allowed me to use the statistics in this essay. The information is in Union Army Company Descriptive Rolls (or, when lacking, in Regimental Descriptive Rolls) filed in the National Archives in Record Group 94, Records of the Adjutant General's Office. These military records contain the most complete information yet available on slave occupations. By the Civil War's end, about half (a conservative estimate) of Kentucky's adult male slaves were in the Union Army. They came from all parts of the state. Rowland has examined records for 20,905 black Kentucky soldiers. Occupations are listed for all but 329 of these men (98.4 percent). This evidence shows an opposite

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### Table 18. Occupational Distribution of Kentucky Black Union Army Soldiers Compared to the Occupational Structure of Adult Male Slaves on Farms (Table B.5) in T/C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Kentucky Black Soldiers</th>
<th>F + E Percentage in T/C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmer and Laborer</td>
<td>20,049</td>
<td>73.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisan</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servant</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drayman, Wagoner, Teamster</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Status*</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Among these eleven were five clergymen and three clerks.
OCCUPATIONS OF 20,576 BLACK KY UNION SOLDIERS (CONTRASTED WITH FINDINGS OF FOGLE & ENGERMAN FOR SOUTH)

h g gutman, slavery & numbers game; critique of time on cross, 1975

For comparison the distribution drawn by F + E primarily from the sampled probate records. As elsewhere, Kentucky slave carpenters and blacksmiths predominated (three out of five) among the artisans. (Shoemakers made up the third most common craft, but only twenty-one shoemakers were listed.) The differences in these two occupational distributions are not slight. There is no possible way to reconcile these two sets of data.

It is possible, of course, that slaves with high skill levels — artisans and managers (drivers and overseers) — were underrepresented among those Kentucky blacks who took up arms against the Confederacy. Such men may have retained a loyalty to their owners, a reward their owners gained by allowing them to hold privileged slave status. But if that explains why nearly all black Kentucky soldiers were farmers and laborers, such evidence severely damages another proposition put forth in T/C:

The quote which follows says that special privilege; rising to "highest levels of attachment were invariably focused in slaves."

WHITE OPPOSITION TO ARMING SLAVES IN KY

r o curry, ed, rad. racism, party realignment; border states during recon, 1969; article "ky: Pariah among elect," by Ross Webb

p 110/

"Kentucky had complied with her quotas for the Union Army, but irrespective of this, early in 1864 the federal government began recruiting Negro regiments in the state. The arming of slaves represented not only an invasion of private property but presented the oblique threat that they might be used to suppress other freedoms. Strong opposition ensued. At Lexington, for example, the daring federal Cavalry officer, Colonel Frank L. Wolford, aroused public sentiment to such a pitch that he was promptly arrested and imprisoned. The resignation of Boyle as military commander brought little relief, for Major General Steven G. Burbridge proved even more dictatorial."
While the Freedmen's Bureau had been created primarily for the rehabilitation and protection of Negroes in those areas formerly in rebellion against the United States, General Clinton B. Fisk, Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau in Nashville, Tennessee, was instructed from Washington to name Bureau officials for Kentucky. Radical supporters argued that the establishment of the Bureau in Kentucky was necessary because the Legislature had not been unable to prevent coercion and injury to freedmen. These were not adequate answers to the emotional Kentuckian who was prone to concur with the sentiments of 'Old Kentucky': 'The right of the Negro to hold office or to vote in this State has always been denied, and we trust ever will be. Now, we ask, whether there is any necessity under the circumstances above suggested to introduce into this State the Freedman's Bureau. If the laws of the State protect the Negro in all his civil rights, as we have stated, and if there is a prevailing disposition upon the part of the whites to encourage the colored people in the pursuits of industry, is not this enough? What more can the Freedman's Bureau do for the Negro?'

As was expected, the leadership of the Bureau was entrusted to civilians who were more often than not Unconditional Unionists. Of the forty-one superintendents appointed during the first month, the majority were identified with either the Republican or the Unconditional Unionist party.

Frightened by the implications of this new federal intervention, the Legislature in February, 1866, granted Negroes virtually all civil rights enjoyed by whites except that Negro testimony could not be used as evidence against whites. Nevertheless Negroes were competent witnesses in civil suits where only Negroes were concerned and in criminal cases where the Negro was the defendant.
1875 Republican Fear of Defection of Black Voters

As the gubernatorial election of 1875 approached, Republicans were worried over the defection of the Negro from the party. Kentucky Negroes warned Republican leaders that the suspension of the Freedmen's Bank had locked up their hard earned savings, and the failure of the party to recognize the Negro as 'an integral part' of the patronage system was responsible for the declining Negro vote. Despite the efforts of B. H. Bristow (then secretary of the treasury) and John M. Harlan to allay Negro animosity, it was becoming increasingly clear that 'Marse' Henry Watterson's efforts to pit the Negro and the Republican party against one another on the patronage question were succeeding.

Federal officials had a very hard time protecting the right of blacks to vote. "Federal marshals and attorneys were whipsawed between awesome presidential commitments, inadequate federal support, local governmental sabotage, and individual apathy. One federal marshal in Kentucky put the matter squarely; 'If it is the policy of the administration to act I beg that such action will be taken as will be swift and certain.' But there was usually little or no swift and certain action from Washington. The United States Attorney for Kentucky, when asked about the security of Negroes, replied to his superiors that great progress was being made in breaking up the Klan and in suppressing violence. Like other subordinates, he knew that his chances for promotion might depend on how much progress he reported. But he also implied that the federal effort was modest at best—or, as he understated the situation: 'Although this is true I cannot say that there is as much protection . . . as to be desired.' He went on to say that no new laws were needed, but then quickly added that if 'these outrages should continue and Congress should conclude to legislate further on this subject I think the Courts of the United States should be increased to three times their present number.' Reading between the lines of this letter, he was telling Washington that if it really meant business, Federal attorneys must have the tools to do the job: more detectives, more money, more troops, more and better paid officials, as well as better laws, better and more...
P. Bonesteel, Special Inspector for Ky & Tenn to Maj Gen O O Howard, dated from Lexington, Ky, March 5, 1866, in House of Rep, Ex. Doc. 70, 39 Cong, 1 sess, 1866. (Sec 125)

No. 3.

Inspector's report of affairs in Kentucky.

LEXINGTON, March 5, 1866.

GENERAL: In compliance with instructions received from this department directing me to proceed to the city of Lexington, Kentucky, to examine into the condition of the freedmen in that part of the State, I have the honor to report that I visited Lexington and vicinity, and prosecuted my investigations for the period of about one month, adopting the following method: In all cases of extreme cruelty to the freedmen, I have relied upon the best and most reliable evidence I could procure, taken under oath.

In regard to minor acts of cruelty, either to persons or property, and in reference to the economical, social, and moral condition of the race, I have been controlled by personal observations, aided by information received from intelligent and trustworthy sources.

From the depositions taken by me, and herewith transmitted, I have compiled the facts in the more extreme cases of cruelty and outrage for reference, and make the same a part and portion of my report.

An examination of this sworn evidence on the abstracts made therefrom will reveal to you sixty cases of outrage in a limited district and period, unparalleled in their atrocity and fiendishness; cruelties for which in no instance, as developed by the testimony, is there the least shadow of excuse or palliation.

You will observe I have been able in most instances to give you the names of the injured; in many, the names of the offenders, with dates and localities.

I have classified these outrages as follows: Twenty-three cases of severe and inhuman beating and whipping of men; four of beating and shooting; two of robbing and shooting; three of robbing; five men shot and killed; two shot and wounded; four beaten to death; one beaten and roasted; three women assaulted and ravished; four women beaten; two women tied up and whipped until insensible; two men and their families beaten and driven from their homes.

and their property destroyed; two instances of burning of dwellings, and one of the inmates shot.

Of these victims, twelve men were Union soldiers, and three women the wives of Union soldiers.

And yet, I regret to say, that these cases constitute but a portion of the catalogue of cruelties. I heard of quite a number of additional cases, but did not succeed in obtaining the proof, for want of time and proper facilities. White men, however friendly to the freedmen, dislike to make depositions in these cases, for fear of personal violence. The same reason influences the black—he is fearful, timid, and trembling. He knows that since he has been a freedman he has not, up to this time, had the protection of either the federal or State authorities; that there is no way to enforce his rights or redress his wrongs. The civil authorities will give him no relief, and this department, up to this writing, has been powerless.

Of the offences reported, there has been but one arrest by the civil authorities, and that was a case of murder—the murderer released on light bail, and now at large, no effort having been made to bring him to trial.

The arm of the civil law has, however, been brought in requisition quite recently to release and protect offenders.

On the night of the 16th of February, 1866, a gang of white men, residents of Bath county, entered the house of Joseph Balls, a person who had been a freedman for several years, humble and inoffensive and much respected, the owner of forty acres of land, and beat and most terribly mangled him; his body was burst open, his intestines protruding. He lingered two days in agony and died. At the same time they set upon another colored man named Thackel,
INSPECTOR'S REPORT OF ATTACKS ON BLACKS IN LEXINGTON AREA 1865-66 1685-B

p bonsteel, sp insp. for ky, tenn, to o o howard, dated from lexington march 5, 1866, in h o r, ex. doc. 70, 39 cong, 1 sess, 1866 (Ser. 1256)

who was at the house of Balls, beating him for some time, putting out an eye, and then very deliberately placed him over the fire, roasting him first upon one side and then upon the other.

Upon the same night, and as is presumed, by a portion of the same gang, an attack was made upon the house of Pete Burns, about four miles from the residence of Balls. Burns was a most exemplary man, and a preacher of the Gospel. They robbed him of his bacon, clothing, and money, shot him in the head, severely wounding him, and then in his presence ravished his wife. Two other persons who were at the house of Burns at this time were severely beaten, and one of them shot in the head. Two of the offenders were arrested by the agent of the Freedmen's Bureau of Bath county, and while removing them for safe-keeping to a military camp a writ of habeas corpus was issued by Judge Apperson, of Montgomery county, and the men discharged and set at liberty, he holding that the Freedmen's Bureau has no legal existence in Kentucky, and that the writ of habeas corpus is not suspended in this State.

These views are sought to be impressed upon the people by leading men, and are the source of much difficulty. The fact should be impressed upon the minds of the people, not only that the bureau has a legal existence in Kentucky, but that it also has a real one.

It does me pleasure to report that the freedmen exhibit an earnest desire for education.

One of the most humane and excellent gentlemen of Lexington, long a resident of Kentucky, told me he was astonished to see such an intense desire for information, and that he thought the freed children were learning faster than the whites of the same age. Persons at the age of fifty are learning to read and write.

In Lexington they are well provided with schools, but sadly deficient in country places.

INSPECTOR'S REPORT OF ATTACKS ON BLACKS IN LEX AREA 1865-66 1685-C

p bonsteel, sp insp. for ky, tenn, to o o howard, dated from lexington march 5, 1866, in h o r, ex. doc. 70, 39 cong, 1 sess, 1866 (Ser. 1256)

In some of the counties there are organized bands of men called "rangers," "moderators," "nigger killers," who have driven the freedmen entirely out of certain sections, and begin at last to threaten and intimidate Union white men.

In the city of Lexington the freedmen receive fair wages, and this is the case I think in some other sections, but there are counties and portions of counties where they are forced or intimidated to work as low as six or seven dollars a month, and in other counties induced to work without a stipulated price. In Jessamine county alone are contracts to any extent brought under the supervision of the agents of the bureau, and there its beneficial effect is beginning to be felt by all interested.

Until the system is fairly carried out, there will continue to be a great amount of oppression and injustice. A thorough organization of this department in the Lexington sub-district of Kentucky is also necessary, in many parts, to protect those truly loyal and humane citizens who would gladly do much to aid the freedman in his present trying situation, but are now intimidated by local prejudices or the fear of personal injury.

Respectfully submitted:

P. Bonesteel,
Special Inspector for Kentucky and Tennessee.
Major General O. O. Howard,
Commissioner of Bureau of Refugees, &c.
Peter Hughes, a returned Union soldier, living upon and working the farm of James Neglor, about three miles from Carlisle, was badly beaten and bruised in the early part of January, 1866, by a gang of twenty white men, most of whom were farmers in that vicinity. Peter was shown to General Fisk while at Lexington in January, 1866.

At the same time and place, and by the same gang of men, three other colored men were terribly bruised and beaten, one of whom was a returned Union soldier. Names of some of the perpetrators given. (See affidavits of Henry Farrall and J. H. Seeley.)

Negro man, former slave of Mr. Bailey, Woodford county, knocked down and severely beaten, latter part of December, 1865, by his former master, for not paying over his wages. (See affidavit of John T. Gwin, Lexington.)

Two Union soldiers severely injured, one in Scott county, by his former master, early part of January, 1866, his face badly swollen, and one eye it was supposed he would lose.

These three men were seen in Lexington in January, 1866. (See affidavit of John T. Gwin, Lexington.)
BLACKS ABUSED IN JESSAMINE COUNTY 1865-66 1688

p bonsteel report to o o howard, dated from lex, 3-5-1866, in house ex doc 70, 39 cong, 1 sess, 1866 (ser 1256) Bonsteel a special inspect.

JESSAMINE COUNTY.

January, 1866, a returned negro soldier was shot at twice and wounded, without the least provocation, by George Rowland, of Pokin, in said county the son of the former master of this negro, and a returned rebel soldier. (See, affidavit of J. C. Randolph.)

Captain R. C. Farwell, of Camp Nelson, in said county, by affidavit, states that at the time General Fisk was at Lexington, January, 1866, he presented a colored Union soldier to General F., at the request of the colored man. His head and face were badly cut and mutilated. He stated that he had returned to his old home to see his family, and was set upon by some of the white people of the family.

Reuben Atkins, a discharged soldier of the 133d United States colored infantry, was, in February, 1866, robbed of about $60 of property, probably by his former owner. (See same affidavit.)

Clariasa Burdette, (colored,) the wife of Elijah Burdette, while her husband was serving in 1865, as volunteer in the 12th United States colored heavy artillery, her former master, Smith Alford, Garrard county, tied her up and whipped her until she was insensible. Her hair still shows the injuries. The man was arrested and fined by the bureau. (Captain Farwell's affidavit.)

Clarissa Smith, wife of David Smith, colored soldier in the 5th United States colored cavalry, in 1865, was living with her former owner, Henry Thomas, Estill county. Marcus Thomas, son of Henry, became enraged at her, stripped her entirely naked, extended her hands and feet as far as possible from each other, tied each of them, took a cowhide and whipped her till insensible. Before whipping her he knocked her down with a chair. Her person shows the terrible effects of the punishment up to this day. (See Captain Farwell's affidavit.)

BLACKS ABUSED IN BATH COUNTY 1865-66 1689

p bonsteel sp insp report to o o howard, dated lex, 3-5-1866, in house ex doc 70, 39 cong, 1 sess, 1866 (ser 1256)

BATH COUNTY, KENTUCKY.

William L. Visscher, police justice at Owingville, makes the following statement under oath:

February 10, 1866, Joseph Ralls, a freedman for a number of years, humble and inoffensive and much respected, the owner of forty acres of land, was assaulted at his residence, four miles from Owingville, by a gang of white men from that vicinity. He was terribly mangled, his privates were mashed by kicking, bis bowels protruded. He died from the effects of the injuries two days thereafter. No sort of provocation; no action taken by the civil authorities; no white persons present except the ruffians.

At the same time and place, by the same persons, an old colored man, by the name of Markett, was burned and roasted before the fire, and one of his eyes destroyed; at last report he was still living. (Witnesses, wife and daughter of Ralls.)

Same night, five miles from Ralls's house, a colored preacher, and a most exemplary man, named Pate Burns, was robbed of his bacon, money and clothing, shot in the head, and his wife ravished.

Two other colored persons were severely beaten at the same time, and one of them shot in the head.

Two of the perpetrators of this last outrage were arrested by the agent of the bureau, and while removing them for safe-keeping, were brought before Judge Apperson, of Montgomery county, under writ of habeas corpus, and discharged. The men are now at large.

About the first of February, 1866, Minor Allen, (colored,) at Polksville, was robbed and shot at.

In this county many of the whites proclaim it openly that no negro shall
BLACKS ABUSED IN COVINGTON & VICINITY 1865-66

p bonesteel, sp insp report to o o howard, dated from lex, 3-5-1866, in house ex doc 70, 39 cong, 1 sess, 1866 (ser 1256)

COVINGTON AND VICINITY.

Amanda Bishop, daughter of Henry Bishop, (colored,) sergeant of the 134th United States colored Infantry, was at work about the 1st of October, 1865, for Wm. Bishop, a Union citizen of Kenton county, when Lewis Conner and his son waited upon her and told her she must leave and work for Conner; upon her refusing they struck her with a club and tied her, took her to Burlington, Kentucky, and hired her to a man by the name of Glover, and told her if she refused to go they would blow her brains out. (See affidavit of Charles P. Oyler, witnesses and residences given.)

Another daughter of the colored sergeant, Henry Bishop, was, about 1st of August, 1865, maltreated by Allen Conner, for whom she was working; she left and was followed by John Conner, who beat her severely and made her return. (Names and residences of witnesses given. See affidavit of Oyler.)

About 1st of July, 1865, a party of citizens, vicinity of Boone county, Kentucky, made an attack upon the house owned by Jordan Finney, and drove his family therefrom, damaged his house very much, destroyed his household effects and property to the amount of five hundred dollars, and told the family they would be shot if they returned.

Finney and family dare not return to take possession of the property. Two of the daughters of Finney were wives of United States soldiers. The perpetrators were returned rebel soldiers, and said that they didn't allow government niggers to live in that county. (Names and residences given. No action taken. Affidavit of Oyler.)

About the last of January, 1866, a gang of men calling themselves moderatrons of Grant county, made an attack upon the following colored persons of said county: Wm. Sleet, Eliza Sleet, Jessie Best, Edward Alexander and wife, and Carter Rorst, and beat them in a most cruel and inhuman manner, and drove them from their homes, and are not permitted to return to settle the business or dispose of their property under penalty of death.

Carter Rorst was most terribly punished; the gashes cut in his body were over six inches long and an inch deep, and his wife thinks some poisonous substance was put upon the cowhide, as the wounds do not heal. Both men and women were severely beaten. All industrious persons, from forty to sixty years old. (Names of witnesses and residences given.)

Henry Gaines, a discharged (colored) Union soldier, was residing with his family in Benjamin Allen's house, his former master, and he and his family were working for Allen under contract. He received a notice to leave the State in three days. Under the advice of Mr. Allen he did not do so, and on the 10th of February, 1866, a gang of armed men, with their faces blacked, made an attack upon him at his house, stripped him, and, in the presence of his family, whipped him with terrible cruelty, and compelled him to leave, and he dare not return. (Witnesses and residences given. See affidavit of Oyler.)
ABUSE OF BLACKS IN BOONE COUNTY 1865-66

Jacob Rile, colored soldier, living on farm of Hogan Rile, former master. February 18, 1866, a band of armed men came to his house, took his family out and told them to stand while they burned the house, and the negro in trying to escape was shot at several times and wounded in the heel. They then made the soldier and his family leave the county. (Witnesses given. Affidavit of Oyler)

The following is a copy of a notice sent to different freedmen in this county through the post office:

"As you have been running at large for some time, you had better gather up your duds and leave for parts unknown, as you will get hell under the shirt, and that by the 10th of the next month. Don't fail to go. Look out for the rangers." (Affidavit of Mr. Oyler.)

Harrison Griggs, (colored) residing with Mr. E. Baker, near Hamilton, Sunday night, 18th of February, was taken from his bed and beat with white thorn sticks for an hour. Many of the thorns broke off and are still in his head, his face, and back. They drove him off, and said they would kill him if he ever returned. (See supplemental affidavit of Oyler.)

The case is fully stated in his affidavit, and is of the most inhuman character. (Names of witnesses given.)

BLACKS ABUSED IN FAYETTE CO 1865-66

The following are obtained from Dr. L. L. Pinkerton, of Lexington:

Robert ____ , a freedman, about Christmas, 1865, went to the residence of his wife's former master, Hamilton Headly, where his wife was working, to see if he wished to hire his wife for the coming year, when Mr. Headly assaulted him with a club, beat him severely, and then fired a pistol at him twice; so injured that he was not able to work for six weeks. In this case there is white testimony.

Lewis Dandy, (colored) of Lexington, states, under oath, that on January 17, 1866, he had an empty pistol which he wished to sell; showed it to a number of different persons, one of whom offered him five dollars. The pistol being worth double that, he refused to take it. This man then arrested him, under the laws of Kentucky; was kept in prison all night, and in the morning the negro was brought before a magistrate. The pistol was given to the complainant, and the negro was fined five dollars and costs, making $15 90. (Names of witnesses given.)

Armstead Fowler, (colored) of Lexington, states, under oath, that he owns a house and lot in Lexington, upon which he pays $12 60 tax; that he keeps a wood-yard, for which he pays $50 tax, and a dry and cart, for which he pays $7 tax. That on the 29th day of January, 1866, an officer en-
BLACKS ABUSED IN FAYETTE COUNTY 1865-66

p bonesteel, sp insp report to o o howard, dated from lex, 3-5-1866, in house ex doc 70, 39 cong, 1 sess, 1866 (ser 1256)

1865

A young man about eighteen years old, by the name of Sneed Martin, of wealthy parentage, about six miles from Lexington, had occasion to reprove a negro who was intoxicated. The negro told him that it hadn't cost any of his money, whereupon the young man drew his pistol and shot him dead.—(Lexington Observer, November, 1865.)

This case was well known to the authorities, but no action has ever been taken. The murderer is living at home un molested. There have been in this county a great many cases of petty injuries to blacks, and the failure to deal justly by them or pay obligations, but the bureau is powerless; no process emanating from it can be executed, and the civil courts pay no attention to negro grievances.

January 3, 1866, at about 4 o'clock p.m., in Short street, Lexington, without provocation, Frank Moulton, a white man, did deliberately shoot and kill Jack Sparrow. This man was arrested by the civil authorities, held to bail in a small amount, and no attempt made to try him.

January, 1866, Sally Hunt (colored) was threatened with shooting, if she attempted to move her furniture or her former home, by Thomas Scott, (white) That he owed her husband $36 borrowed money, and told her if she ever said anything about that he would put her in a place where she could say nothing. He at one time placed a pistol at her head.—(See affidavit of Sally Hunt.)

February 5, 1866, Cora Dorey and Martha Green were assaulted and beaten at Lexington, without provocation, by white men.—(See affidavit of theirs.)

BLACKS ABUSED IN BOYLE COUNTY 1865-66

p bonesteel, sp insp report to o o howard, dated from lex, 3-5-1866, in house ex doc 70, 39 cong, 1 sess, 1866 (ser 1256)

From Captain William Goodloe, of Danville:

A band of men infesting the southern part of Boyle County have for some time been committing robberies and burglary upon the line of the Lebanon branch railroad. I have no means of arresting or bringing the perpetrators to justice.

Leony Trowbridge killed a negro man, August 7, 1865, at Danville. The man was old and used a cane. Trowbridge met him in the street and took his cane from him; the negro made no resistance, but walked into the store of J. D. Latimer. Trowbridge followed him into the store and shot him, killing him. There was no sort of provocation.

In September, 1866, a feeble-minded negro, and perfectly harmless, named Henry Crotchfield, was killed in the streets of Danville by Richard Shindelbowers; no provocation.

Captain Goodloe orally reported several other extreme cases in that vicinity, and was requested to obtain definite statements of them by affidavits.

He made the attempt, and made the following reply:

"I found it impossible; to obtain affidavits from the witnesses some of them were not accessible to me, and others would not do so except by due process."
BLACKS TREATED UNFAIRLY, ABUSED IN MADISON COUNTY

p bonesteel, sp insp rept to o o howard, dated from lex, 3-5-1866, in house ex doc 70, 39 cong, 1 sess, 1866 (ser 1256)

MADISON COUNTY.

The affidavit of Thomas Rice, of Richmond, in this county, gives an account of the situation of the black man in this county.

He says there are exceptional cases where the negro is properly and humanely treated; but more generally the treatment is tyrannical and inhuman. That his attention has frequently been called to extreme cases of cruelty, in some instances resulting in death. That great advantages have been taken in making contracts, forcing them to work for about half-price. He reported the names of four being whipped, and two deaths, one shot and killed; said there were other cases, and would send particulars.

FAYETTE COUNTY, NEAR LEXINGTON.

While John Taylor, a Union (colored) soldier, and child, were returning to the city in a buggy, they were run into by a white man named Leary, who broke his wagon by the collision, and then compelled the colored man to turn around and take him, which he did. When he arrived at his house he attempted to shoot John Taylor with a pistol, but it missed fire. He then beat him with a club in a terrible manner.—(See statement of L. L. Pinkerton.)

D. P. Goodroe, of Lexington, states that about January 1, 1866, at Lexington, he saw a colored soldier from Woodford county, who had been severely beaten by his former master, who threatened to kill him if he ever came upon his place. He called upon him for protection.

Upon the next day another (colored) Union soldier called upon him, at Lexington, and said he had been beaten by his former master because he wanted his children. This man had been terribly punished.

The next day, another, in federal uniform, called at Lexington, and represented that he had been badly beaten by some men who were ducking his little boy in a pond, and when he attempted to rescue the boy they fell upon him and beat him.
BLACKS ABUSED IN NICHOLAS COUNTY 1865-66

p bonesteel, sp insp report to o o howard, dated from lex, 3-5-1866, in house ex doc 70, 39 cong, 1 sess, 1866 (ser 1256)

NICHOLAS COUNTY.

Affidavit of J. H. Seeley states that on Sunday, the 4th of March, 1866, a white person of Flemingsburg assaulted and ravished a colored girl named Cynthia Victor, between eleven and twelve years of age, in a public highway, near Carlisle, and then warned her if she told he would shoot her.

About January 1, 1866, at Talbott's farm, three miles from Carlisle, three white persons named Ham, residents of said county, called at the house of a colored man, took forcible possession, and in his presence each one ravished his wife, a woman fifty years of age.—(See affidavit of J. H. Seeley.)

BLACKS ABUSED IN BATH COUNTY, NEAR OWINGSVILLE 1865-66

p bonesteel, sp insp report to o o howard, dated from lex, 3-5-1866, in house ex doc 70, 39 cong, 1 sess, 1866 (ser 1256)

BATH COUNTY, NEAR OWINGSVILLE.

February 16, 1866, the house of a colored person, named Burns, who had some land to work of a Mr. Hamilton, was entered by five white men, robbed of its contents, and took from him thirteen dollars in money, shot and hit him, and shot and severely wounded a returned colored soldier.

In the same county, about the 10th of February, 1866, a colored soldier was robbed of all his money by some white men. Mr. Price remarks, “This passes as a matter of no moment here.”
p bonesteel, sp insp report to o o howard, dated from lex, 3-5-1866, in house ex doc 70, 39 cong, 1 sess, 1866 (ser 1256)

I have received from Burlington, from what I consider a most trustworthy source, but which I am bound in honor not to disclose until I have the consent of the informant, the following: There have been several cases of colored people being severely whipped, and one case of house-burning. The colored people have generally left the country after the bad treatment. No civil officer has made any inquiry about these outrages. Threats against Union white men are frequent.

The Kentucky legislature have by law provided for taxing the colored people for the support of their own paupers. The act is sent you this day in another communication. But no provision whatever has as yet been made by the State, or any county, city, or town in Kentucky (so far as I can learn) for the "absolutely indigent and suffering:" and I am pained to add that the disposition is too general to turn the poor, sick, infirm, aged, and children out upon the world to starve and die, except they be cared for by the government. To so great an extent is this the case that, on the 3d instant, I ordered the superintendent of the district of Lexington to prohibit planters from the compulsory removal of that class of freedmen from their old homes until the civil commissioner for the poor should make provision for their support.
address or proclamation to freedmen, dated nashville, tenn., house ex doc 70, 39 cong, 1 sess, 1866 (Ser 1256)

Bureau Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, States of Kentucky and Tennessee, Assistant Commissioner's Office, Nashville, Tenn., December 26, 1865.

Freedmen of Kentucky:

The Constitution of the United States has been so amended that hereafter no one can be held as a slave anywhere in the country, except in punishment for crime. All the colored people, therefore, in the State of Kentucky are free, and your friend; the assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, desires to address you a few plain words:

1. First of all you should be grateful to your Heavenly Father, who has broken your bonds and conferred upon you the inestimable boon of freedom.

2. You should recognize your high obligations to the federal government, which, in its mighty struggle with the great rebellion and in its triumph, has been true to the interests of freedom, and has fulfilled its pledges to the oppressed.

3. You should love Kentucky, for it is a noble old State—your native State, your home and the home of your children, and now a free State.

4. I advise you to remain in your old homes, and that you enter into good contracts with your former owners and masters. You have been associated with them for many years; you are bound to the old home by many ties, and most of you I trust will be able to get on as well with your late masters as with any one else. If your former owners will not make good contracts with you—giving you good wages, or a share of the crop—you will have a perfect right to go where you can do better.

5. Let me warn you specially against flocking into the towns and cities. There are too many people in the towns and cities already. Hundreds, unless they speedily remove to the country, will, I fear, fall victims of pestilence. The small-pox is now prevalent, and in a few weeks the cholera may be among us. In the crowded cities you will wear your lives away in a constant struggle to pay high rent for miserable dwellings and scanty allowances of food. Many of your children, I greatly fear, will be found wandering through the streets as vagrants—plunging into the worst of vices, and filling the workhouses and jails. By all means seek healthy homes in the country.

6. Now that you are free and will enjoy the fruits of your own industry, enter upon your new life with a hearty will. You begin it with little besides your hands, but by patient industry and economy you may soon earn and save enough money to purchase a home of your own, and to furnish it with many of the comforts of life.

7. Let each man turn his heart and his thoughts toward providing a good home for his wife and children, and to aid in the care of his aged and dependent parents; carefully guard and keep sacred the marriage relation; be lawfully wedded; “taking up with each other” is an abominable practice, and must perish with the institution which gave it birth.

8. Early attention should be given to the education of your children. Purchase books for them, and employ good teachers. You have numerous friends in the country who will aid you in the establishment of schools. Be resolved that all your children shall be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic.

9. Let the past be forgotten. Treat all men with respect; avoid disputes; demonstrate to Kentucky and to the world, by your faithful observance of the laws, by your sobriety and good morals, and by your thrift, that you are not only qualified for the precious blessing of freedom, but for the high and responsible duties of citizens of the Commonwealth.
FISK TELLS HOWARD OF NEED OF BLACKS FOR PROTECTION JAN 1866

fisk to howard, dated 1-23-1866, nashville, in house ex doc 70, 39 cong, 1 sess, 1866 (serial 1256)

p 232/ Kentuckians hate the Free. Bureau; politicians denounce it. Exsoldiers treated harshly/p 233/

I saw with my own eyes our fellow-soldiers, yet clad in the uniform of their country's army, fresh from their master out of service, who within the last ten days were the victims of fiendish atrocity from the hands of their former masters in Kentucky. These returned soldiers had been to their old homes for their wives and children, and had for this offense been knocked down, whipped, and horribly bruised, and threatened with shooting, should they ever dare to set their feet on the premises of the old master again and intimate that their families were free. On the very day last week that Garrett Davis was engaged in denouncing the Freedmen's Bureau in the United States Senate, his own neighbors, who had fought gallantly in the Union army, were pleading with myself for the protection which the civil authorities of Kentucky fail to afford. The civil law prohibits the colored man from bearing arms; returned soldiers are by the civil officers dispossessed of their arms, and fined for violation of the law.

The freedmen of Kentucky are desirous of remaining in the State if they are permitted to do so on just terms. They are staying at their old homes marvelously well; but few comparatively have removed to the cities and towns.

The colored refuge home at Camp N-leau is rapidly closing out. I have about four hundred persons on my hands at that point now, and they are a precious lot of octogenarians, cripples, orphans, &c. I have received requests from several officials to take from their counties and provide for all the aged, infirm, sick, and orphans. The bureau is a good thing when burdens are to be borne. It is odious when it enforces justice.

BLACK' FAMILY HELD BY FORMER OWNER IN BRANDENBURG (MEADE CO) 1702

W.F. Denton, former Lieut. 12th Ky Cav, to maj gen Palmer, 12-29,1865, from Brandenburgh,Ky, in house ex doc 70,39 cong, 1 sess, 1866(ser 1256

p 234/ Brandenburgh, Ky. December 29, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that the freedmen of this county have been grossly imposed on by former rebel owners. Whether they are rebels at present is for you to judge upon the information given me by the freedmen. I will state one circumstance, given me by Mr. Patterson, a member of company K, 115th United States colored infantry. He was honorably discharged the service on the 15th day of September, 1865. He came to this place and sent to the county for his wife and children. Their former owner, Shacklett, of rebel notoriety, refused to give them up to their father and husband, and notifies the soldier if he comes on his hands for the purpose of getting them he will shoot him. He has not got them yet. Please inform me what course should be pursued in regard to the freedmen. We have no agents for the Freedmen's Bureau at this place. The disposition of the would-be rebels is to persecute the freedmen to the utmost extent.
More than twenty-five thousand colored men of Kentucky have been soldiers in the army of the Union. Many of them were enlisted against the wishes of their masters, and now, after having faithfully served their country, and been honorably mustered out of its service, and return to their old homes, they are not met with jolly welcome and grateful words for their devotion to the Union, but in many instances are scoured, beaten, shot at, and driven from their homes and families. Their arms are taken from them by the civil authorities, and confiscated for the benefit of the Commonwealth. The Union soldier is fixed for bearing arms. Thus the right of the people to keep and bear arms as provided in the Constitution is infringed, and the government for whose protection and preservation these soldiers have fought is denounced as meddlesome and despotic when through its agents it undertakes to protect its citizens in a constitutional right. Kentuckians who followed the fortunes of John Morgan, and did all in their power to destroy the nation, go loaded down with pistols and knives, and are selected as candidates for high positions of honor and trust in the State. The loyal soldier is arrested and punished for bringing into the State the arms he has borne in battle for his country.
An old colored man, named Baxter, was shot and killed by James Roberts, for refusing to let Roberts in his house. The civil authorities will neither arrest nor punish said Roberts, as there is no testimony except of colored persons. (Reported by Thomas Rice, Richmond, Kentucky.)

"Lindsey Taylor, of Richmond, stabbed a negro on the 30th of January, for no cause save that the negro did not wish said Lindsey to search his house. The civil authorities tried Taylor and acquitted him." (Reported by Thomas Rice, superintendent.)

L. L. Pinkerton, superintendent of Fayette county, at Lexington, reports that, "in his and the opinion of all whom he has consulted, the freedmen cannot receive their just rights without a considerable military force."

William Goodlow writes: "The counties of Boyle, Lincoln, and Mercer are infested with guerilla bands. Outrages are mostly committed upon colored persons. The evidence of colored persons is not taken in court. I am powerless to accomplish anything without soldiers."

"Peter Branhord, a returned colored soldier, in Mercer county, was shot by James Poole, a white man, without cause or provocation."

Judge Samuel A. Spencer, of Green county, writes: "A great many colored men are beaten, their lives threatened, and they refused the privilege of returning home, because they have been in the army. I cannot accept the agency on account of the action of the Kentucky legislature."

E. P. Ashcraft, of Meade county, writes: "Richard, William, Jesse, and John Shacklett and Martin Taylor, returned rebel soldiers, have on different occasions attacked negroes with fire-arms, and say they intend no d—d niggers shall live on this side the Ohio." "The civil authorities are powerless."
R. W. Thing, of Warren county, writes: "An old negro was killed by gunshot while attempting to run from a white boy eighteen years of age, to escape a whipping."

A freedman was attacked in his cabin and shot. He and his wife ran to the woods, with bullets flying thick and fast around them from five or six revolvers, the woman escaping with her life by tearing off her chemise while running, thereby presenting a darker-colored mark."

A woman was stabbed by a white woman in the neck, the knife penetrating the windpipe, for giving water to a Union soldier in a tumbler."

A woman and her son were horribly cut and mangled with the lash and then hung by the neck until so nearly dead that water had to be thrown in their faces to revive them to make them acknowledge that they had set a house on fire.

A woman received a severe cut in the head from a club in the hands of a man, who drove her from her home because, her husband had joined the army."

There are several cases of robbery of colored persons by returned rebels in uniform, in Russellville, Kentucky. The town marshal takes all arms from returned colored soldiers, and is very prompt in shooting the blacks whenever an opportunity occurs."

I have a case in hand to-day where a white man knocked down an old man eighty years of age because he asked for and urged the necessity of his pay for cutting eight cords of wood."

There has been a large number of cases of women and children being driven from home on account of their husbands enlisting."

"It is dangerous for colored people to go into Logan, Todd, Barren, and the north part of Warren counties, after their children."

A freedman's wife left her former master and came to live with him, (her husband.) She was followed and shot at."

A furloughed soldier of the 18th United States colored artillery was murdered at Auburn, Kentucky, while sitting on his bed. The civil authorities do nothing in the case."

An old freedman in Allen county was shot and killed because he would not allow himself to be whipped by a young man."

Major Lawrence, of the 17th Kentucky cavalry, reports that a negro was shot in one of the streets of Russellville last night. No cause whatever for it. Several negroes came to me to know what they should do, saying they had been robbed by a party of men wearing the Confederate States uniform. The judges and justices of the peace in almost every instance are rebels of very strong prejudices, who will not even take notice of the most hideous outrages, and if a case is turned over to them they will not administer justice. The action of the courts in southern Kentucky indicates that the day is far distant when a negro can secure justice at the hands of the civil law."
Colonel William P. Thomasson, of Louisville, Kentucky, writes that "outrages and wrongs upon freedmen are numerous, especially upon returned colored soldiers. A few nights since a colored soldier just mustered out with his money in his pocket and a new suit of clothes on his back, was waiting for the care at Deposit station, a few miles from Louisville; four or five young rowdies of the place set upon him to rob him. He was a light-colored man, and one of the robbers said to his fellows, 'He is a white man; let him alone.' A dispute arose as to his color, and he was taken into a grocery, a lamp was lit, and the question of his color settled. He was then robbed of his money, arms, and clothing, was stripped to his shirt, and told to run. He did run, and was shot at while escaping, and the shot took effect in his hand.'

I am in daily receipt of similar reports from our superintendents, judges, sheriffs, and military officers. Some of the writers dare not be known as giving this information, fearing assassination as the consequence.

"In Grant county a band of outlaws, styling themselves 'moderators,' made an attack upon the colored citizens for the purpose of driving them from the State. They went late in the night to their homes, took them, from their beds, stripped and whipped them until they were unable to walk."
c m de boer, 'role of afro-ams in origin & work of ama,1839-1877' doc dissertation, rutgers univ, 1973 (pt. 2)

The AMA work in Kentucky after the war began at Camp Nelson, where black soldiers and their families were housed. For a time there was a possibility that the college would be reestablished there rather than at Berea. Afro-Americans working under AMA auspices in Kentucky during Reconstruction include the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miss E. Belle Mitchell</td>
<td>1866-67</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William H. Miller</td>
<td>1865-66</td>
<td>Lexington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sara G. Stanley</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>Louisville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George G. Collins</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>Danville</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mrs. George Collins</td>
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<tr>
<td>Louisa Alexander</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Greenville</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Paducah and Henderson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moses T. Weir</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Elkton</td>
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</tbody>
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C.G. Vaughn
(Dinmore, Ohio) 1868-70 Cynthia
Laura Henson
(Cincinnati) 1869 Lagrange
Arthur C. O'Hear
(grad. Avery I., Charleston, S.C.) 1868-69 Greensburg
Joseph H. Henson
(Cincinnati) 1869 Shapardsville
Miss N.A. Patterson
(Oberlin) 1869 Union Hall
Elizabeth Henson
(Oberlin) 1869 Richmond
George Cary
(Imla, Ohio) 1869-70 Winchester

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Fannie Burwell
(Cleveland) 1870 Versailles
Laura King
(Berea student) 1871-72 Howard School, Lexington
Enoch Seales 1870-71 Camp Nelson
B.A. Ives
(Oberlin) 1876 Camp Nelson
Benjamin F. Lee
(Bridgton, N.Y.) 1870 Danville

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Miss Mitchell was a native of Danville, Kentucky, and later married a man named Jackson. See the letters of Miss Mitchell, John O. Fee, Mary Colton, Mrs. A.E. Williams, AMA Archives. In 1874 Miss Mitchell was teaching at the Normal School at Lexington, see J.G. Halton, Lexington, February 15, 1874, to E.M. Cravath, AMA Archives.

William H. Miller assisted Miss Mitchell at Lexington. In 1869 he was graduated at the head of his class at Lincoln University. See the letters of William Miller, AMA Archives.
BLACKS WORKING IN KY UNDER AMA DURING RECONSTRUCTION

C M de Boer, 'Role of Afro-ams in Origin & Work of AMA, 1839-1877'

47 See the letters of Louisa Alexander, AMA Archives.


49 See the letters of C.C. Vaughn, AMA Archives. Mr. Vaughn was born a slave in Virginia, and spent three years in the army during the war. He attended Liberia College, in Indiana, and Berea College, in Kentucky. In the latter institution he did student teaching to help with expenses. He became a licensed Baptist preacher. See his biography in William J. Simmons, Men of Mark (Cleveland, 1887), pp. 723-722.

50 The author thinks there is a strong possibility that the Miss Patterson from Oberlin who taught for the AMA at Union Hall, Kentucky, in 1869, might have been Mary J. Patterson, the first black woman to earn a collegiate degree, graduating from Oberlin in 1862. Miss Patterson had assisted Mrs. Dascomb at Oberlin, and Mrs. Dascomb was very close to George Whipple. In any case Mary J. Patterson applied for a teaching position with the AMA, see Mary J. Patterson, Oberlin, Ohio, September 21, 1864; October 7, 1864, AMA Archives.

51 See the letters of Elizabeth Benson and J.A.R. Rogers, AMA Archives.

52 See the letters of Fannie Burwell, AMA Archives.

53 J.G. Hamilton, Lexington, Kentucky, April 23, 1874, to E.N. Cravath, AMA Archives

54 Lee became editor of the AME publication, the Christian Recorder and President of Wilberforce University. He was born in Guilford, New Jersey, 1841, and was educated at Wilberforce. See William J. Simmons, Men of Mark (Cleveland, 1887), 922-927.
Henry Bibb. When he addressed a Women's Rights Convention in 1850, William Lloyd Garrison reviewed the antislavery efforts and impressed his listeners with the progress movements could make when the people who are directly affected take the field. Garrison emphasized the great change in the antislavery movement during the preceding ten years by asking, "Who are among our ablest speakers? Who are the best qualified to address the public mind on the subject of slavery? Your fugitive slaves—your Douglasses, Browns and Bibbs—who are astonishing all with the cogency of their words and the power of their reasoning." At that time, both Douglass and Brown were still moral suasionists, but Bibb was an advocate of the very political action to which Garrison was strongly opposed. Yet by 1850, Henry Bibb had gained such popularity as an antislavery lecturer that he could hardly go unrecognized by any abolitionist, regardless of philosophy.

Henry Bibb was born a Kentucky slave in 1815 and vowed at an early age to escape slavery; at age ten he escaped but was quickly captured and resold. He successfully escaped in 1837, but went back to the southern states within the year to free his wife. Again he was captured and sold as a slave to a Cherokee Indian in the Red River country. Upon the Indian's death after a brief illness in 1841, Bibb again escaped. After spending some time as a laborer in

Perrysburg, Ohio, Bibb went to Detroit in 1842, where he had the only official schooling in his life, "about two weeks," under the tutelage of W. C. Monroe, a black.

Finally, in May 1844, Bibb gave his first speech to a public audience. It was "a narrative of [his] own sufferings and adventures, connected with slavery." From that time until 1850, Bibb was a lecturer traveling throughout Michigan, Ohio, New York, and New England. In 1849, Bibb's Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb was released. The next year, Bibb went to Canada after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law. He settled in Sandwich, where he edited the Voice of the Fugitive, and continued lecturing on the promotion of black education and Canadian colonization.

As a speaker, Bibb spent much time giving narratives. Unlike Ward and some other black speakers, Bibb appealed to the sympathy and pity of his white auditors. For Bibb, the sadness of his narrative was something of a device to gain the support of potentially hostile audiences. He described the effect it had on an audience at Steubenville, Ohio during a lecture tour with Amos Dresser and Samuel Brooks in 1844:
should think that in less than fifteen minutes there were about one thousand persons standing around, listening. I saw many of them shedding tears while I related the sad story of my wrongs.53

Bibb’s tours were all endorsed by Liberty party men, the party he supported. In 1845, Bibb lectured for Liberty party antislavery men after they promised to restore his enslaved wife and child to him if indeed they were still alive. A circular from the Signal of Liberty was distributed in April 1845 which stressed Bibb’s emotional power and appeal:

His narrative always excites deep sympathy for himself and favorable bias for the cause, which seeks to abolish the evils he so powerfully portrays. Friends and foes attest his efficacy.

Mr. Bibb has labored much in lecturing, yet has collected but a bare pittance.54

The pathetic appeal of Bibb’s narrative was no doubt more effective for some than a regular lecture or discourse. As the Chronotype was quoted in Bibb’s Narrative, "Argument pro-

vokes argument, reason is met by sophistry. But narratives of slaves go right to the heart of men."55 To satisfactorily complement his emotional substance, Bibb reportedly possessed a "musical voice and a wonderful power of delivery . . . His natural eloquence and his songs enchaired an audience as long as the speaker wanted them."56 To vary his appeal to emotions, Bibb sometimes sang songs, such as "The Mother’s Lament," a sad ballad about slaves who were being sold away from loved ones.

However, like Frederick Douglass, Henry Bibb did not satisfy himself with telling his story or otherwise appealing to the emotions of his audience. He was a Liberty party man, and he began speaking more and more in behalf of the party in extensive travels in New York and New England in 1846 and 1847. From Rhode Island in April 1847, Bibb wrote Joshua Leavitt, a white Liberty party man, of the substantive principles of his thinking:

The great cry has been everywhere, can you not come and give us a lecture? We want to hear something from actual experience on this subject . . .

The people are grossly deceived and misled by the leaders of this [Whig] party. They went so far as to print Liberty with
Henry Bibb was active in promoting his political beliefs at the 1848 National Negro Convention, serving on several committees including the one to draft the convention's "Address to the Colored People of the United States." Bibb also spoke "at length" at the convention in support of a preamble and subsequent resolutions supporting the "Buffalo Convention" and the newly formed Free Soil party; Frederick Douglass opposed the preamble. Although the resolutions were defeated, the preamble was sustained and attached to another resolution endorsing the "Free Soil movement." The preamble asserted that American slavery was both "politically and morally evil."

The substance and delivery of Bibb's antislavery lectures were more emotional than those of most black itinerant lecturers of the time. William Wells Brown observed that "there are few characters more worthy of study and imitation than that of Henry Bibb."
large towns and cities north. We children were taken out by the Sisters after school and on Saturdays and holidays to walk. One of the places we went was the wharf. One day in June and a Saturday a large boat was at the wharf going north on the Mississippi River. We children were there. Somehow, I was separated from the other children. I was taken bodily up by a white man, carried on the boat, put in a cabin, and kept there until we got to Louisville, Kentucky, where I was taken off.

After I arrived in Louisville I was taken to a farm near Frankfort and installed there virtually a slave until 1864, when I escaped through the kindness of a delightful Episcopalian woman from Cincinnati, Ohio. As I could not speak English, my chores were to act as tutor and companion for the children of Piforn Buckram Haynes, a well known slave trader and plantation owner in Kentucky. Haynes wanted his children to speak French and it was my duty to teach them. I was the private companion of three girls and one small boy; each day I had to talk French and write French for them. They became very proficient in French and I in the rudiments of the English language.

I slept in the children’s quarters with the Haynes’ children, ate and played with them. I had all the privileges of the household accorded to me with the exception of one—I never was taken off nor permitted to leave the plantation. While on the plantation I wore good clothes, similar to those of the white children. Haynes was a merciless brutal tyrant with his slaves, punishing them severely and cruelly both by the lash and in the jail on the plantation.

The name of the plantation where I was held as a slave was called Beatrice Manor, after the wife of Haynes. It contained eight thousand

acres, of which more than six thousand acres were under cultivation, and having three hundred and fifty colored slaves and five or six overseers, all of whom were white. The overseers were the overlords of the manor, as Haynes dealt extensively in tobacco and trading in slaves and he was away from the plantation nearly all the time. There was located on the top of the large tobacco warehouse a large bell, which was rung at sunup, twelve o’clock, and at sundown, the year round. On the farm the slaves were assigned a task to do each day, and in the event it was not finished they were severely whipped. While I never saw a slave whipped, I did see them afterwards. They were very badly marked and striped by the overseers who did the whipping.

I have been back to the farm on several occasions, the first time in 1872 when I took my father there to show him the farm. At that time it was owned by Colonel Hawkins, a Confederate Army officer. Let me describe the huts. These buildings were built of stone, each one about twenty feet high, fifty feet long, nine feet high in the rear, and about twelve feet high in front, with a slanting roof of chestnut boards and with a sliding door, two windows between each door back and front about two by four feet, at each end a door and window similar to those on the side. There were ten such buildings. Connected to each building there was another building twelve by fifteen feet, which was the cook house. In front of each building
On the outside near each window and door there were iron rings firmly attached to the walls, through which an iron rod was inserted and locked each and every night, making it impossible for those inside to escape.

There was one building used as a jail, built of stone about twenty by forty feet with a hip roof about twenty-five feet high, two-story. On the ground in each end was a fireplace; in one end a small room where the whipping was done. To reach the second story there was built, on the outside, steps leading to a door, through which the female prisoners were taken to the room. All of the buildings had dirt floors.

I do not know much about the Negroes on the plantation who were there at the time. Slaves were brought and taken away always chained together, men walking and women in ox carts. I had heard of several escapes and many were captured. One of the overseers had a pack of six or eight trained bloodhounds which were used to trace escaping slaves.

Before I close let me give you a sketch of my family tree. My grandmother was a Haitian Negress, grandfather a Frenchman, father was a Creole. After returning home in 1864, I completed my high school education in New Orleans in 1870, graduated from Fisk University in 1874, taught French there until 1883, married Professor Fayman, teacher of history and English. Since then I have lived in Washington, New York, and Louisiana.
slave could own a slave. Father got the consent and help of his owners to buy me and they asked Long to put me on the block again. Long did so and named his price but when he learned who had bid me off, he backed down. Later in the day he put me on the block and named another price much higher than the price formerly set. He was asked by the white folks to name his price for his bargain and he did so. I was again put on the auction block and Father bought me in, putting up the cash. Long then flew into a rage and cursed my father saying, “You damn black son of a bitch, you think you are white do you? Now just to show you you are black, I will not let you have your son at any price.”

Father knew it was all off. Mother was frantic, but there was nothing they could do about it. They had to stand and see the speculator put me on his horse behind him and ride away without allowing either of them to tell me good-bye. I figure I was sold three times in one day, as the price asked was offered in each instance. Mother was told under threat of a whipping not to make any outcry when I was carried away.

He took me to his home, but on the way he stopped for refreshments, at a plantation, and while he was eating and drinking, he put me into a room where two white women were spinning flax. I was given a seat across the room from where they were working. After I had sat there awhile wondering where I was going and thinking about Mother and home, I went to one of the women and asked, “Missus, when will I see my mother again?” She replied, “Don’t know child. Go and sit down.” I went back to my seat and as I did so both the women stopped spinning for a moment, looked at each other, and one of them remarked, “Almighty God, this slavery business is a terrible thing. Chances are this boy will never see his mother again.” This remark nearly killed me, as I began to fully realize my situation.

Long, the Negro trader, soon came back, put me on his horse and finished the trip to his home. He kept me at his home awhile and then traded me to a man named William Moore who lived in Person County. Moore at this time was planning to move to Kentucky, which he soon did, taking me with him. My mother found out by the “grapevine telegraph” that I was going to be carried to Kentucky. She got permission and came to see me before they carried me off. When she started home I was allowed to go part of the way with her, but they sent two Negro girls with us to insure my return. We were allowed to talk privately, but while we were doing so, the two girls stood a short distance away and watched, as the master told them when they left that if I escaped they would be whipped every day until I was caught. When the time of parting came and I had to turn back, I burst out crying loud. I was so weak from sorrow I could not walk, and the two girls who were with me took me by each arm and led me along half carrying me.

This man Moore carried me and several other slaves to Kentucky. We traveled by train by way of Nashville, Tennessee. My thoughts are not familiar with the happenings of this trip but I remember that we walked a long distance at one place on the trip from one depot to another.

We finally reached Kentucky and Moore stopped at his brother’s plantation until he could buy one; then we moved on it. My master was
The food was generally common. Hog meat and corn bread most all the time. Slaves got biscuits only on Sunday morning. Our clothes were poor and I worked barefooted most of the time, winter and summer. No books, papers, or anything concerning education was allowed the slaves by his rules and the customs of these times.

Marster Moore had four children, among whom was one boy about my age. The girls were named Atona, Beulah, and Minnie, and the boy was named Crosby. He was mighty brilliant. We played together. He was the only white boy there, and he took a great liking to me, and we loved each other devotedly. Once in a undertone he asked me how I would like to have an education. I was overjoyed at the suggestion and began to teach me setly. I studied hard and he soon had me so I could read and write well. I continued studying and he continued teaching me. He furnished me books and slipped all the papers he could get to me and I was the best educated Negro in the community without anyone except the slaves knowing what was going on.

All the slaves on Marster's plantation lived the first year we spent in Kentucky in a one room house with one fireplace. There was a dozen or more who all lived in this one room house. Marster built himself a large house having seven rooms. He worked his slaves himself and never had any overseers. We worked from sun to sun in the fields and then worked at the house after getting in from the fields as long as we could see. I have never seen a patterroller, but when I left the plantation in slavery time I got a pass. I have never seen a jail for slaves, but I have seen slaves whipped and I was whipped myself. I was whipped particularly about a saddle I left in the night after using it during the day. My flesh was cut up so bad that the scars are on me to this day.

We were not allowed to have prayer meetings, but we went to the white folks' church to services sometimes. There were no looms, mills, or shops on the plantation at Marster Moore's. I kept the name of Glenn through all the years as Marster Moore did not change his slaves' names to his family name. My mother was named Martha Glenn and Father was named Bob Glenn.

I was in the field when I first heard of the Civil War. The woman who looked after Henry Hall and myself (both slaves) told me she heard Marster say old Abraham Lincoln was tryin to free the niggers. Marster finally pulled me up and went and joined the Confederate Army. Kentucky split and part joined the North and part the South. The war news kept slipping through of success for first one side, then the other. Sometimes Marster would come home, spend a few days, and then go again to the War. It seemed he influenced a lot of men to join the Southern army, among them was a man named Enoch Moorehead. Moorehead was killed in a few days after he joined the Southern army.

Marster Moore fell out with a lot of his associates in the army and some of them who were from the same community became his bitter enemies. Tom Foushee was one of them. Marster became so alarmed over the threats on his life made by Foushee and others that he was afraid to stay in his own home at night, and he built a little camp one and one-half miles west of his home at night to sleep. 

When the Civil War ended, Marster and a lot of others with him were to be freed, and the war was over, and the war was at an end.
time for him. Marster was at the little camp but we would not tell where he was.

Foushee left after spending most of the night at Marster's. As he went out into the yard, when leaving, Marster's bulldog growled at him and he shot him dead.

Marster went to Henderson, Kentucky, the county seat of Henderson County, and surrendered to the Federal army and took the Oath of Allegiance. Up to that time I had seen a few Yankees. They stopped now and then at Marster's and got their breakfast. They always asked about buttermilk, they seemed to be very fond of it. They were also fond of ham. But we had the ham meat buried in the ground. This was about the close of the War. A big army of Yankees came through a few months later and soon we heard of the surrender. A few days after this, Marster told me to catch two horses, that we had to go to Dickenson, which was the county seat of Webster County. On the way to Dickenson he said to me, "Bob, did you know you are free and Lincoln has freed you? You are as free as I am." We went to the Freedman's Bureau and went into the office. A Yankee officer looked me over and asked Marster my name, and informed me I was free and asked me whether or not I wanted to keep living with Moore. I did not know what to do, so I told him yes. A fixed price of seventy-five dollars and board was then set as the salary I should receive per year for my work. The Yankee told me to let him know if I was not paid as agreed.

I went back home and stayed a year. During the year I hunted a lot at night and thoroughly enjoyed being free. I took my freedom by degrees and remained obedient and respectful, but still wondering and thinking of what the future held for me. After I retired at night I made plans after

plan and built air castles as to what I would do. At this time I formed a great attachment for the white man, Mr. Atlas Chandler, with whom I hunted. He bought my part of the game we caught and favored me in other ways. Mr. Chandler had a friend, Mr. Dewitt Yarborough, who was an adventurer and trader, and half brother to my ex-marster, Mr. Moore, with whom I was then staying. He is responsible for me taking myself into my own hands and getting out of feeling I was still under obligations to ask my marster or missus when I desired to leave the premises. Mr. Yarborough's son was off at school at a place called Kiloh, Kentucky, and he wanted to carry a horse to him and also take along some other animals for trading purposes. He offered me a new pair of pants to make the trip for him and I accepted the job. I delivered the horse to his son and started for home. On the way back I ran into Uncle Squire Yarborough who once belonged to Dewitt Yarborough. He persuaded me to go home with him to a wedding in Union County, Kentucky. The wedding was twenty miles away and we walked the entire distance. It was a double wedding, two couples were married. Georgianna Hawkins was married to George Ross and Steve Carter married a woman whose name I do not remember. This was in the winter during the Christmas holidays and I stayed in the community until about the first of January, then I went back home. I had been thinking for several days before I went back home as to just what I must tell Mr. Moore and as to how he felt about the matter, and what I should do. I did not want the family or anyone I knew to know I
and they called me by a fictitious name, but when I shook my mother's hand I held it a little too long and she suspicioned something. Still she held herself until she was more sure. When she got a chance she came to me and said, "Ain't you my child?" Tell me ain't you my child whom J left on the road near Mr. Moore's before the War?"

I broke down and began to cry. Mother and Father did not know me, but Mother suspicioned I was her child. Father had a few days previously remarked that he did not want to die without seeing his son once more. I could not find language to express my feelings. I did not know before I came home whether my parents were dead or alive. This Christmas I spent in the county and state of my birth and childhood with Mother, Father, and freedom was the happiest period of my entire life, because those who were torn apart in bondage and sorrow several years previous were now united in freedom and happiness.
Many free Blacks were skilled craftsmen, working as barbers, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, and cabinet makers. Others worked as draymen, carriage drivers, and grooms for horses. Both free Blacks and slaves worked in some of Kentucky’s earliest industries: rope factories in Louisville and Lexington, the iron works of Bath County, the salt works of Clay County, and the iron and lead mines of Caldwell and Crittenden Counties.

Riverboat commerce provided employment opportunities for both slave and free Blacks—stevedores to load the boats, cabin boys and waiters to serve the passengers, and stokers to feed the steam engine its coal.

Some free Blacks ran their own businesses. For example, Robert Boyd, a Kentucky freedman, invested in real estate. In 1830, he held property that was worth $20,000.

Some free Blacks were engaged as clergymen and teachers. The Reverend Henry Adams was a free Black who became pastor of the Louisville Fifth Street Baptist Church in 1839. In 1841, he opened a black school at that church. In Lexington, George Dupee, minister of the Pleasant Green Baptist Church, received his freedom in an unusual manner—his congregation bought him. Hearing their preacher was to be sold, a delegation from the church asked a white minister, the Reverend William Pratt, to buy Dupee for them. They repaid Pratt on the installment plan. Each Monday morning members of the faithful congregation delivered the Sunday offerings to Pratt.
One Kentucky free Black was Aaron Siddles. He had been a slave who had been bought by a trader to be sold down the river. He escaped and persuaded a white man, Timothy Guard, to buy him for $1,000. Aaron Siddles explained the arrangement:

"I had a previous understanding with Guard, that if he bought me, I was to have a chance to buy myself. He gave me a paper signed before witnesses, that I was to be free, when I paid him $1,600. He also gave me papers stating I was allowed to trade for myself: if I would not pay, he would; and if anyone would not pay me, he would compel them. I went to work as a steward of a steamboat. At first, I got $35 a month, which raised till I got $100 a month. I paid off Guard between six and seven years after; still remained on the boats, and, in all, I worked eleven years with one man at $100 a month."

Although he had a good job and had lived in Kentucky for many years, Siddles found that living as a free Black in a state that had so many slaves was just too nerve-racking. He was always afraid that he might be captured and sold back into slavery. So he finally left Kentucky and moved to Canada where he could live free from fear in one of the many colonies established by Blacks from the United States.

The first anti-slavery tract in Kentucky was written by the Reverend David Rice in 1792. This Presbyterian minister, who was often called the father of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, preached eloquently about the injustices of slavery.

In 1794, the governing body of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky resolved that slaves belonging to members of that body should be taught to read the scriptures and prepared for freedom. Two years later, the same body urged the immediate emancipation of all slaves who had been thus prepared and urged continued education for others. Church leaders apparently took the latter admonition seriously for, in 1826, church leaders reported that fifteen schools for Blacks had been established.
JOSEPH SIDER, INDIANA PEDDLER, AIDED KY BLACKS TO ESCAPE

ky's black heritage, 1971

Joseph Sider was an Indiana peddler who made regular trips into Kentucky. His wagon was constructed with a hollow space under the boxes in which he kept his wares. On his return to Indiana he often carried black men hidden in that compartment.

BLACKS WHO AIDED SLAVES IN ESCAPE FROM KY: JOHN MASON

ky's black heritage, 1971

Some Kentuckians, white and black, were willing to face possible imprisonment in order to aid fugitive slaves. John Mason, a fugitive slave from Kentucky, over a period of 19 months, escorted 265 other slaves to a northern Underground Railroad station run by a black minister, the Reverend W.M. Mitchell. Mason was finally captured and sold south but within two years, he wrote Mitchell that he had again escaped and was living in Hamilton, Canada.
A Black named Elijah Anderson was described as the general superintendent of the Underground Railroad system in northwestern Ohio. He began his work before the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 and continued until he was arrested and confined in the state prison at Frankfort. He claimed to have piloted over 1000 fugitives to freedom.

Another Black who led others to freedom was Ben, a slave who escaped from his Kentucky master. According to an article in the Louisville Democrat, October 27, 1857, Ben kept helping his former master's slaves escape. His efforts in behalf of others finally led to his capture. Ben "fought with the desperation of a man who had once tasted the sweets of liberty" but those who captured him were too strong. He was overpowered and re-enslaved.

Source: Louisville Democrat, Oct 27, 1857
WASH SPRADLEY, A LOUISVILLE BLACK, UG RR AGENT

ky's black heritage, 1971

Wash Spradley, a black man living in Louisville helped the escape of many of his race. A directory of the names of Underground Railroad operators lists the Reverend John Grigg Fee, John S. Fee, and a man listed only as Jones.

KY BLACKS FLOCK TO UNION ARMY

ky's black heritage, 1971

Rejected by the State regiments, black Kentuckians enlisted directly in Union Army regiments. They enlisted in amazing numbers. United States War Department statistics list 23,000 black volunteers from Kentucky. The final report of the Adjutant General of Kentucky in 1867 stated that 25,438 black soldiers from Kentucky had enlisted in fifteen infantry regiments, two cavalry regiments and four heavy artillery regiments. Comparing this number to the total black population of Kentucky in 1860 which was 236,137, we see that over 10 per cent of all Kentucky Blacks served in the Union Army. Using figures from the same sources for Kentucky’s white population, we find that 7 per cent of Kentucky whites served in the Union Army.

This high percentage of black volunteers is even more amazing when we remember that 95 per cent of Kentucky’s Blacks in 1860 were slaves and many of whom had no control over their destiny. Slaves did use enlistment as a means of obtaining their freedom. In February, 1865, when Major General John M. Palmer became commander of the military district of Kentucky, he announced that he would use black enlistment as a means to free as many Kentucky slaves as possible. A federal law provided that any slave who enlisted received his freedom and that of his wife and children. The General sent black soldiers dressed in their fanciest uniforms to black homes to attract recruits. Many Blacks did enlist at Palmer’s urging but when they returned to their masters to claim freedom for their wives and children, the masters refused to recognize the federal law and claimed the federal government had no right to confiscate the “property” of loyal citizens.
One young black soldier from Kentucky was Isaiah Cass. Cass worked in Woodford, Kentucky.

Since there was no Kentucky Regiment which he could join, in May, 1863, he signed up to fight with the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry, possibly the most famous black fighting force in the Civil War.

As a member of Company C, he was sent to South Carolina. In April, 1865, Cass was wounded in a battle near Boykins Mills, South Carolina. He recovered and was discharged after the war in Beaufort, South Carolina.

In January, 1865, a few months before the end of the Civil War, the United States Congress passed the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. It provided:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States; or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

This amendment had to be ratified by two-thirds of the states before it became law. In February, 1865, when the amendment was presented to the Kentucky General Assembly, the lawmakers refused ratification by a vote of 21 to 13 in the Senate and 56 to 28 in the House. Many other states, however, did ratify the amendment. On December 18, 1865, the Secretary of State proclaimed to the world, "Slavery is ended in the United States."
KY RESTRICTIONS ON BLACKS IN 1798

The new State of Kentucky enacted a whole series of control measures in 1798 which provided machinery for the apprehending and securing of runaways, forbade meetings of slaves without the presence of whites, denied them the right to possess weapons, required them to have passes when off plantations, and provided severe penalties for sedition.

Source: W. Littell, Statute Law of Ky, II, 5-6, 113-23.

BLACKS REBELLIOUS, DEMONSTRATE: HENRY COUNTY, NEW CASTLE (1861)

In December of that year 'numerous houses and barns' were burned by Negroes in Henry County, Kentucky, while in New Castle of the same State in the same month about three score slaves paraded the city 'singing political songs, and shouting for Lincoln' with no one daring to suppress this unique demonstration.

Source: Frankfort Yeoman, Jan. 17, 1862
NY Daily Tribune, Jan. 23, 1862
At the end of November, 1810, 'a dangerous conspiracy among the negroes was discovered' in Lexington, Kentucky. 'A great many negroes were put in jail,' but what became of them is not known. Further indications of trouble is given by the fact that Kentucky passed a law in January, 1811, making conspiracy among slaves a crime punishable by death.'

Taken from diary entry Dec 1, 1810, of Wm. L. Brown, in NYPL ms room.

There was disaffection in Kentucky in 1812. In January, several incendiary fires occurred in Lexington and contemporaries believed them to be the work of slaves intent upon destroying the town. Several were arrested and three were convicted, but only one, a Negro named Jack, seems actually to have been executed.

Lex Reporter, Jan. 14, 21, 1812
Feb. 15, 22, 1812
Mar. 21, 1812
Lex. Kentucky Gazette, Jan 14, 21, 1812
Feb 18, 1812.
Aptheker got this info from Coleman.
1826 BLACKS REVOLT ON OHIO RIVER BOAT TAKING THEM SOUTH

In September, 1826, Edward and Howard Stone, slave traders of Bourbon County, Kentucky, of ten years' experience, together with two hired men, David Cobb and Humphrey David of Lexington, were transporting seventy-seven slaves down the Ohio River for sale in the deep South. One other white man, James M. Gray, of Woodville, Mississippi, was aboard the boat as a passenger. About ninety miles south of Louisville, the slaves, in some manner, broke out of their confinement and, armed with clubs, axes, and knives, succeeded in killing the five white men. They then appropriated some money, sank the boat, and made their way to Indiana. All were reported as captured and five were publicly executed on November 29, 1826, while most of the others were sold into the South.

Niles Weekly Register, Nov. 18, 1826, XXXI, p. 192.

BLACKS ESCAPE AIDED BY WHITE MAN, AFTER PLOT DISCOVERED 1838

At Florence in Boone County, Kentucky, a conspiracy to rebel was uncovered and the movement thwarted in November. Six of the insurgent leaders, apparently aided by white men, managed to escape and safely made their way into Canada.

Paris West Citizen, Nov. 16, 1838
One August morning in 1829 two male slaves in a coffle of ninety men, women, and children recently bought in Maryland and being led to the South for sale, suddenly dropped their shackles, at a point between Greenup and Vanceburg, Kentucky, and began to deal blows to each other. William B. Petit, one of the three white men leading and guarding this valuable group of humans, rushed up at them with his whip ordering them to fall back into line. Instantly it became clear that, in some way, the shackles on each of the men slaves had been filed through, and they set upon and killed Mr. Petit. Another of the guards, Gabriel T. Allen, coming to the latter's aid, was also killed, and the owner, a well-known slave trader named Henry Gordon, was then attacked. He, however, with the assistance of a slave woman, managed to mount a horse and, though pursued, made good his getaway and rounded up aid.  

The posse thus formed is reported to have succeeded in capturing all the slaves, and six of the rebel leaders, five men and one woman, were sentenced to hang. The woman was found to be pregnant and permitted to remain in jail until after the birth of the child, whereupon, on May 25, 1830, she was publicly hanged. The men were executed November 20, 1829. The Portsmouth, Virginia, Times declared that "they all maintained to the last, the utmost firmness and resignation to their fate. They severally addressed the assembled multitude, in which they attempted to justify the deed they had committed." According to Niles, one of the condemned Negroes, "the instant before he was launched from the cart, exclaimed 'Death—death at any time in preference to slavery.'"
An event occurred in Fayette County, Kentucky, in August, 1848, which was very similar to the break for freedom made by Maryland slaves three years before. On Sunday, August 5, about seventy-five slaves from that county, led by a young white man named Patrick Doyle, a student at Centre College in Danville, Kentucky, armed themselves with guns and crude weapons and boldly set forth for the Ohio River and liberty. A reward of five thousand dollars was offered for the group's capture and well over one hundred white men—one account said three hundred—set out to apprehend them. Two pitched battles were fought, in which one Negro and one of the pursuing white men were killed, while another of the latter was wounded. Apparently all, or nearly all the rebels, including Patrick Doyle, were finally captured. Three of the Negro leaders, Shadrack, Harry, and Prestley, were hanged, and Patrick Doyle was sentenced to serve twenty years in prison. In the month of these convictions, October, a plot among forty slaves in Woodford County, Kentucky, to emulate the actions of the Fayette Negroes was discovered and frustrated.

Violence was also epidemic in Kentucky. Seizing control of the Democratic party, former Confederates, largely from the bluegrass region, gained state-wide power on a platform of unrepentant reaction by 1868. Such a course of events led one Yankee newspaper to remonstrate: "It will take either a constitutional amendment, an act of Congress, or a thousand years to make Kentucky a civilized state." Preferring not to wait for the millennium, state Republicans badgered Washington to expedite ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment and to enforce it effectively. They counted on the Negro voter possibly to overthrow the Bourbon establishment.

With the Negro either as an issue or as a voter in Kentucky politics, there was bound to be trouble. Indeed, differences between the races were transmuted into differences between the parties, and a speaker told the Kentucky Democratic convention of 1871 that he wanted "no nigger votes, and that is the principle on which" he wanted Democrats to stand. Of course, he declared, if he were "a nigger," he would be a Radical, but since he was a white man, he was a Democrat. The political war was about to become a race war.
Immediately, guerrilla bands sprang into action. One newspaper gave 115 instances of shootings, hangings, and whippings between 1867 and 1871. A virtual reign of terror prevailed in many counties, particularly in the area surrounding the state capital at Frankfort, in the bluegrass country. After several outrages in the region, a Ku-Klux outfit had the audacity, in February 1871, to free a white man from the Frankfort jail who had been charged with murdering a Negro. Although this episode took place while the legislature was in session, the legislators refused to take action to suppress the Klan. During that same bloody month a witness who had testified against the Klan was murdered after leaving the courtroom. In the crucial state elections the following August—the first since Negro voting began—riots occurred. And again the state capital was the scene of an offense when two Negroes were lynched by a mob on election eve. The time for federal patience and restraint necessarily came to an end.

Now federal officials became energetically involved. The launching of a federal investigation sent a wave of shock, surprise, and fear through the community. The Klan, however, was powerful and appeared to have not only the support of many state officials but a large, popular following as well. In order to counteract Klan violence, the Republican candidate for governor, John M. Harlan, who had just been defeated in the August election, during which he had openly attacked the Klan, made an interesting proposal. Observing the "universal dread amongst Republicans, white and black," who feared for their lives and property if they testified against the Klan, and noting as well that state authorities were doing nothing to suppress the Klan out of fear or preference, Harlan suggested that the federal court ought to have a grand jury called into continuous session to find out who the members of the Klan were. He followed up his proposal by speaking to President Grant, urging him to hire detectives "who lived in the neighborhood of the [K.K.K.] operations—in other words, the information must be bought from some of the gang or some of their sympathizers." Yet although Grant was interested enough to authorize the hiring of some detectives, it was all to no avail.

Despite the fact that the Federal Attorney worked hard on the Frankfort case and even advanced some of his own money to pay for the cost of investigation, he reported that at the trial "lies and silence
JOHN M HARLAN PROPOSED THAT GRAND JURY ROOT OUT KLAN (1871)  

r o curry, ed, radical racism, party realign; border states during recon, 1969; 'the right to vote in border states,' by Wm. Gillette

January, 1872. Meanwhile, alluding to a bill legalizing Negro trial testimony, a correspondent of the Solicitor General foresaw that state legislators would "move heaven and earth if possible to have such a law enacted." He concluded: "When you strike a Crittenden you strike the State of Kentucky and his friends will never consent to have justice meted out to him." This prediction was borne out when, on January 29, the Kentucky legislature passed a law giving Negroes the right to testify in court for the first time and, significantly, made the law applicable to cases now pending. With Negroes providing an alibi for Crittenden, apparently the case was then dropped.  

KY SOLDIERS, POLITICIANS OPPOSE ENLISTING BLACK TROOPS  

j d smith, 'recruitment of negro soldiers in ky,1863-65,' register of ky hist soc, 72 (oct 1974) 364-90

Mindful of the sensitivity of Kentucky slaveholders, Lincoln was cautious as to the enlistment of Negro troops in the state. In August, 1862, he explained that the nation could not afford to lose Kentucky to the Confederacy and "to arm the Negroes would turn 50,000 bayonets from the loyal Border States against us that were now for us." The President's fears were well-founded since on December 7, 1861, the Kentucky General Assembly adopted a resolution urging the dismissal of Secretary of War Simon Cameron, who had recommended the arming of slaves. In Washington, Kentucky representatives Charles A. Wickliffe, George W. Dunlap, and Robert Mallory introduced resolutions before the House denouncing General David Hunter's experiments with Negro regiments in South Carolina. News of the enlistment of slaves in the South also infuriated officers of the Second Kentucky Cavalry (Union) stationed in Tennessee. Writing to Congressman John J. Crittenden shortly after the Battle of Shiloh, the soldiers expressed their indignation at the Lincoln government for planning openly to free and arm slaves.  

Politicians were especially outraged by the thought of armed
popular opposition in Kentucky to Lincoln's Negro policy and warning that "the chief difficulty will be to prevent the passage of resolutions, threatening and full of vengeance." Crittenden responded on the floor of the House by opposing, in the moderate, yet forceful terms, which had marked his distinguished career, a bill authorizing the enlistment of 150,000 Negro troops. Such legislation, he argued, would prove insulting to whites since Negroes would be requested to preserve "the liberties of the white man." The arming of black troops was neither necessary nor conducive to the maintenance of the army's morale. Kentuckians, he predicted, would not allow recruiting officers to invade their farms, that their presence would arouse added hostility to the general government. Although he had pledged to uphold the Constitution, Crittenden vowed that he would never support "the abolition party." Four months later, while campaigning for Congress in the Seventh Congressional District, Crittenden asked what white men would degrade themselves by fighting next to Negroes. How would they feel if colored soldiers saved the lives of their sons? "I would rather see," he argued, "our young men brought home corpses than see them saved by such unsoldierlike means."

In Kentucky's legislature, Richard A. Buckner of Fayette County deplored the use of Negro soldiers, because whites "will feel themselves disparaged and insulted by such an association." Senator Thomas A. Duke declared that "public sentiment" in the state found the idea of Kentucky troops serving side by side with African slaves repugnant to their sensibilities. Both senators C. T. Worthington and John A. Prall, voicing opposition to black enlistments, maintain that "sable soldiers" would weaken rather than strengthen the Union cause in Kentucky and possibly lead to secession. Representative Nathaniel Wolfe vehemently castigated Lincoln as a "tyrant" and a "usurper" and, like Crittenden, vowed that he would never allow his son to join black troops in battle. A senate resolution accused supporters of Negro soldiers of having "published to the world the atrocious libel upon the white man, that in his cowardice he appeals to the Negro for protection."
Editorial and public opinion throughout 1863 reveals the fear and anger which seized Kentuckians when threatened by the prospect of colored troops. It was beyond the comprehension of the citizey that anyone could suggest the elevation of an inferior, an African slave, into the hallowed role of the soldier. Editor George D. Prentice of The Louisville Journal was one of the state’s foremost critics of Negro troops. Like the President, Prentice was an ex-Whig who placed the preservation of the Union above all other interests, but the decision to arm Negroes quickly cooled his admiration for Lincoln. The fiery editor argued that Negroes were not trustworthy and lacked the intelligence and skills to serve as soldiers. Branding the issue an abolitionist trick, Prentice believed that northern radicals would employ black soldiers “to give the abolitionists a force [with which] to subjugate the South, partition off its plantations, and divide them among its conquerors.” Referring to black troops as a “mockery” and as “one of the greatest mistakes” of Lincoln’s presidency, he appealed to the Chief Executive “to give up the negro regiment business wholly and promptly.” Prentice believed that the administration’s colored troops were meant to supplement the Emancipation Proclamation and “to sweep away whatever the proclamation has left.”

Condemning the “unscrupulous despotism” of both Thaddeus Stevens and the President, Prentice scoffed at the thought of “General Cuffee” and “Rear Admiral Sambo.” He commented that Americans would disgrace their history if they allowed Negroes to be recruited and predicted that the loyal slave states would be injured and denied the protection which had been extended to their property by the Emancipation Proclamation if armed ex-slaves roamed free. By arming blacks the administration would insult all Kentuckians in uniform and influence them to flee to the Southern armies. Such a policy of “treachery” and “insanity,” he said, could serve only to split the sections further apart.

Prentice foresaw a great reign of terror because Negroes with “weapons in their hands [will] sweep throughout the South to despoil and ravage as their own mad and savage passions [are] aroused and infuriated by blood-shed.” For the sake of humanity, he begged Lincoln not to allow black armies to be recruited and “unleashed” in Kentucky. Moreover, in addition to the obvious violation of slaveowners’ constitutional rights, the organizing of colored units would prove expensive, impractical, and show a disregard for the laws of modern warfare.
Albert G. Hodges, former Whig, Know-Nothing, and then editor of the Frankfort Commonwealth shared Prentice's sentiments. Since blacks were created by God to serve only as laborers, he criticized the idea of Negroes carrying rifles and found Lincoln's "insane attempts to propagate Abolitionism under the wing of the army" offensive. On October 28, 1863 the Commonwealth condemned the Cincinnati Times for its defense of Negro enlistments and offered "several serious objections." First, Hodges argued, it was inhumane to entice a Negro to "fight for another man's government." Negro enrollments would also create a large free Negro "menace," while the government's promise to compensate Kentucky slaveowners was suspect. Most important, however, was the impact that colored soldiers would have on Kentucky's part in suppressing the rebellion. Hodges claimed that since residents of the Commonwealth were "unanimous[ly] against it," raising Negro troops would severely "retard the enlistment of white soldiers."15

The Lexington Observer and Reporter, edited by D. C. Wickliffe, joined The Journal and the Commonwealth in protesting against Negro enlistments in Kentucky. Unlike his colleagues, however, Wickliffe focused his criticisms mainly on the dual themes of Negro equality and constitutional rights.

Asking his readers upon what legal or divine right Lincoln based his authority to place Negroes on an equality with whites, he found it unthinkable and unprecedented "that a course so repugnant to correct policy" would be pushed upon the residents of Kentucky. The only hope for the loyal slave states, according to Wickliffe, was the Supreme Court. He hoped that members of the Court would not confer "citizenship" upon the blacks and would thus legally prohibit them from military service under the Enrollment Act of March 3, 1863. He urged the justices to free themselves of Lincoln's influence because "negro equality is being fastened upon the country more speedily than was hoped for even by the most radical Abolitionist."16
SOME EVIDENCE OF CHANGE IN WHITE ATTITUDE TO INEVITABILITY OF BLACK ENROLLMENT

In Lexington, Mrs. Francis Dallam Peter, usually a perceptive commentator of social and political events, recorded in her diary thoughts concerning Negro soldiers. She appraised the quality of the few Negro regiments that had been raised:

From all I have observed of the negro, he is much too adverse to work, too timid to make a good soldier and has got it into his head that liberty means doing nothing. I think it is acting against the Constitution to make soldiers of the blacks and however much the abolitionists may say to the contrary, they will find in the end that this arming and equipping of negro regiments is a mere waste of time and money.

Mrs. Peter included in her diary a newspaper clipping which explained that just three years previously, in 1860, any man who might have even proposed arming Negroes "would have been shot down in broad daylight before he could have walked a block." But times had changed. Now, she remarked, "I am afraid ... that the negroes have got arms in their bands and ... many notions of freedom in their heads and before the war is over it is not improbable that we may have to fight them as well as the secessh."

LOUISVILLE LAW AGAINST SLAVES POSSESSING WEAPONS (GUNS)

Jan 23, 1829.
"The following preamble and Resolutions were offered by Mr. Payne and Unanimously adopted: +

"Whereas it is represented to the Mayor and Board of Councilmen of the City of Louisville, that their /sic/ are divers slaves and free persons of color, who are not housekeepers in this city who possess fire arms, which is contrary to the laws of the commonwealth of Kentucky.+

"Be it therefore resolved that it shall be the especial duty of the Marshall and his deputies of the day and night watch, and the City Inspector to seize all fire arms, found upon, or in the possession of any slave or free person of color, who is not a housekeeper, in the said city, and secure them, under the direction of the City Marshall.+

"Be it further resolved that from and after the first day of February next it shall be the duty of the said city marshall and his deputies, and of the night and day watch, and city inspector, General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky in relation to mulattoes and free negroes passed 23 February, 1808.+

"Be it further resolved that from and after the adoption of this Resolution, it shall be the duty of the superintendent of the night and day watch to cause the bell to be rung every night, one hour after sundown."

from mf of Minutes of the Common Council of City of Louisville, Jan. 23, 1829, found at U of L Archives.
HIRED OUT SLAVES TO BE REMOVED FROM CITY OF LOUISVILLE (1809)

March 9, 1809
"Resolved that the Clerk of this Board be and he is hereby directed to give public notice in the Louisville Gazette three weeks successively that all those persons who own Negroes and suffer them to hire themselves, to withdraw them immediately that the trustees of said town will have the law in that case made / known ?/ and provided enforced with the utmost vigor."

OPPOSITION OF GENERALS TO ENLISTING KY FREE BLACKS

Several months before Bramlette's address, recruiting officers began to enroll Kentucky's free blacks as specified in the comprehensive draft measure passed by the Congress on March 3, 1863. A few of Kentucky's free Negroes were enlisted and quickly ushered to Cairo, Illinois. But residents of the Commonwealth violently objected even to the enlistment of free blacks, the "pariahs of the land and despised by all." Following the great opposition to the first enrollments, both generals Jeremiah T. Boyle, Commander of the District of Kentucky, and Ambrose E. Burnside, commanding the Department of Ohio, sent telegraph dispatches to Washington requesting that the War Department abandon such recruitments.

Boyle wrote Provost Marshal General James B. Fry explaining that there were only 4,130 free blacks in all of Kentucky, and, since under law only one-eighth were subject to military duty, the government would get at best 700 recruits. Aside from being a waste of time and money, Boyle warned Fry that colored enlistments at this time would lose more than 10,000 white volunteers and "will revolutionize the state and do infinite and inconceivable harm." "I am sure," he continued, "this is all wrong and there is not an honest, loyal man in the
free Negroes resided in Kentucky. Fry added, "I have a better opinion of Kentucky than to think she would be revolutionized if such information is sought... by me as it has [been done before] by the Census Bureau without revolution."29

Burnside sent two messages to President Lincoln; one on June 26 and another the following day. In his first the general maintained that it would be very unwise to enroll the free Negroes of Kentucky since "it would not add materially to our strengths and... would cause much trouble."30 In the second, on June 27, he claimed that in exchange for the small number of free Negroes which might be obtained in Kentucky "we will lose a much larger number of good white volunteers and give the secret enemies of the Government a weapon to use against it." He further informed the President that white residents of Kentucky were willing to serve instead of Negroes. "The enrollment of these Negroes," Burnside argued, "is what the loyal people fear will do... harm." Further, the General explained,

the army already was making excellent use of Kentucky's blacks for "labor, which we draft at our pleasure."31 On June 28, 1863, Lincoln forwarded Burnside's second dispatch to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton and noted on it, "I really think the within is worth considering."32 Kentucky's hostility delayed the enrolling of free Negroes until March 1, 1864, when Fry ordered the enrollment of all "colored persons held to service" of military age within the state. Meanwhile, the Commonwealth filled with whites the War Department's October, 1863 call for 300,000 men.33
In the closing months of 1863, President Lincoln was so sensitive to Kentucky public opinion that the state alone was temporarily exempted from the Comprehensive Draft bill passed by the Congress on March 3, 1863. Nevertheless, Governor Bramlette feared that the Army planned to recruit Negroes in the state. Writing to Lincoln on October 19, 1863, Bramlette requested the President to notify him if and when Kentucky blacks were to be enlisted. He hoped to avoid "the dire effects of such a movement upon the interests of my people."

A month later reports reached Frankfort that recruiting agents were soliciting black volunteers within the state. One farmer complained that "nine of my men were induced by a Federal officer to leave me... and join... the Government's Negro regiments."

Kentuckians were particularly outraged with the establishment of a Negro recruiting post at Paducah in January, 1864. Reports circulated throughout the state of a recruiter, Colonel Richard Cunningham, who was known for inducing blacks in western Kentucky to join his heavy artillery regiment. Not merely enrolling names of prospective soldiers, Cunningham led small squads of soldiers to individual farms at nightfall hoping to enlist the Negroes. Disregarding the owners' protests, the Colonel offered each slave a $300 bounty and freedom for himself and his family. Upon receiving word of Cunningham's actions, Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas, en route for Chattanooga, stopped at Frankfort. Thomas explained that no officer had been instructed by the War Department to enlist Negroes in the First Congressional District and that the Secretary of War would immediately be informed of Cunningham's activities.
During March, 1864, both the enrollment and enlistment of colored soldiers were in full operation throughout Kentucky. In Henderson, tobacco planter George Washington Smith protested the presence of "Abolition Emissaries" who were recruiting among the town's black population. Similarly, enrolling officers were unpopular in the vicinity of Glasgow where they could not obtain the "proper assistance" from the local citizens. Provost Marshal R. E. Jeter of Taylor County informed General Edward H. Hobson that "there will not be a man in our country" who will enroll black troops and it would "take 400 men to do it" successfully. In Greensburg and Cave City attempts to enlist Negroes created disturbances and in Hobson's words, "some little excitement." Provost marshals in both Danville and Lexington also commenced enrollments while armed Negro soldiers were stationed along the Western Railway in northern Tennessee and within the Commonwealth in Mayfield. Meanwhile, at Paducah, Colonel Cunningham's force conscripted "negro hands" aboard the steamer Carrie Jacobs. Violence ensued between the crewmen and the recruiting force.

One Kentuckian, Colonel Frank L. Wolford of the First Kentucky Cavalry (Union), openly revealed his bitter opposition to the enlisting of slaves in his state. Ever since the Battle of Mill Spring (January 31, 1862) Wolford's bravery had captured the admiration of his fellow soldiers and he became the symbol of "true Kentucky chivalry." Aware that recruiting agents had penetrated Kentucky, Wolford "grimly began to prepare for the worst." On March 10, 1864 the citizens of Lexington assembled in Melodeon Hall to honor the colonel by presenting him with gilded sword, sash, spurs, and matched pistols. After thanking the audience and Governor Bramlette, who was seated on the platform, Wolford denounced Lincoln's Negro soldier policy and urged residents of the Commonwealth to resist with force. According to the speaker, black soldiers were "an insult and a degradation" which violated Kentucky sovereignty. He argued that the Commonwealth should resist the "series of startling usurpations of power" and advised the people not to "keep step to the 'music of the Union' alongside of negro soldiers." Enrolling officers in Kentucky deserved to be imprisoned, Wolford continued, and he promised to hold his troops in readiness to arrest recruiting officers. Charging Lincoln with being a "traitor to the Constitution and the Union," Wolford said, "...
Wolford was proclaimed a hero. In Lexington Wickliffe's Observer and Reporter praised the sincerity of the officer's speech while the Louisville Journal called the address "not only manly and patriotic but statesmanlike." Prentice remarked that Wolford was "the only officer in the army who... has ventured to pay him [Lincoln] back in his own coin." Elder Aylette Raines commented that "a good deal of excitement" existed in Paris regarding Wolford's speech. If Negroes were to be enlisted, he added, "I advise resistance."

Sympathy for Wolford's oratory also existed in Winchester, where James H. Bush opposed Negro enlistments yet objected to any violent resistance by Kentuckians. He hoped that Governor Bramlette would carefully consider the colonel's advice. "But if he hesitates," declared Bush, "we will have a time of it in Kentucky."

Some voices, however, expressed shock at Wolford's harsh remarks. Mrs. Peter was "perfectly astounded" by his statements, which would embarrass her hometown "before the world." Although opposing colored troops, she believed that resistance to federal policy would "destroy all hopes of getting compensation for the slaves." Both the Frankfort Commonwealth and an anonymous resident of Paris accused Wolford of insubordination because as an army officer it was his duty to avoid comment on partisan issues. Lincoln supporter W. C. Goodloe condemned Wolford's "outrageous speeches" and requested Danville theologian Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge to counteract their "harm" and "influence" with a series of pro-Union speeches. The fears of the President's friends in Kentucky were relieved, however, when army authorities arrested Wolford, who was soon discharged from the service.
Bramlette was not won over, however, to the policy of colored troops' being recruited in the Commonwealth. On March 26, 1864, accompanied by former Senator Archibald Dixon and Hodges, he travelled to Washington personally to present his views. Lincoln listened to Bramlette's objections to Negro soldiers, then discussed slavery, emancipation, and the will of God at great length. Focusing on Kentucky's problem, the Chief Executive promised that blacks would not be enlisted in any county which furnished its quota of whites, while any Negroes who joined the army would be removed from the state for training. Bramlette agreed to allow the continued enrollment of Negroes and asked the President to assure him that recruitment in Kentucky would be conducted without "collateral embarrassments, disorders, and provocations."
At first Kentucky's Negro population showed great enthusiasm, and regiments of United States Colored Troops began to form throughout the state. A Lincoln supporter from Lebanon explained: "Negro enlistment goes on bravely here. They will all go in and the people take it quietly. If they are clothed, armed, and go into service out of Kentucky all will be well, but the man does not live who can turn them to profit if they are kept in this state." Seventy-two Negro volunteers from Mercer County enlisted in Lexington and marched through the streets "yelling as though in a dashing charge in battle," revealing their excitement over joining the army. In one two-day span 110 recruits travelled by train from Lexington to Louisville. Masters were hurt by the exodus of their slaves. A Louisville native complained of the loss of two of his blacks; "old Jepe," who volunteered, and another man, who was forcibly impressed into the army. Recruiting was particularly active in Henderson where several hundred slaves were enlisted in August, 1864. Almost a year later, George Washington Smith's slave, Sam, "concluded to get his freedom from the future ills of life by leaving home and joining the Negro troops." "He had been a faithful servant," remarked Smith, "and I sustained a great loss by his leaving."

But by the summer of 1864 fewer and fewer Negroes were attracted to the army by the lures of freedom, the excitement of a shining rifle, and a blue uniform. The novelty of leaving familiar surroundings had soon ceased and for many "being sent out of Kentucky was much like being sent to the unknown." To obtain troops, the military authorities resorted to seizures of slaves, a practice first instituted in western Kentucky by officers in December, 1863. According to General Chotelain this method of recruiting was "simple." Fully equipped companies of either Negro or white soldiers were sent throughout the state "with orders to bring in all colored men found of suitable age and of apparent good health and physique." Blacks rejected after an examination by an army surgeon were returned to their masters, while loyal owners of those accepted were given certificates redeemable for sums up to $300. Even this mode of drafting failed to penetrate the interior counties where, according to Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas, southern sympathizers and guerrillas prevented Negroes from proceeding to
In the minds of many Kentuckians, Negro troops were associated with the absence of law and order which characterized the state during much of the war. True, in certain instances overzealous officers had employed strong-arm tactics to seize Negroes. In June, 1864, complaints reached the President that violent means had been used in the vicinity of Henderson to impress blacks. Lincoln wired General George H. Thomas, who promised to investigate the reports. Abuses continued in Henderson. News that Lieutenant Colonel John Glenn, 120th U. S. Colored Infantry, was forcing Negroes into the army by torturing them reached Washington in early February, 1865. Lincoln, outraged by such news, sent Glenn a harsh dispatch censuring his actions. Later in the month an incident occurred in Louisville which created considerable excitement as patrol guards began "gobbling up all the Negroes, free and slave, that were caught . . . loose in the city." Such lawless recruiting led to the issuance of General Order No. 5 by the military authorities on February 27, 1865 authorizing punishments for acts of "force or menace to compel the enlistment of colored men."

Kentucky's slave system was further disturbed by persons from other states who entered the Commonwealth and induced blacks to leave. Usually the Negroes were transported to a state which offered recruits a sizable bounty. Such blacks when enlisted, were given a small portion of the bounty, while the "bounty scalper" kept the remainder. In other instances "substitute brokers" offered ex-slaves a minimal sum to serve in the army as substitutes for whites. Elder Raines remarked in the fall of 1864 that "Negro substitutes are in hot requisition" and that many draftees were "on the hunt for substitutes" making "Niggers . . . more precious than ever." An officer in a colored regiment, Captain Timothy Tubb, was dishonorably discharged after he was found guilty of sending Negro recruits across the Ohio River into Indiana, and selling them to a substitute broker.
Kentucky residents had additional reasons for objecting to black troops. The Lexington Observer and Reporter predicted the harm which the removal of thousands of Negroes from the fields would have on the state’s agriculture. George Washington Smith, writing in September, 1864, was apprehensive that his tobacco crop might be ruined by frost. “I am not more than half through with my crop,” he lamented, “yet the large number of slaves that have gone into the army will leave a good portion of the crop without sufficient hands.” Nuns at Nazareth, Kentucky, also experienced inconvenience due to the loss of their slaves to the federal army. Mother Columba regretted that “seven of our servant men” fled to join the army, leaving the Mother House without laborers.

The frequent criticisms of Negro soldiers by Kentuckians reveal prejudice and resentment on the part of many whites.

Writing from Knoxville, Tennessee, Lieutenant Henry Clay Weaver complained of the “Black, Greasy, dirty, impudent, ugly, mean, worthless, and self-important Negro soldiers” whom he had observed at Camp Nelson and in the Volunteer State. W. E. Hughes, editor of The Louisville Democrat, was disturbed by the presence of colored soldiers in the streets of Louisville. Reporting that their conduct was “becoming outrageous,” he urged that proper steps be taken or “our citizens will have to go armed to defend their lives.” Apparently Hughes’ readers took the editor’s advice. In several instances black soldiers were beaten, stabbed, and murdered by hostile whites. Intense hatred of Negro troops was also displayed by Louisville children who took delight in assaulting the blacks with stones and insults.
But some Kentuckians urged acceptance of administration policy. "No matter how disagreeable to our feelings," argued the editor of the Paris Western Citizen, "it is best not to rebel against the government." In St. Petersburg, Russia, emancipationist and United States minister Cassius M. Clay, upon receiving word of Negro enlistments, hoped that his wife would "soon become reconciled to the necessity" of the government's Negro policy. Similarly, L. A. Civi, editor of the Louisville Union Press suggested that residents of the Commonwealth be thankful that Negroes were permitted to serve in the army thus excluding 150,000 white men from the draft. A resident of Greensburg further explained in March, 1865, how "the clamor about the Negro is drying up." Although citizens of Green County had objected loudly to the prospect of colored troops, "they now find it is a fixed fact and that clamor and loud boasting don't pay."
JOHN DAVID SMITH MENTIONS POSSIBLE MOTIVES OF BLACKS JOINING UNION ARMY

JD Smith, 'Recruitment of negro soldiers in Ky 1863-65,' Register of Ky Hist Soc, 72, (Oct 1974)

Entrance into the U.S. Army probably satisfied a variety of needs for Kentucky's slaves. Aside from freedom, the army offered blacks the chance to fight the Confederacy and to seek revenge against some former masters and the slave system. Perhaps slaves believed that by becoming soldiers they would find an equality of opportunity and treatment, a new sense of worth and manhood, and a feeling of belonging. Like many whites, Kentucky Negroes may have been attracted to the Army by the lure of a bounty and the adventure and excitement associated with war. Certainly, the hope of better food, shelter, and clothing available to soldiers influenced many blacks to join the U.S. Colored forces.

RELATIONSHIP OF BLACK LOUISVILLE UNION WITH KNIGHTS OF LABOR IN MAY 1886 DEMONSTRATIONS


P 216/ Mr. J. S. Woods, pres. of Hod Carrier's Union, indicated that only 4 of 275 members of his union belong to the Knights of Labor. "The Knights of Labor sent a committee to wait upon our Union asking us to adopt their charter as our own. We inquired if they would concede the right of apprenticeship to our children and admit those of us who are mechanics to full membership in all of their different lodges, allow us to work upon the same scaffold together as their brother?" Woods continued: "What reply do you think that committee gave us? The chairman of that committee told our Union that these questions would be an after consideration. Isn't that proof that the Knights of Labor intend to use the colored man as a tool? Suppose our Union had accepted the proposition, without asking them for equal rights? /begin p 217/" We would have been duped into a second slavery. Further than that the Negroes are barred out of the machine shops, the factories, off of railroad engine and all other mechanical doors are closed against him controlled by the Knights of Labor. + "I asked Mr. Woods if the Hod Carrier's Union was a secret organization? 'No, sir,' was his answer, 'but the Knights of Labor and trade unions are. I have no objections to any secret orders that do justice to all nationalities alike.'" "There were several colored unions that did not turn our May 1. Among them the Teamster's Union, which number 200 and over; the Coachman's Union, 100 strong; Hotel Waiters, Butlers and a number of others..."
RELATIONSHIP OF BLACK LOUISVILLE UNION WITH KNIGHTS OF LABOR IN MAY 1886 DEMONSTRATIONS-INEQUALITY

martin e dann, ed, the black press, 1827-90, 1971, info taken from The Freeman, New York, May 15, 1886

"We are well aware of that and there is an agreement among all the colored Unions of this city to stand aloof from all white labor organizations that refuse to recognize us as their brother. These white organizations must concede all rights to the colored man themselves. When they do this then the Hod Carriers' Union will unite with them."

SUCCESS OF HENRY BOYD, A KY BLACK, IN CINCINNATI IN 1850s

w p dabney, cincinnati's colored citizens, 1970 (1926)

"A more useful Negro had for years been toiling upward in this city. This man was Henry Boyd, a Kentucky freeman, who had helped to overcome the prejudice against colored mechanics in that city by exhibiting the highest efficiency. He patented a corded bed which became very popular, especially in the Southwest. With this article he built up a creditable manufacturing business, employing from 18 to 25 white and colored men. He was, therefore, known as one of the desirable men of the city. Two things, however, seemingly interfered with his business. In the first place, certain white men who became jealous of his success, burned him out and the insurance companies refused to carry him any longer. Moreover, having to do chiefly with white men he was charged by his people with favoring the miscegenation of races. Whether or not this was well founded is not yet known, but his children and grandchildren did marry whites and were lost in the so-called superior race."
John H. Ayres was born in Paris, Ky, 1860. "He was business manager for many years of the National Chronicle, one of the leading weeklies in Kentucky." Left for Cincinnati in 1891.

Mother Columba Carrol to Mary Ann Murphy, dated Nazareth, Oct 22, 1864, in Mother Columba Carrol Letters, Nazareth Archival Center, Nazareth, Ky.

Mother Columba indicated that "... we lost seven of our servant men and .... there is no telling when all will be taken from us." Possibility is that these servants were black and recruited by Fed. army.
ISSUE OF ADMITTING BLACKS TO CATHOLIC HOSPITAL IN LOUISVILLE (1873) 1766

Sister Agnes Geraldine McGann, Mother Columba Carroll: Sister of Charity of Nazareth 1810-1878, 1973

p 12/ William Shakespeare Caldwell, the son of James H. Caldwell, a Shakespearean actor, and married to Mary Eliza Breckinridge, who died in 1867, and who had attended Nazareth Academy, Nelson Co, Ky, from 1838 to 1845, and xxxxxxx decided to give an anonymous gift for a hospital in Louisville, through the Nazareth sisters. In 1873 Mr. Caldwell wrote Mother Columba Carroll about his plans. Caldwell had made a lot of money in city gas companies. /begin p 17/ A big question in Caldwell's mind was whether or not blacks would be admitted to the hospital. He wrote Mother Columba in Dec. 1873: "'I have thought of making this gift to the poor and afflicted without reference to race or religion . . . There may be prejudices and difficulties too hard to overcome to render the best service for what the hospital is designed. Later on some provision may be made by the success of the work to provide for the poor blacks (which I desire.)'

'On week later Mother Columba received another letter with the message: 'I shall simt the transfer / hospital/ to "white poor" . . . ' Mr. Caldwell'

next two letters indicate that the matter was still on his mind. /begin p 18/

'Though my heart goes out to my black brethren / sic/ in memory of my dear old nurse and second mother, I have modeled in great part my trust after the Good Samaritan in Cincinnati, the noble work of a Protestant.+

'It is to be free to all religions, and the privilege given to any patient to send for his or her spiritual advisers . . . Nazareth is then the entire control and management of both the hospital and endowment, subject to the conditions, but I don't want to make any mistake, that may create confusion . . .

'I had a letter yesterday from the Bishop. Mr. James Speed had called to see him in relation to the exclusion of the blacks in my deed to Nazareth

ISSUE OF ADMITTING BLACKS TO CATHOLIC HOSPITAL IN LOUISVILLE (1873) 1766-A

sister agnes geraldine mcgann, mother columba carroll: sister of charity of nazareth 1810-1878, 1973

/p 18 cont'd/ of the Hospital . . . I fear that he may have an idea I am hard in my action, but he is mistaken.+

'Sound common sense and good judgment too convince me that I am right in limiting the capacity of SS. Mary & Elizabeth to whites as a matter of right. This unfortunate subject of the relation of the races in this country is now a political one, this added to the prejudice as old as the settlement of the country between the master and servile caste makes it most difficult if not an impossible problem to solve, better therefore keep the races apart even in charitable houses, for fear of violating charity by collision hereafter.+

'You may make provision in the proceeds of SS. Mary & Elizabeth's for the negroes for I know that I have nothing but love in my heart for them. I was brought up with them and love them . . ." /p 18n/ The restrictions on blacks in the hospital were removed in 1945.
t james, auto biog of rev. thomas james, 1975 (1887) in 1804

p 3/ Born a slave in New York, separated from parents while a child, sold about three times, ran away, along the Erie Canal, then being dug. Crossed into Canada. Worked from time to time in N Y. Learned to read. "I was taught to read by Mr. Freeman, who had opened a Sunday-school of his own for colored youths, on West Main street, or Buffalo street, as it was then called. But my self-education advanced fastest in the warehouse during the long winter and spring months, when the canal was closed and my only work consisted of chores about the place and at my employer's residence." Clerks helped him in his studies. Joined African Methodist Episcopal Society in 1823. Taught at school for "colored children" and took up preaching 1829. "I had been called Tom as a Slave, and they called me Jim at the warehouse. I put both together when I reached manhood, and was ordained as Rev. Thomas James." Became interested in abolition movement. In 1862 James went to Louisville, to work for the AMA. Went to work for the Fed Govt in Louisville as soon as he got there.

s g howe, report to the freedmen's inquiry commission 1864; the refugees from slavery in canada west, 1969 (1864)

p 67/ Howe reported from an interview: "At another house, saw an old lady, who said she was from Kentucky, where she had been free, but her husband was a slave. She said she had worked harder in Canada, trying to get a start, than she ever did in Kentucky. She thought the climate not so healthy as that of Kentucky, especially for children, who took colds, and were somehow carried off, she said, very fast. She declared that she would go back to the old home when freedom was established in the States." Howe stopped at a tavern kept by a Frenchman: "Here were two fugitives from Kentucky. One of them said he had been in the place six years, and worked out as a laborer, getting 50 cents a day for common work, 62½ cents for cutting corn, and $1 a day for harvesting, and found. He said he could not lay by any thing, having a wife and three children to support. He was anxious to have a place of his own, he said, but had no means to buy one. His children did not go to school at all, for there was no school for colored children, and the whites would not permit his children to go to their school."
"I was born in Maysville, Ky. I got here last Tuesday evening, and spend the Fourth of July in Canada. I felt as big and free as any man could feel, and I worked part of the day for my own benefit: I guess my master's time is out. Seventeen came away in the same gang that I did."

I returned to Rochester in 1856, and took charge of the colored church in this city. In 1862 I received an appointment from the American Missionary Society to labor among the colored people of Tennessee and Louisiana, but I never reached either of these states. I left Rochester with my daughter, and reported at St. Louis, where I received orders to proceed to Louisville, Kentucky. On the train, between St. Louis and Louisville, a party of forty Missouri ruffians entered the car at an intermediate station, and threatened to throw me and my daughter off the train. They robbed me of my watch. The conductor undertook to protect us, but, finding it out of his power, brought a number of Government officers and passengers from the next car to our assistance. At Louisville the government took me out of the hands of the Missionary Society to take charge of freed and refugee blacks, to visit the prisons of that commonwealth, and to set free all colored persons found confined without charge of crime. I served first under the orders of General Burbridge. [Stephen G. Burbridge], and then under those of
The homeless colored people, for whom I was to care, were gathered in a camp covering ten acres of ground on the outskirts of the city. They were housed in light buildings, and supplied with rations from the commissary stores. Nearly all the persons in the camp were women and children, for the colored men were sworn into the United States service as soldiers as fast as they came in.

My first duty, after arranging the affairs of the camp, was to visit the slave pens, of which there were five in the city. The largest, known as Garrison's, was located on Market Street, and to that I made my first visit. When I entered it, and was about to make a thorough inspection of it, Garrison stopped me with the insolent remark, "I guess no nigger will go over me in this pen." I showed him my orders, whereupon he asked time to consult the mayor. He started for the entrance, but was stopped by the guard I had stationed there. I told him he would not leave the pen until I had gone through every part of it. "So," said I, "throw open your doors, or I will put you under arrest." I found hidden away in that pen 260 colored persons, part of them in irons. I took them all to my camp, and they were free. I next called at Otterman's pen on Second Street, from which also I took a large number of slaves. A third large pen was named Clark's, and there were two smaller ones besides. I liberated the slaves in all of them. One morning it was reported to me that a slave...
daybreak. I took a squad of soldiers with me to the place, and demanded the surrender of the blacks. The clerk said there were none in the house. Their owners had gone off with "the boys" at daybreak. I answered that I could take no man's word in such a case, but must see for myself. When I was about to begin the search, a colored man secretly gave me the number of the room the men were in. The room was locked, and the porter refused to give up the keys. A threat to place him under arrest brought him to reason, and I found the colored men inside, as I anticipated. One of them, an old man, who sat with his face between his hands, said as I entered: "So'thin' tole me last night that so'thin' was a goin' to happen to me." That very day I mustered the nine men into the service of the government, and that made them free men.

So much anger was excited by these proceedings, that the mayor and common council of Louisville visited General Burbage at his headquarters, and warned him that if I was not sent away within forty-eight hours my life would pay the forfeit. The General sternly answered them: "If James is killed, I will hold responsible for the act every man who fills an office under your city government. I will hang them all higher than Haman was hung, and I have 15,000 troops behind me to carry out the order. Your only salvation lies in protecting this colored man's life." During my first year and a half at Louisville, a guard was stationed at the door of my room every night, as a necessary precaution in view of the threats of violence of which I was the object. One night I received a suggestive hint of the treatment the rebel sympathizers had in store for me should I chance to fall into their hands. A party of them approached the house where I
cut off, and as I ran for the rear alley I discovered that avenue also guarded by a squad of my enemies. As a last resort I jumped a side fence, and stole along until out of sight and hearing of the enemy. Making my way to the house of a colored man named White, I exchanged my uniform for an old suit of his, and then, sallying forth, mingled with the rebel party, to learn if possible, the nature of their intentions. Not finding me, and not having noticed my escape, they concluded that they must have been misinformed as to my lodging place for that night. Leaving the locality they proceeded to the house of another friend of mine, named Bridle, whose home was on Tenth street. After vainly searching every room in Bridle's house, they dispersed with the threat that if they got me I should hang to the nearest lamp-post. For a long time after I was placed in charge of the camp, I was forced to forbid the display of lights in any of the buildings at night, for fear of drawing the fire of rebel bush-whackers. All the fugitives in the camp made their beds on the floor, to escape danger from rifle balls fired through the thin siding of the frame structures.

I established a Sunday and a day school in my camp and held religious services twice a week as well as on Sundays. I was ordered by General Palmer to marry every colored woman that came into camp to a soldier unless she objected to such a proceeding. The ceremony was a mere form to secure the freedom of the female colored refugees; for Congress had passed a law giving freedom to the wives and children of all colored soldiers and sailors in the service of the government. The emancipation proclamation, applying as it did only to states in rebellion, failed to meet the case of slaves in Kentucky, and we were obliged to resort to this ruse to escape the necessity of giving up to their masters many of the runaway slave women and children who flocked to our camp.
I had a contest of this kind with a slave trader known as Bill Hurd. He demanded the surrender of a colored woman in my camp who claimed her freedom on the plea that her husband had enlisted in the federal army. She wished to go to Cincinnati, and General Palmer, giving me a railway pass for her, cautioned me to see her on board the cars for the North before I left her. At the levee I saw Hurd and a policeman, and suspecting that they intended a rescue, I left the girl with the guard at the river and returned to the general for a detail of one or more men. During my absence Hurd claimed the woman from the guard and the latter brought all the parties to the provost marshal's headquarters, although I had directed him to report to General Palmer with the woman in case of trouble; for I feared that the provost marshal's sympathies were on the slave owner's side. I met Hurd, the policeman and the woman at the corner of Sixth and Green streets and halted them. Hurd said the provost marshal had decided that she was his property. I answered—what I had just learned—that the provost marshal was not at his headquarters and that his subordinate had no authority to decide such a case. I said further that I had orders to take the party before General Palmer and proposed to do it. They saw it was not prudent to resist, as I had a guard to enforce the order. When the parties were heard before the general, Hurd said the girl had obtained her freedom and a pass by false pretences. She was his property; he had paid $500 for her; she was single when he bought her and she had not married since. Therefore she could claim no rights under the law giving freedom to the wives of colored soldiers. The general answered that the charge of false pretences was a criminal one and the woman would be held for trial upon it. "But," said Hurd, "she is my property and I want her." "No," answered the general, "we keep our own prisoners." The general said to me privately, after Hurd was gone: "The woman has a husband in our service and I know it; but never mind that. We'll beat these rebels at their own game." Hurd hung about headquarters two or three days until General Palmer said finally: "I have no time to try this case; take it before the provost marshal." The latter, who had been given
which still further tortured the slave trader, General Dodge said to me one day: "James, bring Mary to my headquarters, supply her with rations, have a guard ready, and call Hurd as a witness." When the slave trader had made his statement to the same effect as before, General Dodge delivered judgment in the following words: "Hurd, you are an honest man. It is a clear case. All I have to do, Mary, is to sentence you to keep away from this department during the remainder of the present war. James, take her across the river and see her on board the cars." "But, general," whined Hurd, "that won't do. I shall lose her services if you send her north." "You have nothing to do with it; you are only a witness in this case," answered the general. I carried out the order strictly, to remain with Mary until the cars started; and under the protection of a file of guards, she was soon placed on the train en route to Cincinnati.

Among the slaves I rescued and brought to the refugee camp was a girl named Laura, who had been locked up by her mistress in a cellar and left to remain there two days and as many nights without food or drink. Two refugee slave women who were seen by their master making toward my camp, and calling upon a policeman he had them seized and taken to the house of his brother-in-law on Washington street. When the facts were reported to me, I took a squad of guards to the house and rescued them. As I came out of the house with the slave women, their master asked me: "What are you going to do with them?" I answered that they would probably take care of themselves. He protested that he had always used the runaway women well, and appealing to one of them, asked: "Have I not, Angelina?" I directed the woman to answer the question, saying that she had as good a right to speak as he had, and that I would protect her in that right. She then said: "He tied my dress over my head Sunday and whipped me for refusing to carry victuals to the bushwhackers and guerillas in the woods." I brought the women to camp, and soon afterwards sent them north to find homes.
REV T. JAMES INJURED BY REBEL; ARM PARTIALLY PARALIZED, DURING C.W.
IN LOUISVILLE

thomas james, autobiog thos james, 1975 (1887)

Now, however, I received a blow, the effects of which I shall carry to my grave. General Palmer sent me to the shop of a blacksmith who was suspected of bushwhacking, with an order requiring the latter to report at headquarters. The rebel, who was a powerful man, raised a short iron bar as I entered and aimed a savage blow at my head. By an instinctive movement I saved my life, but the blow fell on my neck and shoulders, and I was for a long time afterwards disabled by the injury. My right hand remains partially paralyzed and almost wholly useless to this day.

REV T. JAMES VIEWED MUCH SADNESS IN LOUISVILLE REFUGEE CAMP (C W)

t james, autobiog thos james, 1975 (1887)

Many a sad scene I witnessed at my camp of colored refugees in Louisville. There was the mother bereaved of her children, who had been sold and sent farther South lest they should escape in the general rush for the federal lines and freedom; children, orphaned in fact if not in name, for separation from parents among the colored people in those days left no hope of reunion this side the grave; wives forever parted from their husbands, and husbands who might never hope to catch again the brightening eye and the welcoming smile of the helpmates whose hearts God and nature had joined to theirs. Such recollections come fresh to me when with trembling voice I sing the old familiar song of anti-slavery days:

Oh deep was the anguish of the slave mother's heart
When called from her darling forever to part;
So grieved that lone mother, that broken-hearted mother
in sorrow and woe.

The child was borne off to a far-distant clime
While the mother stood in anguish spying.
I remained at Louisville a little over three years, staying for some months after the war when in charge of the colored camp, the hospital, dispensary and government stores. In 1865 the colored people of Kentucky were called upon for the first time to celebrate the Fourth of July. I spoke to General Palmer about it, and he, approving the idea, issued a proclamation for the purpose. There was but a single voice raised against it, and that, strange as it may seem, was the voice of a colored Baptist preacher named Adams. But the slave holders had always pursued the policy of buying over to their interest a few unworthy colored ministers, who to serve their own ends, were ready to do the bidding of their masters. I had three regiments of colored troops ordered out to protect the colored people in their celebration. General Palmer and Brisbane and Colonel Klinek addressed us, and General Palmer, for our amusement, read a number of abusive anonymous letters he had received, because of his course in this and other matters where the interests of the colored people were concerned. I cannot close this fragmentary history of my camp without mentioning the gloom which hung over it during the early part of that very year. Sickness broke out among the refugee women and children, and many perished by it. I sent out seven corpses in one day, and the scenes I witnessed during that visitation of disease will never fade from my recollection.
In 1868 James was "elected general superintendent and missionary agent by the General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Connection. He went to Washington and took part "in the peaceful political revolution which placed the local government of the District of Columbia in loyal hands. In 1878 I was appointed by Bishop Wayman a missionary preacher for the colored churches of Ohio." A crowd ran him out of Drake Co. Ohio; later worked in Kansas as part of Topeka Relief Assn helping refugees.

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**THE BEREAVED MOTHER.**

Oh! deep was the anguish of the slave mother's heart,  
When called from her darling for ever to part;  
So grieved that lone mother, that heart-broken mother,  
In sorrow and woe.

The lash of the master her deep sorrows mock,  
While the child of her bosom is sold on the block;  
Yet loud shrieked that mother, poor heart-broken mother,  
In sorrow and woe.

The babe in return, for its fond mother cries,  
While the sound of their wailings together arise;  
They shriek for each other, the child and the mother,  
In sorrow and woe.

The harsh auctioneer, to sympathy cold,  
Tears the babe from its mother and sells it for gold,  
While the infant and mother loud shriek for each other,  
In sorrow and woe.

At last came the parting of mother and child—  
Her brain reeled with madness—that mother was wild;  
Then the lash could not smother the shrieks of that mother  
Of sorrow and woe.

The child was borne off to a far distant clime,  
While the mother was left in anguish to pine;  
But reason departed, and she sank broken-hearted,  
In sorrow and woe.

That poor mourning mother, of reason bereft,  
Soon ended her sorrows and sank cold in death:  
Thus died that slave mother, poor heart-broken mother,  
In sorrow and woe.
HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF KENTUCKY.
Louisville, Kentucky, July 8th, 1865.

Rev. Thomas James, now of the Military Police of this Department, is here-
by continued in charge of the HOME FOR THE COLORED REFUGEES, in
the City of Louisville. His authority to manage the same, subject to the follow-
ing and such other rules as may hereafter be prescribed, is to be regarded as
only subordinate to the Headquarters of the Department.

RULES OF REFUGEE CAMP IN LOUISVILLE IN C W UNDER REV T. JAMES

1. Said Thomas James will have charge of the Home and of all the property
and furniture therein, and of all the property which may be committed to his
care by freed men and women.

2. He will receive into the house only such persons as need temporary as-
   stance, will give all such whatever advice or assistance in finding homes and
   employment that may be in his power. He will superintend contracts they may
   make for employment or service, and encourage all to industry and good con-
   duct.

3. No guards or other persons will be allowed to enter said house without his
   permission.

4. Said James is authorized and directed to establish a Sabbath and Day School
   in connection with said house, and to make and enforce proper rules for the
government of said schools.

5. He will make such rules for the government of the house and the conduct
   of the inmates as he may deem proper with reference to police, and will read
his rules every Sabbath day once to the occupants of the house.

6. Said Thomas James will keep a record of the number of men, women and
   children received into the house each day. No. Sick. No. Deaths. No. dis-
   charged and No. remaining over, and such other facts as will give a correct view
   of his operations.
ALFRED T. JONES RAN AWAY TO CANADA AFTER HOPING TO PURCHASE FREEDOM 1783

b drew, north side slavery; refugee; narrative of fugitives, 1968 (1856), (interview in June 1855, London, Canada)  

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ALFRED T. JONES.

I keep an apothecary shop on Ridout street. I belonged in Madison Co., Ky. I have made an arrangement with my master to purchase my freedom for $350. This was in 1833, when I was twenty-three years old. But before the business was completed, I learned that my master was negotiating with another party to sell me for $400. Upon this, I wrote for myself a pass — it was not spelled correctly, but nobody there supposed that a slave could write at all. I had to exhibit it but once on my way.

I stopped a month at St. Catharine's, then came to London, and have remained here ever since.

The people from the old country, being many of them unaccustomed to colored people, have some strange ideas respecting us: a sort of "second-hand prejudice," as Ward calls it. The majority of the people of color who come over here are not such as give a very good idea of what the people of color really are. They are not refined and educated. But as some years are passed since the colored men began to come in, there is an improvement perceptible.

There are colored people employed in this city in almost all the mechanic arts; also in grocery and provision stores, etc. Many are succeeding well, are buying houses, speculating in lands, and some are living on the interest of their money.

I expect to go to England shortly on a suit at law involving my title to a large property on Dundas street, valued at $45,000. The case has been through chancery in the provincial court, and I have now appealed to the House of Lords. I am winding up my business preparatory to leaving.

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ABY B. JONES (MALE) DESCRIBES SLAVERY IN KY: LIFE IN CANADA (Madison Co) 1784

benj drew, north side view of slaver, refugee; narratives of fugitives, 1968 (1856) (Interview June 1855, London, Canada)  

p. 149/  

ABY B. JONES.

I was formerly a field hand in Madison Co., Ky., — remained there until thirty years of age. My treatment was not harsh, — nor was there any hard treatment in the neighborhood.

My brother was set free in this way: his master was a millwright, and told him if he would serve him so many years he would set him free. He did so, — mean-

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while building a large merchant mill, and employing my brother in it. My brother was subsequently employed in this mill as a miller and received high wages, his employer thinking there never was such a man, from his trustworthiness and the general confidence he could repose in him. His good opportunities enabled him to advance nearly money enough to free himself and a younger brother, — the deficiency we borrowed, and afterward paid up. The sum paid for the two was seven hundred dollars; our master favoring us in the proceeds.

Yet, although I was nominally free, and had free papers, I did not consider myself free in the eye of the law: the freedom was limited. The papers said I was to have as much liberty as was allowed to a free man of color. I saw at once that I was not really free: that there was a distinction made. I wished then to emigrate to some place where I could be really a free man.

I heard that in Canada colored men were free; therefore I came here, and am only sorry to say that I did not come years before I did.

When I came here I was not worth one cent. I neither begged nor received a farthing of money. I went to work at once, and, by the blessing of the Lord, I was prospered, and have placed my family beyond the reach of want.

I am satisfied, that any colored man coming to Canada, can, in a few years, accumulate property to give himself and family a living.
SARAH JACKSON: ALLOWED TO LEAVE FOR FREEDOM, DESPISED SLAVERY

I belonged to a bachelor, who said I might come away with my three children if I chose. I always desired to come to a free State; and I could not bear the idea of my children's being slaves. He did not think I really would leave, although he said I might. There was some opposition from his relatives,—they told me they thought I was mighty foolish to come away from a good master. I thought I was n't foolish, considering I had served all my days, and did not feel safe at night: not knowing whom I might belong to in the morning. It is a great heaviness on a person's mind to be a slave. It never looked right to see people taken and chained in a gang to be driven off. I never could bear to see my own color all fastened together to go to such a place as down the river. I used to go in the house and shut myself up. I did not know how long before it would be my own fate. I had just enough to pay my way here. I expect to work for a living, and I am trying to get along. I am making more here than I ever did in a slave State.
HENRY MOREHEAD DESCRIBES: ESCAPE, OBJECTIONS TO SLAVERY, CONDITIONS IN CANADA

Benj drew, north side slavery; refugee; narrative of fugitives, 1968 (1856), (interview in London, Canada, June 1855)

...I came from Louisville, Ky., where I was born and bred a slave. The colored people have not sent their children to school in London, so generally as desirable, for this reason. The fugitives who come to this country for freedom from bondage, have been kept down in such a manner, that these privileges granted to them seem somewhat strange, and they have to take some time to consider whether they shall send their children to school with the white children or not. This free school is something so unusual to them, that they can't realize it, until they become naturalized to the country. Although they know they are free, they have a kind of timidity about them, so that they cannot mingle with the whites of this country, as they would if they had been free born. Yet the day, I believe is fast approaching, when the people of color will see that they stand in their own light by not sending their children to school. The time is now, when the colored men begin to see that it is the want of education which has kept them in bondage so long.

My owners used to object to my going to school, saying that I could learn rascality enough without it— that “niggers” going to school would only teach them rascality. I always felt injured when a slave and when free, at the use of that word. This dampened my feelings for getting learning, somewhat, but I went to a night school, at my own expense of course, to learn to spell and to read. My owners found it out, and set policemen to break the school up. This put an end to my schooling—that was all the schooling I ever had. I have looked at it, and have come to the conclusion, that it is best that colored people should teach their children to read and to write, in order that they may know the ways of the world.

I left slavery a little more than a year ago. I brought my wife and three children with me, and had not enough to bring us through. My owners did not know that we were coming. I left because they were...
J C BROWN DESCRIBES TRIALS, TRIBULATIONS IN KY, FREE AND SLAVE 1786

benj drew, north side slavery; refugee; narra of fugitives, 1968 (1856),
(interview in Chatham, Canada, 1855)

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J. C. BROWN.

I was born in Frederick county, Va. My father was a white man; my mother a mixed blood. She was given away by a man named N—— to a man named B——, so that she could not appear at a court against N. on a suit for her freedom and her three children. B. took her to Kentucky; therefore, myself and brother and sister remained slaves with N. He in a short time removed to Kentucky. At fifteen, I was hired to Capt. George Smith, who volunteered to go to Tippecanoe. I was fifer in his company. The freedom of myself, Moses, and some others was promised us on our return. But the last time I saw Moses, he was bowed down in hellish slavery in Little Rock, Ark., and I had the misfortune to have to pay N. eighteen hundred dollars for my freedom——my step-father and mother hiring my time for six years. Neal was captain of the Silver Greys, who did not go to war, being over forty-five,—they reported whether any negroes were disaffixed, and strong suspicion fell on me——but it was false. At that time there were many colored people joined in a conspiracy to get their freedom, and wore as a mark, a plait in the hair over the left eye. This was discovered,——many were whipped, and had the plait cut off. The conspiracy extended over three hundred miles, from Maysville to Henderson.

A free colored man named Freeribbon, who lived four miles from Louisville, was suspected as the author of this conspiracy. F., his wife and daughter kept an inn, and he had a blacksmith's shop to accommodate with farriery those who stopped with him. They searched the shop,—under it they found old guns, butcher-knives, and other implements for killing. He was put in jail and condemned to be hung,—but having many friends, he was reprieved on condition that he should be sent to some Spanish mine, and there remain the rest of his days. He was sent to the mines. After twenty years, a white man in the neighborhood committed murder. Under the gallows he confessed that he had been employed by three near neighbors of Freeribbon, and that they paid him for putting the implements under F.'s floor. One of the three was a con-

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gressman, one a colonel, one a gentleman. In consequence of their crime, F. had been sent off, and his fine farm confiscated. When this was made known, the court sent for Freeribbon. He came back, and I saw him—a heart-broken man. The colonel afterward poisoned himself.

After I became a free man, I carried on the mason business in Bardstown, Shelbyville, and Louisville. My misfortunes now began. I had been used well as a slave, for my mistress was my aunt. I was an object of jealousy to the white mechanics, because I was more successful in getting jobs. They threatened me,

unless I left the neighborhood, to break every bone in my body. I was then building a large building for Capt. Nelson. He said he would see M—— leader of my enemies, and stop their proceedings; but M—— still continued his threats. About the same time, I received a letter, a writing from Tillman. This is the 10th of this month. I had been married about two years. In 1819, under the advice of Strawford Gowen and Benjamin Lundy, I was sent to Texas to find shelter and suitable situations for free people of color. Meeting there with Mr. Black or Blake, then a member of the council of that colony, he told me that Texas was to be a great cotton and sugar-growing country, and would one day be annexed to the United States. He said a majority of the council were opposed to having a free colored settlement in Texas, and it would be useless for me to look further. I then returned to Louisville, and in a short time removed with my family to Cincinnati.

At this time, a white man of a Quaker family, named Hethers, was teaching colored children in Louisville. The slaveholders being very suspicious of him, hired a colored barber named Tillman, a slave, to get Hethers into his shop and ask him to write a free paper. Capt. T—— G—— and S—— B—— concealed themselves under the counter in Tillman's shop. Hethers came in, and the coloured man asked him his charge for writing a free paper to come to Canada. He told him, if he was
benj drew, north side slavery; refugee; narr of fugitives, 1868(1856),
(Interview in Chatham, Canada, 1855)

Hethers told him "Yes, but he had better call on J. C. Brown, in Cincinnati, who was, he understood, a very clever man, and could give him instructions." So I got into a scrape without knowing it.

It was a few days after that, I went to Louisville to settle up some business. Hethers had been seized by the two white men and was now in jail. The night I got down, a man named Shaw came to me, and told me that some gentlemen wanted to see me in Dr. Talbot's shop. I went there; M—, my old enemy was there. He asked me who raised me? "Squire Neal of Shelby." "You are a sample of some of his raising. Do you know what we sent for you for?" "I do not." He then raised an oil cloth, and showed pistols, bowie-knives, ropes, and cow-hides. Said he, "this is what we sent for you for; and I'll tell you what you are to do. To-morrow morning at 10 o'clock, you are to go to court, where Hethers is to be tried, and testify that Hethers is writing free passes for our niggers to be taken to you, and for you to forward to Canada." I denied that it was so, and told them I didn't know Hethers. "Take me to the jail and let Hethers see me, and if he says he ever saw me or knew me, turn the key upon me and give me a trial." M— was then a Methodist preacher, and is yet. He said, "Hear him,—he wants to be tried, like a white man! but we have a trial for you in Bullock's woods." He then told me if I failed to appear and testify as they said, I should be taken to the woods at night, then tied up and receive nine hundred lashes: one hundred apiece from nine of them. They consulted Dr. T—, as to whether I could take the nine hundred blows and live. He felt of my body and said I was a man of great muscle,—he told them where to chalk me about the shoulders, and so as to avoid the kidneys. I said to them, "Gentlemen, I have a wife and two children, and of what use can I be to take care of them after you have given me nine hundred lashes?" M— said, "That's their look-out, not ours." They dismissed me with the injunction that I should attend the court. I did not attend it, believing that I had many friends in Louisville who would not let them use me so.

Just after dark, on the evening after the court, I was at my mother-in-law's with my family, and was invited to stop to supper. Knowing that I drank water,

the old lady was going to the pump, when she met a mob of white men coming. One of them told her to run to the house and tell me to flee for my life, or my life would be taken. She fainted and fell. While I sat at the table, fearing that all was not right, I came down to the foot of the stairs, and there saw three or four white-hatted gentlemen looking up the stairs, and many others behind them. I walked out through them bareheaded—they did not recognize me—I heard them say, "Hush! hush!" to each other as I passed through the crowd. I got to a steamboat landing, where were several boats going next day, and went on board a Pittsburg boat bound to Cincinnati. I told my situation to a man, who then locked me up in a state-room. Next morning, the slaveholders went aboard all the boats and ordered them not to take me out of the city. We left next morning at 9 o'clock, Capt. Y— not knowing that I was on board.

After we got twelve miles from Louisville, they rang the bell for someone to run their fire. Not wishing but went for the captain. He came and said, "I can get more money by running back to Louisville, than I can by going to Pittsburg." I told him he had better do it. He said, "No insolence!" and then told a young man, a deck hand, to "camp me." That fellow's back soon felt the deck, and I made for the captain; he rang the bell, and called help, who seized me, and chained me to the captain-bar, where I was kept nearly all the distance to Cincinnati. I got a warrant for false imprisonment against Capt. Y. It was to be served by one Doty, but he always pretended he never could catch him. I got no recompense nor justice for that treatment.

Three years after this affair, the law of 1804, known as the Ohio black law, was revived in that State, and enforced. By this law, every colored man was to give bonds in $500 not to become a town charge, and to find bonds also for his heirs. No one could employ a colored man or colored woman to do any kind of labor,
J C BROWN DESCRIBES TRIALS, TRIBULATIONS IN KY, FREE & SLAVE

benj drew, north side slavery; refugee; narra fo fugitives, 1968 (1856)
(interview in Chatham, Canada, 1855)

and refused to give bonds. The colored people had a meeting, and talked about a court of appeals to test the law. Some talked of going to Texas,—we knew not what to do: we, were sore perplexed. I spoke to them of Canada, and we formed a Colonization Society, of which I was President. I wrote for the Board to Sir John Colborne, at Little York, now Toronto, to know if we could find in Canada an asylum for ourselves, our wives, and children. Two members of the Board went with the letter to Toronto, and were well received by Sir John. He wrote us to remove into Canada with our wives and children, if we chose to do so; and that so long as we remained true and loyal subjects, we should have every privilege extended to us that was enjoyed by any of her majesty's subjects, no distinction being made on account of color. I have his letter now in my possession—his memorable words. Mr. Hammonds, our friend, editor of a daily paper in Cincinnati, published the letter at my request. The publication made an excitement in the corporation of Cincinnati. Two or three of us, including myself, were sent for by the city government, next day. The reason was, as Mr. Hotchkiss said, that I, as one of the leading spirits, was doing a great deal of mischief; for every one that I took off to Canada was a sword drawn against the United States. At this time Cincinnati was full of women, without husbands, and their children. These were sent there by planters from Louisiana and Mississippi, and some from Tennessee, who had now got fortunes, and had found that white women could live in those States. In consequence, they had sent their slave-wives and children to Cincinnati, and set them free. They had begun to come about the close of the last war. Cincinnati was the great point for them. I was agent of a man who had eighteen of these headless families in one house. I asked the Mayor, "Now that they have deprived us of work, who is to go begging for these people, to keep them alive?" He said they were taking steps to have the law repealed, and wished me to stay any action about sending people to Canada.

I paid no attention to what he told me, and sent three wagon loads out to Sandusky next day. In three or four weeks I and my family left—came to Sandusky—thence I took a boat, the "Gov. Cass," and went to Little York, where I entered into a contract with the Canada Company, for a township of land, agreeing to

pay $6,000 a year, for ten years. It was the township of Biddulph. The black law had now become inoperative in Cincinnati, and the colored people wrote me, that they could now walk without being pushed off the side-walks, were well used, and were living in clover. Of 2,700 who were to have come, only 460 came out. They settled promiscuously in the province, buying land here and there, and getting work. Only five or six families of them settled in Biddulph. Three weeks after they settled, fifteen families from Boston, Mass., met them there, and settled there, where they remain. We only paid for 1,220 acres, which was divided, from 25 to 50 acres to a family. Numbers, who came afterward, had to leave for other places. These families in Biddulph are now independent. Their lands now will sell at forty to fifty dollars an acre: it cost one dollar and fifty cents. I settled in Toronto, where I could have some means of making myself useful for them among the white people, and where my trade was good.

nati, where I remained thirteen months. I went on to Louisville, to see my old mother. This was some six or seven years from the M—scrape. I saw my old mother, and just as I was taking a seat at the table, an officer popped into the room, shook hands with me, and said he wanted to speak with me. I went into another room with him—he put his hand on my shoulder, and said, "You are my prisoner." I was put in jail, charged with running off large quantities of slaves: my accuser, Mr. G—D—, said I had crossed the river at Utica, Charleston, and Madison, with large droves of slaves. The third day I wrote an advertisement for Mr. Penn's paper, offering $100 reward for any credible evidence of my having done as was alleged. The court released me on $2,500 bail: two persons recognized in $1,000 each, and I was taken for the $500. On the evening of the day I gave the bonds, three men came out at me, and drew pistols, which they fired at the ground about my feet: this my friends supposed was to frighten me.
I returned to Cincinnati. My wife had seen so much of my persecution, that she was more anxious to return to Canada than she had been to leave it. We returned to Toronto, and I was a gunner there in the Patriot war. I removed to Dawn, and was elected one of the trustees of the school in that place. From Dawn I came to Chatham about 1849. Chatham was then a little village of frame buildings and log cabins. There were then no masons, bricklayers, or plasterers among the colored men. I went for some, and got them here, and we are now able to build a house from the stump. We can cut the timber and make the brick. The greater part of the bricklaying and plastering is in the hands of the colored mechanics. There are four churches of colored people which are well filled. We have separate schools which are tolerably well attended—the Sunday school is very numerously attended. There are three charitable societies of men, and two of women, which do much good, relieving the wants of the sick and destitute. There is a great deal of property owned here by the colored people: their number has doubled in two years, mainly by immigration, which continues still—especially of fugitive slaves—sometimes twenty in one day. Many agents have come here, nominally to assist the fugitives, but some of them have not been so honest as one could wish. They collected money, but the fugitives did not get it. However, what money the fugitives have received, has been an injury, rather than a benefit. I have seen cases where the money would have done good, if rightly distributed.

Our children growing up in this country, and not having the fear of any white man, and being taught to read and write, will grow up entirely different from their fathers,—of more benefit to themselves, of more benefit to the government, and will be more able to set good examples to the rising generation. Intelligent parents will raise up intelligent children.

Slavery disarms a man of virtue,—of every thing: it prevents his being a man. Anticipation is what we live for,—it makes us anxious to improve ourselves and our children; but the slave anticipates nothing, but the setting of the sun, or the passage of some law to curtail what little of privilege he possesses. The effects of slavery are perceptible here in our courts. I have seen fugitives, brought as witnesses, afraid to testify against a white man. This is a part of the horrid effects of slavery. The younger ones are better than this. They grow up without slavish fear: they know nothing about it.
HENRY CRAWHION DESCRIBES BEING SOLD TO SC: RETURN TO LOUISVILLE, ESCAPE 1787

HENRY CRAWHION.

Was born in Louisville, Ky. As soon as able to work, I was hired out on a steamboat, and have mainly followed steamboating. Master died, and I remained with my mistress: young master being a sporting character, I had to be sold to pay his debts. Was sold to a trader in L. who took me to South Carolina, where I was employed three months to take care of race-horses. While there, I undertook to escape. I packed up in a carpet-bag, went to depot, and bought a ticket for Montgomery. A black man suspected me, because I had changed my trunk for the carpet-bag,— they came to the cars and took me out. They put me in chains, and kept me confined in the stable about two months; then I found a man who would buy me and take me to Louisville. I was put in the trader's yard, but nobody wants to buy out of the yard, because they think they are put in for some fault. I was then taken down to Port Gibson, Miss., and traded off for fifteen mules. I stayed there three weeks, and was then taken to Baton Rouge, where I was set up for sale. Here I found a man who bought me to take to Louisville, where I had a wife, on the condition that I would find a man to buy me there. But I could not find a man who would buy me. I went to see my wife, and left for the North. I got here last night. I do n't feel reconciled, on account of my wife and family. I am anxious now to get work. (He got employment in the course of the day.) I would prefer Louisville, if I could be free there. It is hard on me that I am obliged to live away from my family.

I cannot express what I think of slavery, I have so horrible ideas of it. I was taken to Savannah on my way to Charleston, and staid in Savannah four weeks. On the farms around Savannah, I saw them using bucking-paddles on the women. There were overseers and drivers behind the workmen on the farms. If a man lagged, he got a cut with a whip,— if any reply was made, he was bucked down. The bull whip is used freely all around there,— I have heard them crack like a pistol almost. In the city, a black man must get off the side-walk if he meets a white man, or stop on the curb-stone and raise his hat: if he meets a lady and

HENRY CRAWHION DESCRIBES SALE FROM LOUISVILLE TO SC; RETURN, ESCAPE 1787-A

benj drew, northside slavery, refugee, narrative of fugitives, 1968 (1856), (interview in Chatham, Canada, 1855)

gentleman he must step clean off the walk and raise his hat.

While in Charleston, S. C., I did not know the law of the country, and lit a cigar at my boarding-house and walked towards the stable smoking. I was taken up and put in the calaboose. Several others were put in for being out after nine at night. In the morning, they gave each of them ten lashes apiece, and let them go. I asked them why they did not whip me and let me go. They said I had committed a crime, and must go before a magistrate. I asked them "what crime?" "Smoking in the street." I told them I was a stranger, and did not know the law. That made no odds, however; I was sentenced to nine and thirty lashes, and received them in the calaboose with a leather strap cut into three or four strips. White people smoke in the street, but 'tis against the law for a colored man.
ISAAC GRIFFIN, SLAVE TRIMBLE CO, WORKED ON RIVER: VIEW OF SLAVERY

benj drew, northside slavery; refugee, narra of fugitives, 1968 (1856),
(interview at Chatham, Canada, 1855) (esp. 47)

I am from Trimble county, Ky. I was a slave in Kentucky forty-six years. Then I had $500 for self, wife, and child. I left eight children in bondage, who undertook to escape. The oldest got here; the others were taken, and sold in Texas.

Two years ago, I saw one hundred men chained, besides women and children, going down south.

I have often been down the Mississippi on flat-boats, following the river every year for five or six years. Mornings I would hear something like a bell—it is a clock though, then the hands have to rise; if they don't, the overseer is among them.

Just before day, the first time I went down, as I was floating down the Grand Gulf, I heard the whip cracking, and a man crying, "Oh Lord! Oh Lord! Oh Lord!" I was afraid somebody was murdering; I called my master, he said, "Somebody is whipping his slave." We had to put in there. I saw the man: he was put over a log, his feet tied, and his hands tied, and a rail put between. They would whip him, and then rest upon it. They flogged him off and on until daylight. His back . . . . .

At one time I went down on a boat. There were many slaves on board, and one yellow girl with a child. At Natchez, a man came on board who wanted to buy a yellow girl without children. Her master told her to say she had none. The man bought her, and the trader gave her child, six weeks old, to a white woman.

Slavery is the greatest curse on earth. Nothing exceeds it for wickedness. A slave in the South suffers death many times before he does die.

I felt, when free, as light as a feather—a burden was off of me. I could get up and go to my work without being bruised and beaten. The worst thought was for my children, what they might have to go through. I cannot hear from them.

I have lived in Canada one year. I find the people laboring well generally: as industrious as any men. The law is the same for one as another. We have our meetings and gatherings here, and have no trouble at all.

I am doing as well, for a poor man, as I can expect—I get a good living.

THOMAS JONES. FUGITIVE; PHILOSOPHY OF WORK; FAKE FUGITIVES

benj drew north side slavery; refugee, narra of fugitives, 1968 (1856),
(interview at Windsor, Canada, 1855) (esp. 35)

I was a slave in Kentucky.

I came here without anything. I had no money or aid of any kind. I went right into the bush chopping wood. I bought my lady with me, and we were married on the way at Bloomingsburg in Fayette Co. I have one child. With what I earned by hard licks, I bought land and have built me a frame-house. I now follow plastering and anything I can find to do. I am worth three or four thousand dollars, and pay about thirty dollars a year tax.

If a man has aid furnished him, he does not have so much satisfaction in what he has, he feels dependent and beholden, and does not make out so well. I have seen this, ever since I have been here, the bad effects of this giving. I have seen men waiting, doing nothing, expecting something to come over to them. Besides, it makes a division among the colored people. The industrious are against it, the other class favor it; and so they fall out. My opinion is, that the fugitive on the road, should be assisted, but not after he gets here. If people have money to give, they had better give it to those who suffer in trying to help them here. For those who come sick, or actually stand in need, there is a society here among ourselves to take care of them.

In regard to aid from societies on the other side, there are many who know that money is raised for the poor travelling fugitive, and they take advantage of it: free people of color from the States come over pretending to be fugitives, who never were fugitives. They come in a miserable condition, often drinking men, worthless, to get the money that is raised. I have known six or seven such cases.

The colored people are doing very well. They are poor, some of them, but are all able to have enough to eat and wear, and they have comfortable homes, with
they have good houses or not, as is the case among all people.

In the Refugees' Home they are not doing very well. Land was to be sold to the refugees at cost, giving them five acres, and they to buy twenty. Some dissatisfaction exists because there has been an advance made of four shillings an acre for surveying, although the land had been surveyed once. The refugees all refused to pay it. They were to clear up the five acres in three years. They have altered the constitution bringing it down to two years. Some had not been on

three years, but went with that understanding. Alterations were made, too, enlarging the size of the houses. One of them has left the lands in consequence, and more talk of doing so. They doubt about getting deeds, and they begin to think 't is a humbug. The restrictions in regard to liquor, and not selling under so many years, nor the power to will his property to his friends, only to his children, if he have any, make them dissatisfied. They want to do as they please. If they want to exchange and get a bigger place, they want to do it without being cramped.

In addition, the men who have settled there, have been a bother to the society. As they were dependent, smart men would not go, and it has been occupied by men who expected aid from the other side.

The colored men must rely on their own two hands, or they'll never be any thing.
The colored people are temperate and moral.

I was born in Springfield, Ohio. My mother was, to the best of my belief, a free-woman. While I was a little child, a man claimed my mother as a slave woman whom he had lost seven years before, and took both her and me into Kentucky,—as I have been told to Burlington. He took us to Louisville to sell us, and there 't was proved that she was not his, but another man's slave; that other man took us back to Burlington. Here was another dispute, and another man examined, and found more marks than the other, and proved that she belonged to him. After passing through several hands she was sold, and I have not seen her since, nor do I know where she is. I have heard that when she was sold, it was left her, to take me with her into slavery, or remain there and be free. She chose to let me remain. I stayed with the family until, at thirteen, I was put to the trade of a tobacconist; remained until the business. After a while, hearing some talking about my rights, I questioned as closely as I could, but not to awaken distrust.

When I was about twenty-five, we had a dispute about a holiday, and then I first claimed my rights to his teeth, telling him that I was free. He said I must stay two years more. A man offered to lend me two hundred dollars, to buy my time; he refused. I then hired to another man, paying my claimant twenty dollars a month, for a year and five months.

I kept on inquiring, until I found the man who first carried me into Kentucky. He told me a very straight story,—that he had found the woman whom he had lost in New Orleans—he having been absent from him fifteen years and six months, having been in New Orleans all that time. I searched the records at the Recorder's office, but there was nothing on the books, the whole being a rascally scheme, therefore they took no account of it on the books. The clerk said there surely was no trial or transaction in the court; if there had been, it would have been on record. But the man who brought me said there was a trial; he ac...
WILLIAM S. EDWARD: DIFFICULTY OF KY SLAVE IN GETTING FREE PAPERS; WENT TO CANADA

J. F. WHITE: KY FUGITIVE IN CANADA SAYS BLACKS CAN TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES

got a white man to go to the persons who pretended to own me, and he told me, in their presence, that if a man were half white and born free, he ought to be free; and you are all of that. My boss said that I would be free after a time—that he never meant to keep me over time. He probably meant my time as long as I lived, as a master told his slave once, "When you die, I'll give you your papers." He said I could not pass without papers: he went with me, saying to get papers, and then he would not, but said I must stay a while longer before I could get them; that he could not give them to me just yet. Things went on in this way two or three months, until I was nearly twenty-seven years old. At length my mistress's son, by her consent, gave me free papers. I went to Ohio: then came into Canada, and settled down in Chatham.

I have five children. One goes to school; we are not able to send all on account of the price partly, as we have to pay fifty cents a quarter for each child, at the public school. I went into Chatham with nothing, and I want the children some in the family.

I have seen many things practised in slavery which are too horrible to name.

I have served twenty-five years as a slave; born in Virginia, and brought up, or rather whipped up, in Kentucky. I have lived in Canada two years—I have bought one hundred acres of land in Sandwich, suitable to raise any kind of grain.

I want you to tell the people of the United States, that as far as begging for fugitives is concerned, that we are amply able to take care of ourselves: we have done it, and can do it. We want none to beg for us; let them give to the fugitive on his way, and to those who are assisting him on his way. Money has been raised—an immense quantity of it too, but we do not get it—indeed, we do not want it. We have a society here to take care of our brothers when they get here, and we can do it without assistance. If people send things through pure motives to the suffering, we thank them for their intentions,—still, there is no need of
At 10 years old I was moved to Kentucky, from Madison Co., Va. I remained in Kentucky till about 50

My father always advised me to be tractable, and get along with the white people in the best manner I could, and not be saucy. My mother always taught me to serve the Lord—which has ever been my aim;

in which I am not the least tired, and am more anxious to go forward than ever. I could almost lay down my life for an abolitionist, for had it not been for them I should have been in slavery still. I believe the Lord will bless them. They have done every thing for me, and it makes my soul melt towards them.

I recollect that my master in Virginia was a monstrous bad man, but not half so bad as some others. I recollect that my mother wanted some salt to put into bread. My mistress, whenever we came down stairs, would search our pockets, to see if we had taken any thing. I went up to get some salt for my mother, and put half a pint in my pocket. My mistress said, "Let me feel your pocket!" I was afraid and ran. She called her son to catch me, as I had got something. He caught me and punished me very heavily with a cowhide—be beat me till I was out of breath.

In Kentucky, after a few years, the old man died,—I fell to one of his daughters—she hired me out to a brother-in-law. She was very good to me. I was hired out eight years to different persons. My mistress then died. She wanted me to be set free. Some of her kind-folks said no,—that her brother had had bad luck, and she had better will me to him. She, being bad off, being sick, and not knowing how to carry her mind,—she did so: she willed me to her brother. He kept me seven years working on the farm. He was going to move into Campbell Co. I had a wife and four children. To leave me, he swapped me for another man. I lived with him about thirteen years. He was a very clever man. He was pretty rich—a sportsman, gambler, horse-racer, etc. He came to get broke. Then we were seized and sold. J—G—bought me. My master was now a most cruel man. There was a great many who had a high regard for me. I was respected by everybody—could be trusted, no matter with what. I used to do his marketing, going to Cincinnati, sell his butter, flax-seed, potatoes, apples, peaches, yarn—even thing—and took every copper home. I wanted to be free, but was afraid to undertake it; for I thought if I were taken and carried back, it would be a great disgrace to me, as I was always trusted. They thought no more of trusting me with fifty or sixty dollars in their stores than with half a dollar. I made enough raising tobacco nights and Sundays to come to more than seventy or eighty dollars a year. I had always been trusty, and had been foreman on the farm.

My master concluded that he must get an overseer. The overseer made the bargain, that he was not to interfere with the hands at all—what he wanted, he was to go to the overseer, who was to order the hands. The overseer carried on very well. He kept us moving from Monday morning until noon, Saturday—

and Saturday afternoon as before. This troubled my master more than ever. He began to get very uneasy. I had not had a whipping for twenty years, and I said if they would put a hand on me, that I would n't stop any longer. The overseer observed, that he had made a rule that three boys were to make a turn about, one one Sunday, and another the next, to see things correct on the place. I had a wife at home, and was there more or less every Sunday. I always wanted to go to meeting: sometimes I would stop after meeting, but was always at home early to do the business.
so faithful a servant as I had been: I thought it unsufferable. This was about the time the year rolled round. The overseer's time was out, and the master took his place. I don't suppose I could tell in two hours what I went through. . . . In the spring about the 1st of May, he had the corn ground broken up completely. Planted the corn, three of us, fifty acres. After it came up we ploughed in it before holiday. I worked hard to try to please my master. He came home and asked me, "Where have you been ploughing?" "Such and such a piece." "Is that all you've ploughed?" I told him it was. "Well," says he, "I could plough more land in one day, than you and Dave both have ploughed." It was as big a lie as ever was told, but I did not dare contradict him. The same day, he started away to buy up cattle. "Now," says he, "I'll tell you what you've got to do: you've got all this field to weed out, replant, chop all the big briers out, then go to the high-tower place, weed out that, chop out all the big briers and replant it: then go down to old Archy Rendle, and do the same there." "I can't do that," says I, "to-day and to-morrow." "I don't tell you to do it to-day and to-morrow," says he, "you've to do it against I come back, if you don't I'll thump you." He told Ben and Dave to plough the same fields over with two furrows in a row. Monday was holiday; but he said, "you must go into Monday too:" taking away our holidays, which was never done to me before.

Finding that he was going to take away our holidays, — we all resolved to break and run away, hit or miss, live or die. There were thirteen of us started away in company,—not all from his place. One of the boys went down to Covington and made the arrangements. On a Sunday night we made our break, and when we got to Covington, it was daybreak; the garrison were up, beating their drums. God was on our side, or we should have been gone. We divided at the last toll-gate. Some going through the gate and myself and little Henry going round. We then found a skiff and oars, got in the skiff and crossed the Ohio into Cincinnati. I was so afraid I'd see somebody that knew me, I knew not what to do. When I got up on Main St., I saw a great black smoke coming out of the chimney of a steamboat as if she was coming right across,— I was certain she was coming after me. I met draymen who said, "Are you travelling?" "No, I'm going up on the hill, to see my brother." My wife was nearly about to give out. "Joe," said she, "do pray stop a few minutes and let us rest." Said I, "I cannot stop,— if you want to stop you can, but I must go on. I caught her by the arm, and helped her on to the top of the hill. There I met a friend —

[Mr. Sanford's narrative was here interrupted. The concluding portion of his fortunes is luckily supplied, however, in the narrative which follows.]
DIFFICULTIES & BETRAYAL OF KY FUGITIVES IN CINCINNATI

Benj. Drew, North side slavery; refugee; narra fugitives, 1968 (1856)
(interview Amhurst, Canada, 1855, with John Hatfield)

P 363/ John Hatfield tells of arrival of Joseph Sanford & other in Cincin.
"I was in Cincinnati when thirteen slaves reached there, running from Kentucky. They got there at seven or eight in the morning. They were questioned very closely by slave-catchers. One, pretending to be their friend, put them in a cellar, and was guarding them very closely, in order to get the reward. Among the slaves were Joseph Sanford and his wife. A few of us hearing of it, went there as quick as possible, and found the man stopping up the holes in the cellar to keep people from seeing them. I went in and asked Mrs. Sanford if she knew that man. She said, 'No--never saw him before.' I said, 'You must get out of this.' I put a comrade to watch the man, and we took them out two at a time, and hid them in various parts of the city. Their pursuers were there in less than an hour. They offered large rewards to any one who would just tell what square they were in. But the rewards would not fetch them: a million of dollars would not take a slave in Cincinnati out of some people's hands."
"They stayed concealed a fortnight, and then myself and others guided them on the way to Michigan, which they reached in safety. However, the were afterwards all captured in Michigan: but they got off before a judge, and were then sent over the line into Canada."

ROBERT NELSON: SLAVE IN KY, TROUBLES, ETC, REFUGEE IN CANADA

Benj. Drew, North side slavery; refugee; narra fugitives, 1968 (1856)
(Interview Colchester, Canada, 1855)

I was born in Orange county, Va. My mother was sold away from me before I can remember. I was taken from Virginia at seven, and remained there in Kentucky, in Boone county, until forty-seven. While I was in slavery, I belonged to a man who used me as he did his children, except that he gave me no education. I cannot write or read.

My master got involved, and I was mortgaged. The mortgage was out and closed,—the sheriff got after me, and I ran to Canada. I was to have been taken to a cotton farm in Louisiana. This was in April, 1845. I left without money. I had heard about the abolitionists, but was afraid of them: I thought no white men would do what they said the abolitionists would do. I had been told that they would sell us. So I was afraid to trust them. The abolitionists wanted to have a meeting to raise money for me, but I slipped out of their hands. After I got here, I found they were all

I now own a house and one hundred and one acres of land. I have averaged about fifteen acres of land a year that I cultivated, having myself two thirds of the crop. This enabled me to support myself and family, and buy land. My wife belonged to another man. I sent on and bought her for $400.

It is reported throughout the world, that colored people cannot live here; I have been here ten years, and have seen no one starving yet. Any man that will work can get $10 or $12 a month, cash, and more if he takes it in trade. I can raise corn sixty or seventy bushels to the acre, as good corn as ever was raised in the South. It has been stated that the colored population are lazy, and won't work. The principal part all work. This report has been got out by begging agents, to fill their own pockets by raising money.
REV. WM. RUTH: KY FUGITIVE IN CANADA, WAS TO BE SET FREE, BUT WASN'T

benj drew, north side slavery; refugee, narra of fugitives, 1968(1856)
(interview Colchester, Canada, 1855) (age 57)

I am a native of Bourbon county, Ky., left there at twenty-seven, and have resided principally in Colchester since 1835.

I never met with any rough usage in slavery. It was expected that I would be set at liberty at thirty-one, by the will of my former master; but as there was supposed to be a disposition not to give me a fair chance, I was assisted off by a man who was a slaveholder himself. There are a great many such movements there.

I was young when I left there, but often saw separations of families by sales and by hiring. I happened to fall to an Irishman, who was a good sort of a man—an extraordinary man for a slaveholder—in advance of all the county for kindness to his slaves.

I have fifty acres of land under fence, and had it all cleared and improved years ago. It is well supplied with water. I have an orchard with a good assortment of fruits—apples, pears, and peaches. It is one of the best farms in Colchester. I own seventy acres besides in New Canaan.

ELI JOHNSON: MOVED TO KY, TRIALS, DECIDES TO RUN AWAY

benj drew, north side slavery; refugee; narra of fugitives, 1968(1856)
(Interview in Gosfield, Canada, 1855)

p 381/ Born in Va, sold to a trader /begin p 382/ who took him to Natchez. Auctioned for $1,200 to work on a cotton plantation. Told of horrible conditions. His wife was with him and suffered greatly. /p 385/ Traded to his master’s brother for a debt; his new master moved to Ky.

I went and got it,—it was a poor thing, and cost one dollar. I did what he wanted as well as I could, to avoid punishment. I staid with him three years.

One day he had ordered me to draw some water on a sled: then he called me into the field. I stooped down to unloose a chain,—he hurried up to me with an axe in his hand. He says, “When I want you for one thing, you are sure to do another.” I answered, “I’ve got to work till I die, and had as lief work at one thing as another.” He threatened me with the axe—I did n’t dodge. Then he threatened me that he would give me the five hundred lashes before many days. I thought he might finally undertake it, and that I’d better be off. I received assistance from kind friends, and reached Canada without difficulty about five years ago. I have had a serious time in my life.

I felt so thankful on reaching a land of freedom, that
I was raised in Virginia, which I left with my master for Kentucky, at the age of twenty-one. Twenty years after we moved, my master died, and I remained with my mistress taking care of the farm. I used to take a great deal of care of the place, seeing to the farming operations, and have been to Cincinnati to sell produce. The people all considered me trustworthy and honorable, and some of the white people said I could make greater crops than they could.

I had a wife and several children on a neighboring farm. She wished to leave for Canada, with the three youngest children. I gave her money and she got away into Canada safe enough. As soon as she was gone, I was seized and put in jail — her owners said, if they shut up the hen they could soon find the chickens. They asked me in the jail, “if I knew she was going?” I asked them “if they knew the height and size of my wife?” They said they did. “Well,” I told them, “that is my life — and if your wife has done as many pretty things for you, as mine has for me, wouldn’t you be willing to give her a little money to help her?” In a few days, I was let out. I still continued on the farm attending faithfully to my work — but my mistress’ friends, suspecting that when she died, I would run off to rejoin my wife, persuaded her to sell me. One day, eighteen months after my wife left, I was sent for to the house. I went in, and asked my mistress what was wanting. “Oh, dear!” said she, “I don’t know, Thomas.” But I know what ‘t was for. Said I, “When our Saviour was on earth, they could make out nothing against him, till they got false witnesses, — and there are false witnesses against me.”

I was kept at the house that night, in charge of three men, but was not put into strict confinement. The next morning, one of them produced a pair of handcuffs connected with a long chain, and said, “we must put these on, Thomas.” I said, “You will not put them on to me, — I have done nothing for which I should wear such things as them.” “I’ll tell you the truth, Thomas,” said he, “we are going to send you down the river.”

I was sitting at the gruvel, and as I sat, I carefully slipped off my boots, then jumped up and ran for the woods. They ran after me a short distance. I had thirty-five dollars in my coat pocket, which came...
ELI JOHNSON: MOVED TO KY, TRIALS, DECIDES TO RUN AWAY

benj drew, north side slavery; refugee; narra of fugitives, 1968(1856)
(Interview in Gosfield, Canada, 1855)

a member of the Baptist Church, and endeavor to live a Christian life.
I rent a piece of land, and make out to live. My family are sickly, so that I have not been able to purchase land. But I am not discouraged, and intend to work on while I have health and strength, and to live such a life as I should wish when I come to die.

IMPORTANCE OF BLACK MAN'S RELIGION

g s wilmore, black religion and black protest, 1972

"The Black man's pilgrimage in America was made less onerous because of his religion. His religion was the organizing principle around which his life was structured. His church was his school, his forum, his political arena, his social club, his art gallery, his conservatory of music. It was lyceum and gymnasium as well as sanctum sanctorum. His religion was his fellowship with man, his audience with God. It was the peculiar sustaining force which gave him the strength to endure when endurance gave no promise, and the courage to be creative in the face of his own dehumanization."

see note 1822
As early as 1873 school attendance was recognized as very poor, and compulsory attendance laws were being advocated by the county commissioners. Such laws were regarded by the people as tyrannical. The Superintendent of Public Instruction offered as a solution to this problem an improvement of general conditions. He suggested that 'comfortable schoolhouses and efficient teachers would be magnets of influence to attract parental attention to the advantages of regular attendance in school.' The attendance remained poor and discussion continued for twenty-three years before a compulsory attendance law was enacted. In 1896 the General Assembly passed a compulsory attendance act which became a law without the approval of Governor William O. Bradley. The law required children 7-14 to attend school at least 8 consecutive weeks.

"The Black preacher was most relevant to this world when he was telling his people what to expect in the next one, because he was whetting appetites for what everyone knew white people were undeservedly enjoying in the here and now, and because he was talking about a just God from whom everyone gets his due--including Black folks." "The church has been the one impregnable corner of the world where consolation, solidarity and mutual aid could be found and from which the master and the bossman--at least in the North--could be effectively barred."
alex. walters, my life and work, 1917.

p 10, from introduction by John Edward Bruce/ Says Rt. Rev. Alexander Walters was the youngest bishop of either branch of the AME church. /p 11/ Book covers 40 years of activity as "layman, local preacher, minister and Bishop--the highest office in the gift of his Church." Knew great men. Travelled to Africa, Europe, Holy Land. /p 12/ Tells of strong mother, physically and spiritually. /p 45/ appointed minister of Stockton St. Ch, San Francisco, Calif; /p 50/ In 1886 appointed to AME Zion church in Chattanooga, Tenn; Later that /p 51/ year appointed to a church in Knoxville. /p 83/ In fall of 1889 appointed to Board of Bishops. /p 85/ Elected Bishop at age 33.

alex. walters, my life and work, 1917 (an AME Zion Bishop)

p 19/ Walters says as Italians are proud of their famous churches, and Frenchmen of Versailles, and Englishmen of Stratford-on-Avon, etc, Ken /begin p 20/ Tuckians believe their state is "'the garden spot of the universe and Nelson County the heart thereof.'" Walters is quoting an unidentified writer here.
In this old historic Kentucky town, one Sunday morning, the first of August, 1858, in a room in the rear of the kitchen of the Donohue Hotel, now the Newman House, I first beheld the light of day. My father, Henry Walters, was born in Larue County, of sturdy old Kentucky stock, the son of his master, in whose veins flowed the bluest blood of the State. I am told on good authority that my father was a distant relative of Abraham Lincoln. My father lived to the ripe age of eighty-five years, after a life characterized by a serene and hopeful spirit, leaving a memory fragrant with the Christian graces.

My mother was Harriet Mathers, a native of Virginia, and from the best information I could secure from my father, I learned that she belonged to John Dixon of Missouri, who is thought to have married into the family of her first owners. Mr. Dixon moved from Missouri to Larue County, Kentucky, and she passed out of his hands into those of a family named Mathers, living in the same county. Later she became the property of Michael Donohue, of Bardstown, Kentucky. My mother was tall and commanding in figure, of a light brown complexion and the embodiment of energy. She weighed over two hundred pounds and possessed unusual strength for a woman.

On one occasion, when her master and his son were in a fight, the son seemed to have the advantage and was about to stab his father with a butcher knife. Mother heard the struggle and rushed in to see what was the matter. On beholding the situation, she seized her young master, weighing one hundred and fifty pounds, by the seat of his trousers and the nape of his neck, carried him to the kitchen door and threw him into the grape arbor, about six feet away. Though he suffered no bodily injury, you can imagine he suffered much humiliation and chagrin.

My mother was as brave as a lion; she would not brook even an unjust reprimand from her master. On one occasion when the breakfast was late, her master took her severely to task. She, knowing the abuse was unmerited, resented his harshness and threw the rolling-pin at him. For this grave offense she was condemned to be sold. The day of the sale arrived, and the negro-traders were on hand. Among the buyers was a vicious-looking fellow by the name of MacDonald. When mother was put up for sale, the bidding started off at five hundred dollars, and after a spirited contest, she was knocked down to MacDonald for one thousand dollars. At this juncture, the mistress of the home, who had been a silent observer of the sale, stepped forward and said to the master: "Mike, Harriet can't leave this home; she belongs to me. Mother gave her to me when we were both children; we have grown up together, and, notwithstanding she has a bad temper, she is honest and industrious, and I am not going to let her go." "But," said the master, "she has been sold, hence we must let her go."

Her mistress, who weighed only about one hundred and twenty pounds, drew herself to her full height and said, "I don't care anything about that; she'll never leave this home." The kindness and firmness of this little woman enabled our mother to remain with her children until we were emancipated.
Mother was an enthusiastic Methodist. Many a morning at five o'clock we children were awakened by the earnest prayers and loud exclamations of praise on the part of our mother. One of my earliest church recollections was a visit to that old brick meeting house. The meeting got warm, and, as she used to say, she got warm with the meeting and began to cry and shout. I thought some one had done something to her, and I began to cry also and to hang on to her skirts, but she soon shook me loose and had her own good time. She died in 1870 in the full triumph of faith.

Our family consisted of eight children and the father and mother. Henry, the eldest son, was born in 1850; Joseph and Charles, twins, were born in 1852; John, in 1854; Isaac Burkes, in 1855; Alexander, in 1858; George Anna, in 1866; Caroline, in 1869; of these children, Joseph, Charles, John and Caroline died in infancy.

In giving these particulars concerning my family, it is with the hope that should the book fall into the hands of any one acquainted with any of my mother's relatives, they may communicate with me and through them I might be able to locate some of my long-lost relatives on my mother's side.

Next to my parents were Uncle Billy Hardin and Aunt Mahala, his wife. He was owned by the renowned Ben Hardin, the famous jurist, and was either his son or his nephew. He was the most intelligent man of color in our community. Aunt Mahala was owned by Mike Donohue, and was one of the loveliest and best women I ever knew. She was a grandmother to us children; in fact, she partly reared us. To her we would go with our sorrows, especially if mother had whipped us; we would be sure to receive comfort and consolation. She was the embodiment of kindness, one of those rare creatures who know how to soothe and make you forget your troubles. She had no children of her own, but was ever and anon adopting the children of other folks, spending considerable time and money on them, often only to have them taken from her.
My present wife, Lelia Coleman Walters, is also a native of Bardstown, and if it were left for me to state who I believe to be Nelson County's best production, I would say without hesitation, Lelia Walters. She was partly educated in a Roman Catholic Convent, completing the course of the Louisville High School, taking the highest honor in a class of thirty students. Among a number of others she was also successful in passing the examination for teachers, and was again fortunate in making the highest average, receiving an appointment to teach in the Public School of Louisville, where she served nine consecutive years as principal of the Shelby Street Schools. Upon her severance with the Public Schools of Louisville to become my wife she was the first colored teacher to receive public commendation from the School Board for long, efficient and meritorious service.

Mr. G. H. Coeran, the ex-president of the Board

and a member of twenty-five years consecutive standing, on making the motion to accept the resignation, said that "the retirement of this good woman from the public school service is not only a loss to the colored schools but a distinct loss to the City of Louisville." He further stated that he had watched her career since her entrance into the service and considered her one of the most efficient teachers in the service and, in every way, worthy of the great trust committed to her care. In 1895 Mrs. Walters had the good fortune to complete a business course at Coon's Commercial High School, Kansas City, Mo.; upon the reception of her diploma, the papers of that city published the fact that she was the only colored woman in the State of Missouri holding a diploma from a school for whites only.

Mrs. Walters was an extremely popular teacher, especially beloved by the patrons of her school, and considered a well-informed woman, extensively read along all lines.

On Aug. 21, 1916, Mrs. Walters received from President Wilson, by executive order, through the influence of Judge Robert Hudspeth, an appointment to a clerkship at Ellis Island, which position she has creditably filled, being commended by Commissioner Uhl for efficiency and the high order of her intelligence. For twelve years she has been President of the African Redemption Society, and during our married life has been my constant friend and faithful assistant in all my undertakings and ever a wise and safe counsellor.
At an early age my brother Isaac and I were sent to a private school which was taught by Mrs. Amanda Hines, one of the most intelligent colored women of our town; she was possessed of a pleasing disposition and winning personality which endeared her to all her pupils. We remained at this school for two terms, learning our alphabet and the Three R's, along with many other useful things not included in the curriculum. In 1868 Mr. William Lawrence of Louisville took charge of the school taught in the little frame church. My father thinking him a more efficient teacher than Mrs. Hines, we were taken from the private school and sent to him. He was of distinguished appearance and a first-rate disciplinarian. After two years he was succeeded by Miss Addie Miller, who taught for the same length of time. Miss Miller was a tiny woman, of engaging manners, but unable to cope with the big boys and girls of the school.

Following Miss Miller came the teacher who made the greatest impression on my youthful mind and who did much toward directing my thoughts to the ministry as a career. This was Mr. Rowan Wickliffe of Lexington, Kentucky, a distinguished educator and race leader. Soon after his arrival he made a proposition to the two colored churches of the town to instruct without charge a boy from each church whom they might select to be educated for the ministry. This proposal was accepted and I was chosen by the A. M. E. Zion Church and Levi Evans was chosen by the Baptist Church. Mr. Wickliffe was a fine teacher, enthusiastic, magnetic, a good disciplinarian and deeply interested in the young people under his care. I could not help but be greatly benefited by him. He was a constant source of inspiration to me and did more to shape my destiny than any one with whom I had come in con-

tact up to that time. I remained in his school four years, this being the last school I attended.

It was while attending this school that my father moved out of Bardstown into the country, which necessitated my walking five miles daily to school. I was accustomed to rise before five in the morning, do my chores and help my grandmother get breakfast, my mother having died about the time I began studying under Mr. Wickliffe. At school I was considered an apt pupil, generally standing at the head of my class.

carrying off the honors. I was very studious, caring little for sports and the usual boys' pursuits. I was very serious minded, ever looking forward to the vocation which I believed was predestined for me. At the graduating exercises of my class I had the honor to be the valedictorian, an honor all the more prized since the class numbered among its members some very bright pupils. Among these were Anna Hamilton, one of the brightest scholars of our town, a born gentlewoman, who has ever exerted a wonderful influence for good; Daniel Peppers, who is a teacher at present in Nelson County. Melissa Anderson, Josie Weathers, Eliza and Amanda Tutt, Mary E. Medcalf, Billy, Cassie and Susie Dooms, Sallie Hamilton, Clarissa Slaughter and others I remember as among my classmates who made especial impressions on me in these early years.
About 1875, my father moved to a farm near Hodgensville, Larue County, Kentucky, owned by Dunlap Miller, where I labored for some time, spending the winters in Louisville, working in hotels and the like. I had already, during the summer of 1871, lived awhile in Louisville and worked at the Old St. Cloud Hotel and also at the Willard Hotel.

During one of my vacations—I think it was in 1872—I went as cabin boy on the steamer McCrady to Brazier City, now Morgan City, La. The steamer made trips between Morgan City and New Iberia. One night, having been found asleep while on duty, I was summarily discharged by the captain at New Iberia without enough money to pay my way back to Morgan City; but the boys made up my fare with fifteen cents over, which enabled me to emulate the good Ben Franklin on his arrival in Philadelphia, except that I regaled myself on ginger cake and water instead of buns and water during the three days I remained in Morgan City seeking work.

I finally got work on the dock unloading ships, but owing to my physical condition and youth, I was unable to do the work. Again my steamer friends came to my aid and contributed sufficient money to pay my passage to New Orleans, where I got work on a steamer plying between New Orleans and Donaldsonville. After six or seven months of hardship, I secured employment on the steamer Louisville, a stern wheeler which ran between New Orleans and Cincinnati. While in New Orleans I was much affected by hearing a lady passenger sing "My Old Kentucky Home." She came out on deck where I happened to be at work, and judging from the feeling and power she threw into the rendition of this sweet old song, she must have been a Kentuckian. At any rate, it made me so homesick that I decided when the boat arrived at Louisville to remain there. Thus ended my experiences on the river.

On my first visit to Louisville, I lived with Mrs. Matilda Gibson, an old friend of the family from Bardstown; she was a most estimable woman and very kind to me. To a lonely lad away from home the friendship of a kind, motherly woman is of inestimable value and I have never forgotten the homelike days at Mrs. Gibson's. Afterwards I made my home with my eldest brother, Henry, who had lived in the city about ten years and who had recently married. While here I continued my education by employing private teachers, first Prof. Bebeauet and then Prof. Hayes, both teachers of the white High School, who instructed me in Physics, Rhetoric, and an English course in Divinity.
In 1876 I again secured employment at the Willard Hotel. I had not been there long before Mr. Ives, the proprietor of the Bates Hotel, of Indianapolis, came to Louisville to hire a crew of waiters for his house at a considerable advance of wages. My brother Isaac and I joined the crew. Indianapolis proved a blessing to us both. We enjoyed the delightful associations of interesting and intelligent persons through whom we gained an entrance into the various phases of community life. It was here that we both united the leading fraternal societies, the Masons, Odd Fellows and the United Brethren of Friendship, in the last named of which I became a national officer.

It was my good fortune while employed at the Bates House in Indianapolis to meet Miss Katie Knox, a native of Louisville, who afterwards became my wife. A few months prior to this time she had moved to Indianapolis with her mother and eldest sister. She was an extremely modest young woman, well trained and of lovable personality. Her parents, Louis and Kittie Knox, were old residents of Louisville and highly respected. We were married by Rev. D. P. Seaton, D.D., August 23, 1877. Five children were the fruit of this happy marriage: William Henry Louis, born at Corydon, Ky., July 11, 1879; Mary Elizabeth, born at Louisville, February 23, 1882, who died in infancy; Alexander Ezekiel, born at San Francisco, Cal., April 1, 1885; Lord Wellington, born at Jersey City, N. J., August 4, 1891.

Mrs. Katie Walters was especially fitted to be a minister’s wife. For nineteen years she labored at my side, giving me comfort, inspiration, rejoicing in my successes, and sorrowing with me in my failures. She was an eminently pious woman, an indulgent mother and a loyal friend. She died in Jersey City, December 22, 1896.

I received my first religious awakening, when but a small boy, on reading the Book of Revelation. I felt sure that I was doomed to be lost. About this time, dreaming for two nights in succession of the Judgment Day and the horrors thereof, I was so frightened that I began to pray in earnest.

Rev. Yarmouth Carr was the pastor of the A. M. E. Zion Church at Bardstown at this time. I revealed to him my agitated state of mind, and was admonished by him to go to the mourners’ bench, which I did; he also gave me a religious book, the name of which I cannot remember. Soon afterwards I made a profession of religion and joined the A. M. E. Zion Church; this was in 1870. I have always made it a point when taking up my residence in any city, especially if I intended to remain any length of time, to join a church, and the Zion Church if one could be found. When I first went to Indianapolis, there was no Zion Church there, and so I joined the Vermont Street A. M. E. Church, under the pastorate of the Rev. D. P. Seaton.

A few months afterwards I assisted the Rev. Anthony Bunch to organize the A. M. E. Zion Church in Indianapolis. Prior to his coming to Indianapolis, he had been my pastor at Bardstown. He was a noted church builder.

In March, 1877, I was licensed to preach by the Quarterly Conference and pastor of this newly-organized church. On September 10, 1878, I was admitted into the Kentucky Conference of the A. M. E. Zion Church at Jones Tabernacle, Indianapolis, Ind., over which Bishop S. T. Jones presided. I was appointed from this conference to the Corydon Circuit, which consisted of Corydon and Smithmills, Kentucky. The church at Corydon.
At the Kentucky Conference, which met at St. Louis, Mo., July 3, 1879, Bishop S. T. Jones presiding, I was ordained a deacon on July 8. From this conference I was reappointed to the Corydon Circuit, and remained there two years. In connection with my other work, I was principal of the Corydon Public School. On April 7, 1881, the Kentucky Conference met at Louisville, Ky., in Jacob Street Tabernacle, Bishop S. T. Jones again presiding. I had the honor to be elected assistant secretary of this conference, and passed a most creditable examination for Elder's orders. I was appointed to the Cloverport Circuit, which consisted of Cloverport, Shawler's Chapel, Patesville, Holt's Bottom and Lick Run. There was not a church on the whole circuit, and when I reached Cloverport I was informed of the barrenness of the work. I was utterly discouraged. Remembering that I had a wife and child to support, I could not refrain from shedding tears. In that hour something seemed to say to me: "Be of good courage, up and go to work." I at once set about getting things in shape, held meetings under brush arbors, and in the school houses, and conducted special revival meetings. I bought lumber to build a church at Holt's Bottom, but ere I could put up the building, the conference met at Russellville, Ky., and I was changed from this circuit to the Fifteenth Street Church, Louisville, Ky., which was a frame building about 40 by 60 ft., and in a dilaipated condition.

The large congregation that had worshipped in this church had moved to a magnificent brick structure on Twelfth Street, between Market and Jefferson Streets. It was their intention to sell the Fifteenth Street property, and use the money to assist in paying off the debt of the Twelfth Street Church. However, they were prevented from doing so by the Conference, which refused to grant them the authority to make the sale, and because a few of the older members were not willing to leave. In all there were about twenty-five members. Notwithstanding the discouraging outlook, we took hold and were successful in improving the property and added more than a hundred to the membership.
Louisville has a number of splendid church edifices, which would do credit to any city. Some of them are owned and completely controlled by colored people. The city maintains the separate school system, but it can be said to the credit of the broad-minded white citizens of Louisville that the colored and white schools are kept at a parity. The school buildings for colored pupils are among the largest, handsomest and best equipped in the country; well heated and lighted, with every facility for the intellectual and physical development of the students. These schools were fortunate in their early history to have at their head three of the ablest pedagogues that the race has ever produced, in the persons of Professors J. W. Maxwell of the Central High School, W. T. Payton of the Western School, W. H. Perry of the Eastern School, and later, Professors A. E. Mize, Frank Williams, A. Delaney, S. B. Taylor, Daniel Lawson; Miss Lucy Duvalle, Mrs. Lelia Coleman Brown. These able instructors were efficiently and loyally supported by an excellent corps of teachers, such as Professors C. W. Houser, J. E. Simpson, Pratt Annis, James Harris, J. J. McKinley; Miss Virginia Burkes, Miss Martha Webster, Mrs. Mary L. Maede, Mrs. Mary Johnson, Miss Georgie Moore, Miss Maria Henry, Miss Eliza Davenport, Miss Belle Alexander, Miss Mary Hicks and others.

My wife, Lelia Coleman Walters, speaking of the late Professor J. W. Maxwell, her old teacher, says: "He was unique in his position, first and ever a thorough and close student, an ideal teacher, a Christian gentleman of the sweetest and most gentle personality. Never was master more beloved by teachers and pupils than he. How well the name of master suited him. In him the student recognized the master of the subject. To go to Professor Maxwell for enlightenment on a question or subject was to have all the difficulties cleared away and to open up a beautiful vista of knowledge, so entrancing in its pursuit that the student left his presence aflame with desire for wisdom."
Socially the Afro-Americans of Louisville take first rank among the most intellectual and cultured of our land. Many of them own their own homes, and a few have elegant residences. There are a number of business enterprises operated by colored people, such as: contracting, tailoring, shoe-making, with drugstores, insurance companies and undertaking establishments.

Mr. D. W. Knight has a flourishing transfer business. Among Louisville’s most prominent citizens are Revs. J. Frank, C. H. Parish, Daniel Geddie; Drs. Whedbee, Porter, Fuller, Stone and others; Mr. W. H. Steward, Mr. David Steward, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Jackson, and Miss Minnie Rhodes, a popular trained nurse.

I feel that this chapter would be incomplete without a word concerning two of my warmest and closest friends, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Watson; until the time of his death, Mr. Watson was one of Louisville’s leading business men. He was born in this city some time in the fifties, took advantage of the early pay school system, and made his way up from the lower ranks:

“Honor and fame from no condition rise, Act well your part, there all honor lies.”

This he did. Being intelligent, polite, obliging and honest, he won the confidence and respect of Louisville’s wealthy citizens, young and old, and when reach-
honor to his race, a benefactor to the community in which he lived, an upright citizen, a loving husband and a true friend and Christian. Let us reverse Shakespeare's words and say,

"The good that men do lives after them, The evil is interred with their bones."

Mr. Watson's estimable wife Lavinia, who for twelve happy years shared his successes, and made light his dark days of adversity by her sympathy, is a woman of rare business ability—she is cultured, intelligent and generous to a fault.

"A faithful wife
Becomes the truest and the tenderest friend,
The balm of comfort and the sound of joy;
Through every various turn of life the same."

Nothing could better represent or express the relation between this couple. In his many beautiful acts of charity he was guided by this kind and loving woman.

Prior to Mr. Watson's death his interesting and beautiful home was noted far and wide for its lavish hospitality; while Mr. Watson was of a modest and very retiring disposition, yet he wanted his wife to slight no friend that called. The "latch string" hung out, and true Kentucky hospitality was ever dispensed to all and at all times by Mrs. Lavinia Watson.

But it is not as a dispenser of hospitality that

the character of William Watson's wife shines forth in all splendor; it is as "his angel of mercy" in the last years of Mr. Watson's life, when health and strength had failed, he leaned upon her support—looked to her for the cooling draught in fever's fitful moments. The loving fidelity of this good woman to an afflicted husband was something beautiful and endeared her to the many friends he left behind.

Mrs. Watson is at the head of the business left by her husband, and is conducting the same upon the high plane of service and integrity established by its founder. Mrs. Watson has since become the wife of Mr. J. B. Cooper, and they are jointly conducting the business quite successfully.
The General Conference, which met in John Wesley Church, Pittsburgh, Pa., May 4, 1892, was a memorable one in our history. The aggressive policies inaugurated were many and had been exceedingly beneficial to the church. It was composed of some of Zion's most brainy men.

On the twelfth day of May, it was decided by the General Conference that two additional bishops were needed. Thereupon the election ensued. Dr. I. C. Clinton and myself were elected bishops on the first ballot. An indescribable scene of enthusiasm followed on announcement of our election. We were carried about the church at our disposal. I was not quite thirty-four years old when elected a bishop.

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When the assignment of the bishops was made, I received the Seventh Episcopal District, which comprised the following conferences: Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, California, West Tennessee, Mississippi and Oregon Conferences.

I was especially pleased to have the Kentucky Conference (my old home) placed in my district. Fourteen years prior to this time I had been admitted into its ranks at Indianapolis, Ind., and I was now delighted with the thought that I was to return as its Presiding Bishop.

The first session over which I presided met at Louisville, Ky., September, 1892. The brethren, many of whom knew me when I was but a lad, and others who were my schoolmates, gave me a royal welcome.

My stay among them was pleasant and profitable, at least to me and I think beneficial to the work. To my great delight the California Conference was added to my district.

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THE NATURAL ENMITY BETWEEN SLAVE OWNERS AND SLAVES

gayraud s wilmore, black religion and black radicalism, 1972

p 2/ "The Reverend James Ramsay, an indefatigable and pious slaveholding preacher who spent eighteen years preaching the gospel to the slaves in the West Indies, wrote in one of his essays: 'Master and slave are in every respect opposite terms; the persons to whom they are applied, are natural enemies to each other. Slavery, in the manner and degree that it exists in our colonies, could never have been intended for the social state; for it supposes tyranny on one side, treachery and cunning on the other. Nor is it necessary to discuss which gives first occasion to the other.'

"Such uncommon good sense ought to precede every serious discussion of what characterized the religion of the African slaves once the controversy about manumission after baptism was ...."

HARSH TREATMENT OF NORTHERN TEACHERS IN KY AFTER CIVIL WAR

H. L. Swint, Northern Teacher in South 1862-70, 1967

p 131/ "Of the 165 teachers remaining in Kentucky in August, 1868, only twenty-one were white, and they were located in towns, where they might be protected. The report of the Kentucky Superintendent of Education for 1868 contains a two page enumeration of outrages, threats, beatings, and burnings."

source: Alvord, Report, Jan 1, 1869, pp 43-49

WAS THERE CONTINUITY BETWEEN AFRICAN AND AMERICAN RELIGION OF BLACKS?

E. F. Frazier, The Negro Church in America, 1963

p 5/ "There have been some scholars who have claimed that social cohesion among the slaves was not destroyed to the extent to which it is presented here. For example, DuBois evidently thought that social cohesion among the slaves was not totally destroyed. For in one of his studies of Negro life he makes the assertion that the Negro church was 'the only social institution among the Negroes which started in the African forest and survived slavery' and that 'under the leadership of the priest and medicine man' the church preserved the remnants of African tribal life. From the available evidence, including what we know of the manner in which the slaves were Christianized and the character of their churches, it is impossible to establish any continuity between African religious practices and the Negro church in the United States. It is more likely that what occurred in America was similar to what Mercier has pointed out in regard to the Fon of Dahomey. His studies showed that with the breaking up or destruction of the clan and kinship organization, the religious myths and cults lost their significance. In America the destruction of the clan and kinship organization was more devastating and the Negroes were plunged into an alien civilization in which whatever remained of their religious myths and cults had no meaning whatever."
ed magdol, a right to the land; essays on freedmen's community, 1977

p 65/ A report to the Am Freed Inquiry Commission representative:
"When they arrived in Louisville, Kentucky, the AFIC heard complaints from an unnamed black man, and from many others, that restrictive laws prevented a black man from keeping 'a tavern, or grovery store, or drygoods store.' With respect to working in a shop with black men, however, there was less prejudice from whites in Louisville than from those in the free states. 'A colored man can have a mechanics shop, and work in it,' he stated. Black people can take care of themselves, he assured the inquirers. Most had worked on boats on the river until the previous years /begin p 66/ and were now going into the tobacco factories. As for himself, because his boat was too big to run in the summer, he wanted to find some trade into which he could put his money during the off season. He appeared no less an entrepreneur than familiar New England types."

1834: KENTUCKY UNION FOR MORAL AND REL IMPROVEMENT OF BLACKS

a j raboteau, slave rel; the invisible inst in antebellum south, 1978

p 175/ This is apparently a white religious organization: "However, the resolutions of some clerical bodies remained simply that. For example, in 1834 an impressive-sounding 'Kentucky Union for the moral and religious improvement of the colored race' was formed as 'a union of several denominations of christians in the State.' Five years later, according to the chairman of the Union's executive committee, the 'Union had not accomplished much,' despite ten vice presidents and a seven-man executive committee."
A contraband slave interviewed in Columbus, Kentucky, in 1862 told a white missionary from the North: 'When I was a slave my master would sometimes whip me awful, specially when he knew I was praying. He was determined to whip the Spirit out of me, but he could never do it, for de more he whip the more the Spirit make me content to be whipt...'

That contentment, is may be said, stifled outward political resistance, but it may also be argued that it represented a symbolic inward resistance, a testing of wills and a victory of the spirit over the force of brutality.'
Another case was marked by an additional feature. It was that of a slave woman, apparently about thirty-five years of age. Coming upon her without any notice of our visit, I found her in a room tidily kept and herself decently dressed. She had been hiring herself for eleven years, at seventy-two dollars a year. Her husband, she told me (of course he could not be legally such), was a slave, and was hired by his master as cook in one of the Louisville hotels for three hundred dollars a year; out of this his master, she said, gave him, once or twice a year, a five-dollar note,—nothing else. There were in the room two bright, intelligent-looking children, one a boy about ten years old, the other a girl two or three years younger. One might go, at a venture, into a dozen dwellings of persons of the middle class in fair circumstances, and not find their children cleaner in person or more neatly and suitably clad than were these two young slaves. I expressed to the mother my satisfaction at their appearance. Her face saddened, and she said, “The white people have two of my children, and that boy is about big enough to go.”

I inquired how this was, and she informed me that her master left her children with her till they were about eleven years old, and then took them home to work. Up to that age she fed and clothed them at her own expense. The last they had taken was a little girl between eleven and twelve years old. Four months ago the mother had gone to the plantation to visit her, not having seen her then for ten months; she had saved a dress for the child, and took it with her. “I knew,” she said, “that she would need it, but I never expected to find her as bad as she was; I could not help crying when I saw her; she was not dressed as a
he had whipped the child so that you could not lay your hand anywhere along her back where he had not cut the blood out of her. I did all I could for her, and dressed her, but I could not stay. [Here the poor creature's eyes filled with tears.] I brought back the rags my child was covered with; I have them yet." I asked to see them. She went out, it seemed reluctantly, and brought a small bundle of filthy tatters, which she appeared ashamed that I should see. "If I could only have kept the children," she said, "I would not have cared for all the rest. I liked so much to have them clean and nice."

This woman made her living, as I ascertained, solely by washing and ironing. She, like the other, had paid her expenses of every kind, the doctor's bill inclusive.

The following testimony from a well-known and respected citizen of Louisville:—

**Question.**—"Throughout the State do the colored people manage their own church affairs?"

**Answer.**—" Entirely. Nobody has any thing to do with them but themselves. Here is a curious fact to show what their capacity is. A great many of the churches now owned by them had been failures in the hands of white people. The negroes bought and paid for them, and have improved them very much since the purchase. Mr. Adams's church is a much finer one now than when we sold it to them. Mr. Smethern's church was built by white people, who were not able to pay for it, and was then bought by the negroes. Nobody would suppose it now to be the same house, its appearance is so much changed for the better. And that is very common. They have much taste about it.
When the Methodists and Baptists began their revivals in the South, large numbers of Negroes were immediately attracted to this type of religious worship. However, it was not until after the American Revolution that large masses of the Negro population became converts and joined the Methodist and Baptist churches. During the closing years of the eighteenth century the religious revivals in Kentucky and Tennessee tended to re-enforce the forms of conversion which characterized the Methodist revivals and were used in some places by the Baptists and Presbyterians.

Why did the Negro slaves respond so enthusiastically to the proselyting efforts of the Methodists and Baptists? From what has been pointed out concerning the manner in which the slaves were stripped of their cultural heritage, we may dismiss such speculations as the one that it was due to their African background. We are on sounder ground when we note first that the Baptist and Methodist preachers, who lacked the education of the ministers of the Anglican church, appealed to the poor and the ignorant and the outcast. In the crowds that attended the revivals and camp meetings there were numbers of Negroes who found in the fiery message of salvation a hope and a prospect of escape from their earthly woes. Moreover, the emphasis which the preachers placed upon feeling as a sign of conversion found a ready response in the slaves who were repressed in so many ways. Then there were other factors in the situation that caused the slaves to respond to the forms of religious expression provided by the Baptists and Methodists. As we have indicated, the slaves who had been torn from their homeland and kinsmen and friends and whose cultural heritage was lost, were isolated and broken men, so to speak. In the
emotionalism of the camp meetings and revivals some social solidarity, even if temporary, was achieved, and they were drawn into a union with their fellow men. Later, common religious beliefs and practices and traditions tended to provide a new basis of social cohesion in an alien environment. We shall have more to say about this as we analyse further the development of religion among the slaves.

Not only did religion draw the Negroes into a union with their fellow-men, it tended to break down barriers that isolated them morally from their white masters. Where the plantation tended to become a social as well as an industrial institution, the Negro slaves participated in the religious life of their masters. It was a part of the discipline on many plantations to provide for the religious instruction of the slaves. The house servants often attended the family prayers. As a rule the galleries in the white churches were reserved for the Negro slaves. The master, and more especially mistress, gave religious instruction to the slaves, and white ministers often preached to Negro congregations and supervised their activities. Thus, despite the vast gulf in the status that separated master and slave, participation in the same religious services drew the Negroes out of their moral isolation in the white man’s world.

The Bible was the means by which the Negroes acquired a new theology. As we have noted, the Negroes who were brought to the New World undoubtedly carried memories of their gods. These memories were lost or forgotten and there was a determined effort on the part of the whites to prevent any resurgence of African religion. It was from the Bible that the slaves learned of the god of the white man and of his ways with the world and with men. The slaves were taught that the God with whom they became acquainted in the Bible was the ruler of the universe and superior to all other gods. They were taught that the God of the Bible punished and rewarded black men as well as white men. Black men were expected to accept their lot in this world and if they were obedient and honest and truthful they would be rewarded in the world after death. In a book of sermons and dialogues prepared by a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland in 1743 for use by masters and mistresses in their families, the slave in the dialogue says: ‘God will reward me; and indeed I have good reason to be content and thankful; and I sometimes think more so than if I was free and ever so rich and great; for then I might be tempted to love and serve myself more than God. But now I can’t help
Under slavery the Negro family was essentially an amorphous group gathered around the mother or some female on the plantation. The father was a visitor to the household without any legal or recognized status in family relations. He might disappear as the result of the sale of slaves or because of a whimsical change of his own feelings or affection. Among certain favoured elements on the plantation, house slaves and skilled artisans, the family might achieve greater stability and the father and husband might develop a more permanent interest in his family. Whatever might be the circumstances of the Negro family under the slave régime, family and sex relations were constantly under the supervision of the whites.

The Negro church with its own forms of religious worship was a world which the white man did not invade but only regarded with an attitude of condescending amusement. The Negro church could enjoy this freedom so long as it offered no threat to the white man's dominance in both economic and social relations. And, on the whole, the Negro's church was not a threat to white domination and aided the Negro to become accommodated to an inferior status. The religion of the Negro continued to be other-worldly in its outlook, dismissing the privations and sufferings and injustices of this world as temporary and transient. The Negro church remained a refuge despite the fact that the Negro often accepted the disparagement of Negroes by whites and the domination of whites. But all of this was a part of God's plan and was regarded just as the physical environment was regarded. What mattered was the way he was treated in the church which gave him an opportunity for self-expression and status. Since the Negro was not completely insulated from the white world and had to conform to some extent to the ways of white men, he was affected by their evaluation of him. Nevertheless, he could always find an escape from such, often painful, experiences within the shelter of his church.
Despite these countervailing examples, it seems that in the United States the experience of Phyllis Wheatley, if not her theological explanation of it, has been the rule rather than the exception. Under British North American slavery, it seems that the African religious heritage was lost. Especially does this appear so when black religion in the United States is compared with the cults of Brazil and the Caribbean. In candombê, vaudou, santeria, and shango "the acceptance of Christianity by the African slaves, and its transmission to their descendants, has by no means meant the disappearance of African beliefs or patterns of worship," but to a large extent has led to their continuity in a new "unified system of belief and ritual." Why was the same not true of slaves in the United States? Two conflicting answers have been proposed: one is that African retentions in the United States were negligible because the African was almost totally stripped of his culture by the process of enslavement; and the other, that the slave system did not destroy the slaves' African culture and a considerable number of Africanisms continue to define Afro-American culture in the United States. The foremost advocate of the former position is E. Franklin Frazier; of the latter, Melville J. Herskovits. 

Herskovits' most complete and most careful statement of his thesis is The Myth of the Negro Past. The myth that Herskovits was intent on destroying was the belief that the American Negro had no past except a history of primitive savagery in Africa from which he had been delivered by contact with European civilization in America. For Herskovits the destruction of this myth was not simply a matter of detached scholarship. It also had important practical ramifications in the struggle against racism. To deny that the black American had a culture and history of significance and sophistication in Africa and to suggest that African culture was not advanced enough to endure contact with superior European culture was to imply that Negroes were an inferior people. Furthermore, Herskovits thought it important to recognize the historical relevance of African retentions in order to evaluate cultural differences between white and black Americans in scientific rather than racist terms. Discrepancies between white and black values and behavior were due not to "culture lag," i.e., backwardness on the part of the blacks but to a different cultural background whose roots lay in Africa.
As an anthropologist, Herskovits was interested particularly in the study of culture contact and acculturation. To the debate over African retentions he brought an amazingly broad perspective, informed by extensive field work in Dahomey, Dutch Guiana, Haiti, Trinidad, and, to a lesser degree, Brazil. He studied the "New World Negro" in the light of his research in the slaving area of West Africa where a large number of Afro-Americans originated. In discussing the culture of black people in the United States he insisted that the situation of North American Negroes be placed on a spectrum or continuum with other Afro-American societies. The scale of African retentions stretches from Dutch Guiana with the strongest and most integral examples of African culture, at one end, to the United States with the weakest and most fragmentary evidence of African influence, at the other. Herskovits thought it important to view the United States in comparison with other areas of the hemisphere where Africanisms are apparent in order to discover clues to more subtly disguised African patterns of culture in the United States. In contrast to Haiti and Brazil, African retentions in the United States cannot be ascribed with any certainty to definite areas of West Africa such as Nigeria or Dahomey. Herskovits compensates for this difficulty by defining West Africa as a single-culture area with an overall similarity and unity despite local differences. He suggests a "base line" of West African culture to serve as a measure for determining Africanisms in the United States; furthermore, within the general culture of West Africa there is a focus, and this focus is religion. Throughout New World Negro cultures the strongest Africanisms are to be found in religion. Herskovits divided the myth of the Negro past into five statements, or submyths, and then proceeded to rebut each statement.

The first myth is: "Negroes are naturally of childlike character, and adjust easily to the most unsatisfactory social situations, which they accept readily and even happily..." On the contrary, Herskovits argues, Africans and Afro-Americans are neither childlike nor naive, but have developed a sophisticated world

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The debate has been a lasting one. The positions represented by Herskovits and Frazier have continued in one form or another to inform a variety of discussion on black history and culture, including the fields of music, folklore, language, and art. There are those who deny that there is any difference between white and black Americans except color. There are those who ground black identity and black pride upon a reclamation of historical continuity with the African past. There are those who identify black rebellion with the survival of African culture. The ideological conflicts between separatists and integrationists have involved judgments about the survival of African culture in the United States. Commentators on black religious life have been subject to ideological pressures to take a stand in the Herskovits-Frazier debate, understanding that wider implications would derive from their conclusions. Given the implications and emotions involved in the issues, it is a difficult but, for that reason, all the more necessary task to evaluate the evidence with care and open-mindedness, to be aware of one's own preconceptions and not to draw hasty conclusions.
Even if a slave owner was accused of abusing a slave by a white church brother, it remained a sensitive issue: How was one to judge when discipline had become abuse? That such accusations occurred at all indicates the way in which church discipline could potentially complicate the slave-master relationship and how that relationship could in turn complicate church discipline. The peace of more than one antebellum congregation was disturbed by charges and countercharges about slave disobedience and slave-owner brutality. When the Forks of Elkhorn Baptist Church in Kentucky held its monthly church conference on the second Saturday of January 1806, Brother Palmer brought before the church a complaint against Brother Stephens and his wife “for not dealing with Nancy their Negroe Woman and bringing her before the Church and for putting her in Irons.” Brother Stephens was acquitted of the charge. A second charge was brought against Sister Stephens “for giving their Negroe Woman the Iye.” Sister Stephens was acquitted of both charges. But Brother Palmer and the slave member Nancy didn't let the matter rest there; on the second Saturday of April 1806 Palmer once again “brought a complaint against Bro. Stephens and Wife for not letting [sic] Nancy come to see her Child.....” This time Sister Stephens countered with a complaint against Nancy for falsely reporting that “Bro. Stephens said he would give her a hundred stripes and every Six stripes dip the Cow hide in Salt and Water—And say-
Antebellum black churches arose and prospered especially in the border states. The First African Church of Lexington, Kentucky, gathered by Old Captain in 1801, chose Loudon Ferrill, a former slave from Hanover county, Virginia, to succeed the founder as pastor in 1824. During Ferrill's thirty-two-year term of service the membership of the church grew from 280 to 1,820, the largest of any church in Kentucky. The First Colored Church of Louisville, with Henry Adams as minister, numbered 644 in 1845 and was the largest church in the Long Run Baptist Association. By 1860 Kentucky had seventeen separate black churches with an aggregate membership of 5,737. George W. Dupree, who was to be a leading figure in the organization of black Baptist churches, associations, and a monthly journal, began his ministerial career while still a slave. Licensed to preach in 1846, he was ordained pastor of the black Baptist church in Georgetown in 1851, though he remained a slave until permitted to purchase his freedom after 1856.

In response to a question about the way in which spirituals were created, one ex-slave from Kentucky claimed that they were formed out of traditional African tunes and songs with which the slaves were familiar. Then she went on to describe another part of the process by which spirituals came to be—the moments of religious excitement when the slaves’ emotions spontaneously broke out in moaning, praying, singing and shouting, the ecstatic expressions of religious fervor:

Us ole heads use ter make 'em on de spurn of de moment, after we wressle wid de Spirit and come tho. But the tunes was brung from Africa by our granddaddies. Dey was jis 'miliar song . . . dey calls 'em spirituals, case de Holy Spirit done revealed 'em to 'em. Some say Moss Jesus taught 'em, and I's seed 'em start in meetin'. We'd all be at the 'prayer house' de Lord's Day, and de white preacher he'd splain de word and read whar Ezekiel done say—

Dry bones gwine ter lib again.

And, honey, de Lord would come a-shining thoo dem pages and revive dis ole nigger’s heart, and I'd jump up dar and den and holler and shout and sing and pat, and dey would all cotch de words . . . and dey's all take it up and keep at it, and keep a-addin to it and den it would be a spiritual.**
a j raboteau, slave rel; the invisible institution in ante-bel south, 1978

p 88/ Raboteau thinks that "Catholic piety with its veneration of saints, use of sacramentals, and organization of religious fraternities among the slaves offered a supportive context for the continuity of African religious elements in recognizable form." /p 89/ In central and South America you have much greater ratios black to white than in the US. Of the 9,566,000 slaves taken to the New World, only /p 90/ 427,000 went to English colonies; or only 4.4% of slaves taken to New World went to English colonies. Amazingly, by 1865, blacks in English colonies had grown to 4,000,000. With emancipation in Br. West Indies in 1834, the 1,665,000 imported had been reduced to 781,000. Similar statistics are true for Spanish colonies in Central and South America--great reductions occurred. Raboteau quotes Ward C V Woodward with the best explanation--Central and South American planters preferred male slaves; cared little for natural increase as the best way to get additional slaves, since slaves were so cheap. /p 92/ The constant influx of Africans apparently helped preserve African traditions more in the Central and South American areas.

"Thus the bulk of the slave population in North America was native-born. In the United States the influx of Africans and of African cultural influence was far less extensive than in the Caribbean and in Brazil. In North America a relatively small number of Africans found themselves enslaved amid a rapidly increasing native-born population whose memories of the African past grew fainter with each passing generation."

"The character of the religious milieu, the average number of slaves on plantations, and the number of Africans in the slave population were all factors in the survival or loss of African culture. In the United

States all these factors tended to inhibit the survival of African culture and religion. It was not possible to maintain the rites of worship, the priesthood, or the 'national' identities which were the vehicle and supports for African theology and cult organization. Nevertheless, even as the gods of Africa gave way to the God of Christianity, the African heritage of singing, dancing, spirit possession, and magic continued to influence Afro-American spirituals, ring shouts, and folk beliefs. That this was so is evidence of the slaves' ability not only to adapt to new contexts but to do so creatively."
"Spirituals are too often seen simply as words and notes printed on a page. What must be recognized is that they emerged as communal songs, heard, felt, sung and often danced with handclapping, foot-stamping, head-shaking excitement. It was at the prayer or praise meeting that the spiritual was sung in all full communal and liturgical setting."

One slave preacher described it as "The singing was accompanied by a certain ecstasy of motion, clapping of hands, tossing of heads, which would continue without cessation about half an hour; one would lead off in a kind of recitative style, others joining in the chorus." Another minister said you must witness spirituals in their "native setting."

"The flexible, improvisational structure of the spirituals gave them the capacity to fit an individual slave's specific experience into the consciousness of the group." One slave put it this was: "Some's very good singers and know how; and dey work it in you know; til dey get it right; and dat's de way."

"Soon after the Episcopal Theological Seminary was organized in 1834 at Lexington, Kentucky, the Reverend Henry Caswall, a member of the faculty, and some of his students collected about seventy-five slaves into a Sunday school. When it was generally learned that the Negroes were being taught to read, the mayor of Lexington requested the teachers 'to desist from such a dangerous proceeding' for fear that a mob 'might level our Seminary to dust.'"
PROGRESS IN MEMBERSHIP OF LOUISVILLE, LEXINGTON BLACK BAP. CHURCHES 1839, 1854

walter b posey, frontier missions; hist rel west of sou appa, 1966

p 209/ "The Louisville Colored Baptist Church added 214 members by baptism in the year 1843 and two years later had 644 members. In 1854 the First African Baptist Church in Lexington, the largest church in Kentucky, had 1,820 members."

source: Baptist Banner, July 14, 1841; Feb. 9, 1843; Spencer, Ky Bap, II, 656

EARLY PRESBY (WHITE) IN KY URGE TEACHING BLACKS TO READ BIBLE 1840

walter b posey, frontier missions; hist rel west of sou appalachians, 1966

p 212/ "Seven years later / 1794 / the Transylvania Presbytery in Kentucky instructed its members to teach slaves under fifteen years to read the Bible. In 1809 the Synod of Kentucky ordered the presbyteries under its jurisdiction to supply religious instruction so that the slaves might have 'a human and Christian treatment.' In other Southern states /begin p 213/ the procedure of the church followed a pattern quite similar to that which had developed in Kentucky."

Source: Sweet, Presby, 382, etc.
In 1851 from Kentucky came a letter to the American Society saying that three counties were issuing marriage licenses to Negroes and the preachers were marrying them.

Source: Geo. H. Blair, Oct. 16, 1846

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church, unlike other Protestant denominations, did not have a single separate church for slaves. The Negroes went to the white churches and were taught the same salvation by the same preacher. A young Presbyterian, a graduate of Auburn Theological Seminary, began his ministerial career in 1824 in Henderson, Kentucky, which was a town of six hundred people, only fifty of whom were church members. The situation seemed so unpromising that the young minister thought the blacks the more hopeful part of his charge and through them he expected to reach the whites. In a few cases a Cumberland Presbyterian minister had a colored assistant who, in his presence, preached to the Negroes in the afternoon.

Any black assistants in Ky?
"ALEXANDER CAMPBELL" BLACK DISCIPLES OF CHRIST MINISTER 1843

w b posey, frontier missions; hist of rel west of south appa, 1966

p 218/

"A few remarkable Negroes contributed a great deal to the advancement of their race in the Disciples churches. Such was the slave who by some manipulation, either of his master or of a mission board, secured his freedom, took the name 'Alexander Campbell,' and sought employment in Lexington, Kentucky. While working as a porter, he attended Transylvania University long enough to become a preacher. Then he took the lead in forming at Midway, Kentucky, a church that soon had three hundred members. After three years of preaching he was able to buy the freedom of his wife. Two sons followed him into the Disciples ministry."

NO DATE GIVE

source: Garrison & DeGroot, Disc of Christ, 472; Meseley, Disc of Christ, 187

HOPKINSVILLE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST PURCHASE FREEDOM FOR BLACK PREACHER 1853

w b posey, frontier missions; hist rel west of south appalachians, 1966

p 218/ "In a few instances Disciples churches, following the plan of other religious bodies, bought the freedom of a Negro preacher. In 1853 the church in Hopkinsville, Kentucky, assisted by neighboring churches, raised $530 to purchase Alexander Cross, who was sent to Liberia as a missionary. Unfortunately his service was short, for Cross died within a few months after reaching Africa."
"Many of the narratives were hastily thrown together, loosely structured, episodic accounts lacking any controlling point of view. This was not universally the case, however. The narrative of William and Ellen Craft is a spellbinding account of what must be one of the most bizarre escape journeys in all of slave literature. Certainly the narratives of Brown / Wm Weels/, Douglass, and Henry Bibb are imaginatively drawn and perceptively controlled, revealing as they do a sophisticated integration of precise detail and insightful generalizations. Second, such political motivations affect the veracity of the slave narratives. Many of them were dictated by ex-slaves to white ghost writers, abolitionists who may have had good intentions but nevertheless took license to render the narrative as effective a propaganda tract as possible. In fact, some narratives were total fabrications, a discovery that served slavery's advocates well since they could then argue that the narratives lied about the nature of the slave system."

"If ability to achieve progress under unfavorable conditions is any test of racial capacity, the American negro /sic/ need not fear comparison with any race that ever inhabited the globe."

Albion W. Tourgée, "Our Semi-Citizens," in Olsen, ed, The Negro Question; From Slavery to Caste,
a meier, negro thought in am, 1880-1915; racial ideologies in age of b t washington, 1963

1866 LOUISVILLE CONVENTION OF BLACKS

"The Kentucky convention in March 1866 was more accommodating. Waiving temporarily the ballot and the doctrine of equality before the law, it advised self-help, education, and economic and moral elevation as essential to the salvation and prosperity of any people."

Meier's source: Proceedings of First Convention of Colored Men of Ky ...1866, (Louisville, 1866)

NATIONAL NEGRO CONVENTION IN LOUISVILLE 1883

"At the national Negro convention held in Louisville in 1883 a resolution endorsing the Republican party caused turbulent debate and was never acted upon. " Fred. Douglass urged the party to be skeptical of both parties.

source: A Meier, negro thought in am 1880-1915, taken from an article by DeSantis, JNH, Apr 1951, XXXVI, 148-59
milton c sernett, black religion & american Evangelicalism; white protestants, plantation missions, & the flowering of Negro christianity, 1975

p 82/Charles C. Jones was known as "The Negro Slaves" /on p 40/
\[\text{The plantation missionaries recognized that the antebellum slave was no black Adam in the Southern garden. 'The superstitions brought from Africa,' /Charles C. / Jones complained as late as 1842, 'have not been wholly laid aside.' Witchcraft, alleged superstitions and fetishist practices were often cited as evidence that the plantation Negroes refused to abandoned African paganism for American Christianity. White Christians damned the religious heritage of the slaves twice over. It was 'heathen' and 'pagan' because Africans did not worship the God of the Judaeo-Christian tradition and because the beliefs, ceremonies, and rituals of Africal /sic/ religion were regarded as inferior, uncivilized, and unenlightened.'}\]

SLAVES JUSTIFY STEALING FROM MASTER ON A "HIGHER LAW" CONCEPT 1850

m c sernett, black religion & am evangelicalism; white protestants, plantation missions & flowering of Negro christianity, 1975

p 90/ "Some slave-traders actually asked more for Christian slaves because it was assumed that they would be more faithful and trustworthy. The truth of the matter was that many slaves were able to justify theft and deception by an appeal to a higher morality than that prescribed for them by slaveholding piety." /p 92/ "They were not willing to be duped by a sham Christian piety which was mandatory for slaves but not for masters."

first sentence from Bibb, Narrative, 169-70
SERNETT ON ORIGINS OF EMOTIONAL ACTIVITIES OF BLACKS IN CHURCHES

m c sernett, black rel & am evangelicalism; white protes., plantation missions & flowering of Negro christianity, 1975

p 104/ "Antebellum churchmen who, on general principles, were suspicious of the enthusiastic form of worship chided blacks for their love of a boisterous sort of meeting. Yet thousands of whites engaged in similar behavior when the 'times of refreshing' came round. We lack sufficient evidence to indicate whether revivalism is purely a product of the African heritage or of the American experience. It should be clear that not all phenomena of a similar nature necessarily have a common origin. My supposition is that African modes of worship and American revivalistic patterns were simply cultural parallelisms. When the slaves came to the United States and encountered Americans shouting and jumping much in the fashion of African worship, they were drawn to those churches which sanctioned and encouraged revivalistic styles. Where else but at the camp meeting could the slave feel free to release his pent-up emotions without fear of recrimination at the hands of his master?"

AFRICAN HERITAGE SEEN IN SIMILAR ACTIVITIES OF AM. BLACK, AFRICAN

henry h mitchell, black belief; folk beliefs of blacks and west africans, 1975

p 16/ Says if a black went to Africa he would see many similarities between American blacks and West Africans. "this is apparent in both walking and dancing. The step used in African ceremonial dances, Haitian voodoo rites, West Indian Christian worship, and Blackamerican gospel choirs is strikingly similar. There is even a similarity in the way people hold their mouths when they sing or drum." Sees another example in "the tradition of having to 'dress up' in the extreme for worship...." "...Titles like uncle and aunt in slave and later Southern culture have been attributed to the White denial of the dignity of Black adults by refusing them the titles Mr. and Mrs. Actually, inside the Black community, the wide use of family titles goes back to the African root culture, where everybody 'in town' is related by blood." /p 21/ Mitchell goes on to give stronger evidence "Hard Data": "The African world view was not recognized as such because it was so nearly identical with the Judaeo-Christian view, and because it was automatically assumed that religious views as high as this must have come from Whites, not from 'pagan' Africans."
p 15/ "The Bible is the sacred book of Christianity, and the Qur'an is the book of Islam. African Religion has no scriptures or holy books. It is written in their history, the hearts and experiences of the people. Having no sacred scriptures, it has been able to move with the times, and it has produced no religious controversies. People are free to hold different views and beliefs without the danger of being accused of heresy or falsehood. On the other hand, since there are no sacred books, we cannot tell precisely what African Religion may have been five hundred years ago and how far it may differ today from what it was many centuries ago. Therefore we cannot speak of the purity of African Religion, since there is no authority about what it was originally or at any given point in its history."

"African Religion is very pragmatic and realistic. It is applied to a situation as the need arises."

\[This may help explain the acculturation of slaves, their interest in white man's religion.\]
Morals deal with human conduct. This conduct has two dimensions. There is personal conduct, which has to do specifically with the life of the individual. For example he would ask himself whether it is right or wrong for him to eat, to work in his field, to visit the doctor or medicine man when he is sick, and so on. But the greater number of morals has to do with social conduct, that is, the life of society at large, the conduct of the individual within the group or community or nation. African morals lay a great emphasis on social conduct, since a basic African view is that the individual exists only because others exist. In the area of good and evil moral behavior Mbiti says: "There are many things held to be morally wrong and evil, such as: robbery, murder, rape, telling lies, stealing, being cruel, saying bad words, showing disrespect, practising sorcery or witchcraft, interfering with public rights, backbiting, being lazy or greedy or selfish, breaking promises, and so on." Morally right things are: "...Kindness, politeness, showing respect, being truthful and honest, being reliable, keeping promises, /begin p 180/ working hard, being hospitable, being considerate, helping others, looking after the homestead, practising justice in public life, keeping the good traditions and customs of one's society, and many others."

The bondage from which black men and women emerged during and after the Civil War had varied in conditions of living, in degrees of mental and physical violence, and in the character of ownership. But the education acquired by each slave was remarkably uniform, consisting largely of lessons in survival and accommodation--the uses of humility, the virtues of ignorance, the arts of evasion, the subtleties of verbal intonation, the techniques by which feelings and emotions were masked, and the occasions that demanded the flattering of white egos and the placating of white fears. They learned to live with the uncertainties of family life, the drab diet of /begin p xii/ 'nigger' food, the whippings and humiliations, the excessive demands on their labor, the wiles and changing moods of masters and mistresses, the perverted Christianity of white preachers, and the inhumanities few blacks would ever forget--a spirited slave reduced to insensibility, a father helpless to protect his wife or children, a mother in the forced embrace of the master or his sons. Not only did most of the slaves learn to endure but they managed to create a reservoir of spiritual and moral power and kinship ties that enabled them under the most oppressive of conditions to maintain their essential humanity and dignity."
While blacks often spoke of love of the south, they told of a higher loyalty. "'We are part and parcel of the great American body politic,' Kentucky blacks declared. 'We love our country and her institutions. We are proud of her greatness, her glory and her might. We are intensely American.'" /begin p 518/ "Even as the Kentucky Colored People's Convention acknowledged some former slaveholders as their 'best friends,' the view of bondage they incorporated in their Declaration of Sentiment was uncompromising: 'that cursed system under which we so long groaned, which crushed every asperation; debased us to the level with the beasts of the field; robbed us of every attribute of humanity, and prostituted our wives, our sisters, and daughters.'"

Mr. Hamilton was describing a trip down the Ohio R to the Miss. R. to New Orleans when he wrote: "But there were some things to which I had not become accustomed, and one of these was slavery; and another, eating and drinking and holding communion with a slave-dealer.+

"Unfortunately, the man generally occupied the place next to me at dinner; and, strange to say, with the soul of a brute, I remarked that he performed all the functions of an ordinary American. He ate, he drank, he voided profusion of tobacco juice, he swallowed brandy every half hour of the day, and passed three-fourths, both of day and night, in gambling. His poor gang of slaves were above stairs, the men loaded with heavy chains, and the women with scarcely rags enough to serve the purposes of decency. I spoke occasionally to both, and the women were certainly the more intelligent. They seemed to take pride in the largeness of the prices they had formerly brought in the market; and one, with a look of dignity, told me her master had refused three hundred dollars for her. Who, after this, shall presume to say, that vanity is not an inherent attribute of women? +

"The men were in a state at once wretched and disgusting. Their chains prevented their performing the ordinary functions of cleanliness, and their skin had become covered with a sort of scaly eruption. But I will not enlarge on a subject so revolting. I remember, however, that no one on board talked about freedom so loudly or so long as this slave-dealer. He at length left us, and the sky seemed brighter, and the earth greener, after his departure."
"The census records show that the majority of the Negro owners of slaves were such from the point of view of philanthropy. In many instances the husband purchased the wife or vice versa. The slaves belonging to such families were few compared with the large numbers found among the whites on the well-developed plantations. Slaves of Negroes were in some cases the children of a free father who had purchased his wife. If he did not thereafter emancipate the mother, as so many such husbands failed to do, his own children were born his slaves and were thus reported by the enumerators. +

"Some of these husbands were not anxious to liberate their wives immediately. They considered it advisable to put them on probation for a few years, and if they did not find them satisfactory they would sell their wives as other slaveholders disposed of Negroes."

"Benevolent Negroes often purchased slaves to make their lot easier by granting them their freedom for a nominal sum, or by permitting them to work it out on liberal terms."

"Having economic interests in common with the white slaveholders, the Negro owners of slaves often enjoyed the same social standing. It was not exceptional for them to attend the same church, to educate their children in the same private school, and to frequent the same places of amusement."

Says most of black owners of slaves were in urban areas.

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Conjure

A rich tradition of folk belief and practice, including conjure, herbalism, ghost lore, witchcraft, and fortune-telling, flourished in the slave quarters. The power of the supernatural impinged on the daily lives of slaves and affected their relationships with one another and with the world around them. Like Christianity, conjure was a system of belief, a way of perceiving the world which placed people in the context of another world no less "real" than the ordinary one. Many slaves, and whites as well, knew the world of conjure to be real because they had experienced its power. In part, conjure was a theory which made sense of the mysterious and inexplicable occurrences of life. Duncan Gaines, former Virginia slave, described this explanatory function of conjure when he recalled that during slave times "there was much talk of 'hoodooism' and anyone ill for a long time without getting relief from herb medicine was thought to be 'fixed' or suffering from some sin that his father had committed." The concept of suffering for the guilt of the father is biblical; the concept of being victimized by a "fix" is conjure. Both attempt to locate the cause of irrational suffering. Among Africans and their descendants in America illness which did not respond to natural medicines and the sudden, unpredictable occurrence of misfortune were the re-
suit of another's animosity. Slaves believed adversity was due not to blind fate or mere happenstance but to the ill will of someone working through a conjurer.

Not only was conjure a theory for explaining the mystery of evil, but it was also a practice for doing something about it. Because the conjure doctor had the power to "fix" and to remove "fixes," to harm and to cure, it was possible to locate the source of misfortune and control it. Therefore the conjurer, as a man of power—and supernatural power at that—enjoyed a measure of authority in the slave community directly proportional to belief in his power. Variously known as root doctor, hoodoo doctor, two-facer, and wangateur (from oanga-charm), he was respected and feared by those blacks and whites who had implicit faith in his power. Conjurers cultivated an aura of mystery which lent credibility to their reputations as men familiar with supernatural lore. Distinctive features, such as "red eyes" and "blue gums," unusual dress, and the accoutrements of his trade—a crooked cane, charms, and conjure bag—all were outward manifestations of the root worker's special expertise. The ultimate source of the conjurer's power was either God or the devil. Being born the seventh son of a seventh son or being born with a caul also were seen as sources of power. In addition, it was believed that the lore of conjure could be passed on from teacher to pupil. 125

Conjurers were said to be two-faced or two-handed because they could do "left-handed work"—"charm" a person—or "right-handed" work—counteract a charm. Conjurers employed to do left-handed work used both direct and indirect methods. A substance, perhaps a root or a toad's head, could be ground into powder and then mixed or dissolved in the food or drink of the intended victim. The substance used sometimes was poisonous. It would be interesting to know how many cases of slaves poisoning their masters involved conjure. 126 The indirect approach was to place the charm near the victim where contact or at least proximity would transmit the harm intended. A charm, also known as hand, trick, toby, mojo, and gris-gris, might lurk anywhere—under the doorstep, inside a mattress, out in the yard, or alongside a path the victim was sure to take. Tricks placed by the roadside could even distinguish their targets from other passersby if hair from the victim or dirt from his footprint was wrapped up in the charm. 127

A virtual job summary of conjure was detailed by Rosanha Frazier, ex-slave born in Mississippi, who blamed her loss of sight upon a "hoodoo-nigger."

Dey powder up de rattle offen de snake and tie it up in de little old rag bag and dey do devilmint with it. Dey git old scorpion and make bad medicine. Dey git dirt out de graveyard and dat dirt, after dey speak on it, would make you go crazy.

When dey wants conjure you, dey sneak round and git de hair combin' or de finger or toenail, or anything natural 'bout your body and works de hoodoo on it.

Dey make de straw man or de clay man and dey puts de pin in de leg and you leg gwineter git hurt or sore jus' where dey puts de pin. Iffen dey puts de pin through de heart you gwine die...
Slave religion has been stereotyped as otherworldly and compensatory. It was otherworldly in the sense that it held that this world and this life were not the end, nor the final measure of existence. It was compensatory to the extent that it consoled and supported slaves worn out by the unrelenting toil and capricious cruelty of the "peculiar institution." To conclude, however, that religion distracted slaves from concern with this life and dissuaded them from action in the present is to distort the full story and to simplify the complex role of religious motivation in human behavior. It does not always follow that belief in a future state of happiness leads to acceptance of suffering in this world. It does not follow necessarily that a hope in a future when all wrongs will be righted leads to acquiescence to injustice in the present. Religion had different effects on the motivation and identity of different slaves and even dissimilar effects on the same slave at different times and in different circumstances.

To describe slave religion as merely otherworldly is inaccurate, for the slaves believed that God had acted, was acting, and would continue to act within human history and within their own particular history as a peculiar people just as long ago he had acted on behalf of another chosen people, biblical Israel. Moreover,
FREE NEGRO OWNERS OF SLAVES IN KENTUCKY

1862

C. G. Woodson, Free Negro Owners of Slaves in U. S. in 1830, 1924

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FREE NEGRO OWNERS OF SLAVES IN KENTUCKY (1830)

C. G. Woodson, Free Negro Owners of Slaves in 1830, 1924

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### FREE NEGRO OWNERS OF SLAVES (1830)

C.G. Woodson, free negro owners of slaves in 1830, 1924

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<tr>
<td>Gray, J. T.</td>
<td>4 5</td>
<td>24-36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

### FREE NEGRO OWNERS OF SLAVES IN KENTUCKY (1830)

C.G. Woodson, free negro owners of slaves in 1830, 1924

#### KENTUCKY—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nelson County</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardstown</td>
<td>3 4</td>
<td>55-100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smiley, Thomas</td>
<td>1 4</td>
<td>36-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocke, Joe</td>
<td>2 3</td>
<td>36-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudd, Thomas</td>
<td>5 6</td>
<td>24-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aud, George</td>
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<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North of the Road from Frankfort to Louisville</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henson, Jim</td>
<td>2 3</td>
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</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Value</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Warren County</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowling Green</td>
<td>2 8</td>
<td>24-38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmore, Jane</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russell, Basal</td>
<td>2 3</td>
<td>36-55</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington County</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South of Main Street, Springfield</td>
<td>2 3</td>
<td>100-190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmer, Robert C.</td>
<td>2 4</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>1 3</td>
<td>36-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corbin, Lawrence</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutt, Betty</td>
<td>7 8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell, Billy</td>
<td>8 10</td>
<td>55-100</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Stratford, Tom</td>
<td>2 5</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Hardy, Ambrose</td>
<td>1 3</td>
<td>55-100</td>
</tr>
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<td>Harvey, Richard</td>
<td>2 6</td>
<td>36-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coolak, Samuel</td>
<td>3 4</td>
<td>36-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twinner, Nathan</td>
<td>4 6</td>
<td>36-55</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hawkins, Joel</td>
<td>3 8</td>
<td>55-100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weaver, Moses</td>
<td>1 8</td>
<td>36-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritchie, Jordan</td>
<td>1 4</td>
<td>36-55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
was born in the State of Kentucky, on the 14th day of May, 1802. He received some instruction in reading and writing. He was bound out to a gentleman, from whom he learned the cabinet-making trade. He developed at quite an early age a genius for working in all kinds of wood—could make anything in the business. He came to Ohio in 1826, and located in Cincinnati. He was a fine-looking man of twenty-four years, and a master mechanic. He expected to secure employment in some of the cabinet shops in the city. Accordingly, he applied to several, but as often as he applied he was refused employment on the ground of complexional prejudice. In some instances the proprietor was willing that a Colored man should work for him, but the white mechanics would not work by the side of a Colored man. In other cases it was quite different. The proprietor would not entertain the idea of securing the services of a "Colored mechanic." So it was for weeks that Mr. Boyd sought an opportunity to use his skill in the direction of his genius and training; but he sought in vain. Disappointed, though not disheartened, he turned to the work of a stevedore, which he did for six months. At the expiration of this time he found employment with a house-builder. Within six months from the time he

...
geo w williams, his negro race in am, ii, 1882

Henri Boyd, Ky Black who went to Cincinnati, famous in business 1863-B

Still 1859, a period of twenty-three years. His business required large buildings and a force of skilful workmen, never less than twenty, frequently fifty. He used the most approved machinery and paid excellent wages. His manufactory presented, perhaps, what was never seen in the country before or since. His workmen represented almost the leading races. There were Negroes, Americans, Irishmen, Germans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and men of other nationalities. And they did not bite each other! Their relations were cordial.

He was burned out three times, but he rebuilt and went ahead. He was doing such an extensive business that some thought it impossible to destroy his buildings. His losses were very heavy, but he kept right on, and kept up his business for some time; he finally had to yield at the last fire, when he had no insurance.

He invented a machine to turn the rails of a bed, but being a Colored man he could not take out a patent. He, therefore, had one taken out in the name of a white gentleman. "The Boyd bedstead" sold throughout the United States then, and was popular for many years after he quit the business.

He has been engaged in several different businesses since he quit manufacturing, and for the last nine years has been in employ of the city.

Pious Negro Catholic: Brief Bio (died 1806)

M J Spalding, sketches of early Catholic missions in Ky, 1972 (1844)

Among the models of piety, which abounded during the time of which we are treating, we cannot omit to say a few words concerning one who was as eminent for his virtue, as he was lowly in condition. The name of the truly pious and exemplary Negro servant, commonly called "Uncle Harry," is familiar to most of the older Catholic settlers of Kentucky. He was truly a model of every Christian virtue. On the death of his master, he became the property of infant heirs. An old and faithful family servant, he was left by the executor to his own choice in the selection of his employment. He determined to go to the salt-licks, thinking that there he could earn most by his labour, for the benefit of the young heirs. Before departing, however, he determined to consult M. Badin on the step he was about to take. His pastor endeavoured at first to dissuade him from his purpose, representing the hardships he would have to undergo, the distance from church, and the danger to which his salvation would be exposed.

"Uncle Harry" replied to this last reason, with the utmost simplicity of faith: "that God would protect him from danger, and that the Blessed Virgin would take care of him." M. Badin yielded. At the licks, "Uncle Harry" was a model of piety for all. When any one of his fellow-servants was sick, he was always called for; and on these occasions, he did every thing in his power to console and instruct the sick person, by the bedside of whom he was wont to recite his beads, and to say all the prayers he knew. Sometime afterwards he was publicly sold, and purchased by a man who was not a Catholic. He obtained permission to see M. Badin, whom he induced to purchase him, promising that his labour should more than indem-
nify him for whatever expense he might incur. A
year or two later, M. Badin visited him while he
was labouring in the field: he appeared sad and
depressed, and on being asked the reason, he replied,
that he was fearful that he might die before he
could repay his kind master what he had expended
M. Badin comforted him, and the good negro
again put on a cheerful countenance.
He said prayers morning and night, with the
other servants, who had great respect for his vir-
tue. He gave them the most comfortable beds,
and often spent the night in prayer, taking but a
brief repose, on the hard floor. In the church, he
always knelt as immovable as a statue; and was
often there for hours before the rest of the congre-
gation. His whole life, in fact, seemed to be one
continual prayer: and he died, as he had lived,
praying. He expired without a struggle. One
morning he was found dead, sitting upright on a
stool, his hands clasped in prayer, holding his
beads, and his countenance irradiated with a sweet
smile. His death occurred in 1806.*

Many of the Catholic settlers in early Kentucky either
brought slaves or bought them later. Priests like Badin and
Flaget owned and traded slaves for personal use or for
service on the church property and lands. Catholic clergy-
men and nuns often held slaves as gifts from members of
the church. Sometimes nuns received slaves as part of their
dowry. Badin was deeply disturbed by the Kentucky slave-
owner's cruel treatment of his Negroes. Bishop Carroll
advised Badin to show the masters the error of their way
and to use his power to prevent the hiring and selling of
slaves. Badin trained a few women and children in the
fundamentals of religion so that they, in turn, could teach
the children and older Negroes. Especially did he hope
that the owners would accept their duty to teach the
catechism to the slaves and admit the Negroes to all the
sacraments, particularly that of marriage.
Father Neri in his missionary trips in Kentucky assembled slave children so that he might instruct them. He planned an order of Negro women, the Little Society of Friends of Mary at the Foot of the Cross, who would serve in uplifting the slaves. Several women were accepted as postulants, but the community failed of completion because Neri's successor thought the time inopportune. The Sisters of Loretto, founded by Neri, accepted as one of their tasks the duty of aiding "aged, decrepit and useless slaves.""
Gradually in early Kentucky and Tennessee, where the emphasis on cotton cultivation was not so great as in the Lower South, the Baptist preachers came to consider slavery as an evil. No concerted agreement, however, was ever adopted against this accepted condition of the Negro. A few early churches separately took uncompromising stands against slavery. In 1789 under the direction of Josiah Dodge the Rolling Fork (Kentucky) Baptist Church petitioned the Salem Association to take a stand. When the association decreed "it improper to enter into so important and critical matter, at present," Dodge led in the organization of New Hope Church, "the first emancipating church" in Kentucky. Action against slavery in the loosely organized associations with no dominating leader did not produce strong opposition. Although individual preachers and members of congregations in the Elkhorn (Kentucky) Association expressed their objections to slavery, the association rejected petitions and queries. In 1805 the association declared "it improper for ministers Churches or Associations to meddle with emancipation from Slavery" and advised them to have nothing to do with it. When David Barrow continued to be concerned over slavery, the association expelled him even though he was an able preacher. Barrow in 1807 formed a society of like minds who called themselves the Baptized Licking-Locust Association, Friends of Humanity. The organization made a bold expression of "abhorrence to unmerited, hereditary, perpetual, absolute, unconditional Slavery." The sentiments for emancipation by Baptists in Kentucky increasingly weakened, so that Barrow's society soon began to decrease in membership.
Kentucky was the slave area in which the Presbyterian Church first took its strongest antislavery stand, although it had considerable success also in Tennessee. David Rice as a member of the Kentucky Constitutional Convention in May 1792 boldly spoke his views on slavery and urged the convention to put an end to involuntary servitude in the state. Although his proposal was not adopted by the convention, he wielded sufficient influence in the Transylvania Presbytery, which embraced all of Kentucky, to secure in 1794 a ruling which ordered all slaveholders in the church to teach children under fifteen years of age, so that they would be prepared "for the enjoyment of freedom." This legislation which was certainly looking toward emancipation frightened the General Assembly of 1795 to the extent that it warned against "differences of opinion" that "threaten divisions which may have the most ruinous tendency." Uninhibited by the rebuke, the Transylvania Presbytery in 1796 recommended that Presbyterians "emancipate such of their slaves as they may think fit subjects of liberty" and prepare others for eventual freedom. In the following year the slavery issue was declared "a moral evil," but the presbytery refused to consider all slaveowners guilty of the said evil.  

Death came in 1816 to David Rice, a valiant leader of anti-slavery forces in Kentucky. Toward the end of his life he lost some of the deep faith he had had in the power of the church to adopt "a rational plan for the gradual abolition of slavery." As he lay dying he charged a slaveholding society with depriving Negroes of their liberty. "Freedom," he said, "is a natural and unalienable right, belonging to them, as well as others, of which the proprietor of man has not authorized me to deprive them."  

The General Assembly in 1818 made a further "expression of views" in which slavery was declared to be "a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature; as utterly inconsistent with the law of God . . . and . . . totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the gospel of Christ. . . ." Unwilling to make a strong statement on the surrender of slavery, the assembly expressed some sympathy with that part of the church most affected and then exhorted Presbyterians to continue and increase their exertions to effect a total abolition of slavery. The force of the action was destroyed by a plea that the churches should take due regard for "the safety and happiness of the master and the slave." This policy proved to be only "temporizing and procrastinating."
To make certain that the debates and shifts of opinion are seen in proper perspective, we need only enumerate the basic white-supremacist propositions in a form likely to have been acceptable to almost all shades of white opinion—Northern and Southern, Negrophobe and "paternalist"—after the 1830s. Widespread, almost universal, agreement existed on the following points:

1. Blacks are physically, intellectually, and temperamentally different from whites.

2. Blacks are also inferior to whites in at least some of the fundamental qualities wherein the races differ, especially in intelligence and in the temperamental basis of enterprise or initiative.

3. Such differences and differentials are either permanent or subject to change only by a very slow process of development or evolution.

4. Because of these permanent or deep-seated differences, miscegenation, especially in the form of intermarriage, is to be discouraged (to put it as mildly as possible), because the crossing of such diverse types leads either to a short-lived and unpromising breed or to a type that even if permanent is inferior to the whites in those innate qualities giving Caucasian civilization its progressive and creative characteristics.

5. Racial prejudice or antipathy is a natural and inevitable white response to blacks when the latter are free from legalized subordination and aspiring to equal status. Its power is such that it will not in the foreseeable future permit blacks to attain full equality, unless one believes, like some abolitionists, in the impending triumph of a millenarian Christianity capable of obliterating all sense of divisive human differences.

6. It follows from the above propositions that a biracial equalitarian (or "integrated") society is either completely impossible, now and forever, or can be achieved only in some remote and almost inconceivable future. For all practical purposes the destiny of the blacks in America is either continued subordination—slavery or some form of caste discrimination—or their elimination as an element of the population.

Given the acceptance of this creed by all but a tiny (and often uncertain) minority of white spokesmen, it is hardly surprising that the principal debate after the 1830s occurred between advocates of a permanent hierarchical biracialism and prophets or proponents of racial homogeneity through the eventual elimination of the black population.

The doctrine of hierarchical biracialism, often expressing itself as the ideology of "Herrenvolk democracy," began as a defense of slavery widely accepted in the antebellum South. It was embraced by Northerners who valued an economic or political connection with the slave South or feared that emancipation would result in an inundation of the North by Southern blacks competing with white labor and threatening the status of lower-
geo m fredrickson, black image in white mind, 1971

The ideal of homogeneity originated with men of a moderately reformist persuasion, for it derived initially from the conservative antislavery sentiment of the early Republic. Implicit in the initial colonizationist enterprise, it did not receive full articulation until it became an element in the nationalist thinking of many Republicans and free-soilers in the 1850s. The hope for an all-white America found a final outlet in the Darwinian speculation of the late nineteenth century about the disappearance of the American Negro in a "struggle for existence" with the superior whites. The other possible path to homogeneity—homogenization through intermarriage—was, of course, strenuously rejected by almost everyone except a few romantic racialists who criticized the unadulterated Anglo-Saxon character during the Civil War era and actually hoped to see it improved through a mixture of blood.

The attitudes toward blacks revealed by such conceptualizations had their origins in the institutionalization of slavery based on race during the seventeenth century. But racism did not come to full ideological consciousness until called forth by nineteenth-century developments and given shape and consistency by contemporary trends in scientific and social thought. Racist thinking crystallized in nineteenth-century America mainly because the presence of blacks was a central fact in the great sectional conflict that almost destroyed the Union.

ADDITIONAL WHITE VIEWS OF BLACKS, NORTH & SOUTH

geo m fredrickson, black image in white mind, 1971

The first shot in the ideological war over slavery was fired by the abolitionists of the 1830s who sought to apply to blacks, in an immediate and literal fashion, the dictum that "all men are created equal." As a basic Southern response would put it, blacks were actually submen suited only for slavery, to whom the Declaration of Independence obviously did not apply. The ensuing conflict, with its prominent racial dimension, can be summarized briefly. Much of the South desired to keep blacks as slaves and emphasized race as a justification of slavery; and by the 1850s many Southerners had come to regard territorial expansion as necessary for the survival of the institution. The Northern majority, on the other hand, came to oppose slavery as an institution because of its incompatibility with an ascendant "free labor" ideology, and this opposition became vocal in the 1850s because Southern expansionism seemed at that time to pose a serious threat to the manifest destiny of the Northern way of life to spread over, and dominate, all or most of the territory of the United States. But most Northerners were not prepared to accept blacks as equals, especially in substantial numbers; in fact a common Northern dream depicted an all-white America where the full promise of equality could be realized because there was no black population to be relegated to a special and anomalous status.
In the pre-Civil War crisis, then, the South can be described as having manifested a desire for both slavery and Negroes, while a Northern majority provided indications that it wanted neither, at least not on a permanent basis. Abraham Lincoln, it should be recalled, affirmed in this period not only that slavery must be put on the path of "ultimate extinction" but also that blacks could never have equal rights as long as they remained in the United States and should therefore be colonized abroad.

**MEAN HEIGHT OF BLACK, WHITE AMERICANS IN CIVIL WAR**

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<tr>
<th></th>
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<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>age 30-35 (α)</td>
<td>68.22 inches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>67.22 inches</td>
<td>66.66 inches</td>
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<table>
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<th></th>
<th>no. men exam.</th>
<th>mean height</th>
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<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>4,252</td>
<td>68.677</td>
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### SURGEONS WHO EXAMINED BLACK ENROLLEES IN CIVIL WAR

**J. H. Baxter, Compiler; Statistics, Medical & Anthropological, I, 1875**

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**Mean Height, Chest, All Whites and Blacks**

**J. H. Baxter, Compiler; Statistics, Medical & Anthropological, I, 1875**

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>When appointed</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>John B. Keasby</td>
<td>May 30, 1863</td>
<td>Dismissed by sentence of general court martial February 7, 1865.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>H. Gesner</td>
<td>Apr. 3, 1863</td>
<td>Honorably discharged June 20, 1865.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>R. W. Hazlett</td>
<td>Sept. 9, 1863</td>
<td>Honorably discharged June 15, 1865.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Samuel D. Kelly</td>
<td>Sept. 9, 1863</td>
<td>Died June 27, 1864.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Thomas Kennedy</td>
<td>July 6, 1863</td>
<td>Honorably discharged June 15, 1865.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>James Putney</td>
<td>Sept. 3, 1863</td>
<td>Resigned January 9, 1865.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>S. &amp; Shaw</td>
<td>Jan. 24, 1865</td>
<td>Honorably discharged June 15, 1865.</td>
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<td>John M. Best</td>
<td>Nov. 14, 1863</td>
<td>Honorably discharged June 15, 1865.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Augustus Webber</td>
<td>May 8, 1863</td>
<td>Resigned September 9, 1863.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>John W. Compton</td>
<td>Sept. 5, 1863</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>J. M. Bailey</td>
<td>June 23, 1863</td>
<td>Resigned November 2, 1863.</td>
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<td>Amos Rast</td>
<td>Dec. 10, 1863</td>
<td>Resigned March 11, 1864.</td>
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<td>Robert B. Winlock</td>
<td>May 8, 1863</td>
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<td>John C. Maxwell</td>
<td>Apr. 16, 1864</td>
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<td>Theo. S. Bell</td>
<td>May 8, 1863</td>
<td>Resigned February 1, 1865.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>James Gardner</td>
<td>Feb. 10, 1865</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>E. P. Buckner</td>
<td>May 8, 1863</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Stephen F. Gano</td>
<td>May 8, 1863</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>James D. Foster</td>
<td>May 8, 1863</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Joshua Barnes</td>
<td>June 13, 1863</td>
<td>Resigned November 9, 1863.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Alfred Spalding</td>
<td>Nov. 30, 1863</td>
<td>Honorably discharged June 15, 1865.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**Notes:**

- All these reports are abstracts.
- The table includes the following columns: State, District, Name, When appointed, Remarks.
Of the physical qualifications of the colored race, judging from what I have seen of them during the exercise of the duties of the office, I would say, as far as physical qualifications are concerned, their well-developed muscles, particularly of the superior extremities and chest—probably the result of continual physical labor—in connection with their powers of enduring fatigue, heat, and malaria, entitle them to be estimated as well suited for military service.
The colored man possesses some excellent physical qualifications for making a good soldier. His mode of life gives him great strength in his chest and arms, which enables him to handle a gun or sword with much facility and effect. Accustomed from his childhood to obedience, he will pay the strictest attention to the commands of his officers. Having an innate idea of time, and possessing unusual imaginative powers, he will readily learn the most difficult evolutions. That he possesses courage sufficient to make him an effective soldier, no person acquainted with him can deny. Let his officers inform him that he has a right to do a thing desired, and that the officers want it done, and he will do it if it be possible for bravery, determination, and physical manhood to accomplish it. To insure the greatest efficiency of the colored man as a soldier, much care should be exercised in the appointment of officers over him. They should be competent men, well acquainted with the character, habits, and peculiarities of this race of men.

The average height of the white men examined at this office is two inches greater than the average height of the negro. A great majority of the examinations embraced in this report were Kentucky colored recruits and substitutes, which will account for the average height in Kentucky being less than in other States.

Observation has impressed upon my mind the necessity and duty of reporting a feature in the organization of colored troops in the United States armies, that is seriously detrimental to the service, viz: that surgeons and assistant surgeons to regiments of colored troops have invariably been, so far as my observation extends, appointed from States in which there were no negro slaves. These surgeons are wholly unacquainted with the idiosyncracies of the negro, a perfect knowledge of which could be acquired only by years of practice among the sick of this race, with frequent opportunities of observing their peculiarities and habits during sickness and health. Some of these peculiarities I shall attempt to describe, and will here repeat that they can only be learned by extensive observation and research into the history of the black man at different periods and under different circumstances. He differs as widely from the white man physiologically and psychologically as does his skin or hair; hence the importance of understanding his peculiarities, in order to treat his diseases successfully. He is almost invariably of phlegmatic temperament, and consequently predisposed to strumous disease. The phlegmasia runs a rapid course, soon becomes asthenic in type, and, unless soon relieved, terminate in scrofulous or tuberculous disease, which makes much more rapid progress in the negro than the white man, and soon terminates in death. He is not a native of the cold humid climate in which we find him, and cannot endure cold or wet weather or exposure of any kind as well as the white man. It is necessary for him to be better clothed and fed, and protected from cold and wet weather; also to be watched over and regulated in everything. His diet, exercise, and sleep should be regulated. He will eat too much meat, and not enough vegetables, both in health and disease; will sleep too much, and take too little exercise. He should be kept under strict discipline, both in health and disease; for being, almost without exception, uneducated, he has no knowledge of the laws governing his health, and does not know what to do to preserve it, or to restore it when lost. He is entirely incompetent to give a correct history.
of his case, generally expressing himself as "feeling better or sick all over." He complains but little of pain, sleeps much, and seems to feel no interest in his welfare, and generally answers in the affirmative all questions asked him in a medical examination of his case. Nothing is positive or decided in his answers. He will take no medicines of his own accord; every dose should be given him by a reliable nurse. His rations should be measured to him in health and disease, as in health he will eat too much, and in disease he will eat nothing until convalescent, and then eat too much, and of the grossest food he can procure. The surgeon should be governed in his diagnosis entirely by the physical signs and objective symptoms. The subjective symptoms are not reliable. In the treatment of his disease, great caution should be observed, and a close watch kept over him. He does not bear active treatment in any disease for any considerable length of time. All inflammatory diseases run their course more rapidly than in the white man, and soon become asthenic or typhoid in type, and require stimulants, tonics, nourishing diet, &c. He does not bear well either antimonials or blood-letting; both rapidly depress his vital powers, and do irreparable damage if pushed too far. He does not bear mercurials well, is easily salivated, and the disposition to struma greatly increased by the antiplastic properties of the mercury. As purgatives, castor-oil, aloes, and rhubarb answer best. He bears opium well, and this is the most valuable agent we possess in the inflammatory diseases of the negro. He also bears stimulants well, and will take them with eagerness when he objects to everything else. He will not eat anything while sick, unless urged to do so, though it is necessary in the treatment of most of the diseases he is subject to. In omyotic diseases, he should be treated with restoratives from the beginning, and a close watch kept over him at all times that he be kept comfortable, for, if left to himself, he will close up his room, and cover himself with all the cover at his command, even in the warmest weather, and will wrap most of it around his head, if his feet have to be uncovered to accomplish it. If allowed to sleep before the fire, he will cover himself as above, and turning his head to the fire will leave his feet out in the cold. His mind is always dull in disease, and frequently troubled with superstitious notions that have been handed down to him by tradition. One is that he may be poisoned or "conjured," as he calls it, by some mysterious person of his race; and that no one can cure him except some person possessing power to remove disease inflicted by these conjurers, and that he will certainly die unless relieved. These superstitious notions are fast disappearing among Kentucky negroes; but when they do exist, the illusion should be removed as quickly as possible, as they tend to prolong his illness, and frequently to destroy his life through his taking some supposed antidote for his poison. There are many other facts that might be mentioned that would be useful to surgeons unacquainted with the distinctive peculiarities of this race of men in health and disease. I only submit these remarks as suggestive of the importance of employing, as medical men and officers to colored regiments, men who have been familiar with the colored man's idiosyncracies, in order that his diseases may be successfully treated.
The quota of this district has been mainly filled by colored recruits and substitutes. I have, therefore, examined physically a large number of negroes. Even of drafted men, a larger proportion of them have been held to service, showing a smaller percentage of disqualifying conditions of body with the black race. I think I may state, without the fear of contradiction, that the colored man in this locality, if bone and sinew, muscle, chest measurement, and general physique, are the criteria, presents the greatest physical aptitude for military service; and, in making this statement, I would add another, that the white men in this district, in physical aptitude, are equal to any in the State for the same occupation. The negro in this latitude, partly by reason of his contact with a higher civilization, has lost much of the grosser peculiarities which characterize the race in more tropical latitudes; and, now that the present crisis of our country has made the demand, he enters upon the military arena fully endowed, physically, as a man, with good promise, in my judgment, to run the race in successful competition with the soldiers of the most favored nationality.

There is but one disability which disqualifies a greater ratio per thousand for military service, which is ventral hernia in negroes, probably superinduced by neglect during infancy; they being allowed to cry excessively before the abdominal parietes become perfected.
The principal deceptions to be guarded against in the examination of substitutes are in regard to age: if too old, there are always convenient witnesses to swear to their being less than forty-five years of age; if too young, to swear to their being past eighteen years. The converse obtains in examination of drafted men; there being parties who are always ready to devise testimony to show unsuitableness of age "by reason of being over forty-five or less than twenty." The board caused several parties to be indicted for perjury for testifying to the good moral character of reprobates, and thus getting them passed as substitutes. In one instance, a complete set of upper teeth was inserted in a negro's mouth, and he was passed as a substitute. The deception was discovered, and the parties forced to put in another substitute, and the money obtained by the first one was handed over to the United States. A detailed account of the same was submitted to you at the time.

From a tolerably-extended experience in the examination of the colored race, I do not at all think them equal to the whites, physically, in vitality and endurance; yet I believe that they have the capacity to be made very efficient troops. Wounds and diseases from which white troops readily recover often prove fatal to the colored.
Fractures and wounds are accidental occurrences; but the negro is comparatively free from the former, which would seem to indicate that there is some peculiarity in the bones of the white race predisposing them to fractures.

The loss of teeth is made common by the universal habit of eating biscuit lightened with soda or bitartrate of potassa, and neglecting to clean them with a brush after meals. But the element of race also seems to have something to do with their premature decay and loss; for we find them comparatively good in the German, good in the Irish, and perfect in the negro. Scrofula is another cause of their loss, especially among Americans and Germans. They are commonly decayed, and often entirely gone, in curvature of the spine and in serofulous disease of the joints or bones. The negro preserves his teeth, though he never cleans them, and is frequently serofulous.

DR. E.P. BUCKNER: NEGRO A GOOD SOLDIER (6TH DIST KY EXAMINER)

Buckner says that the American is the best developed physically of the soldiers he had examined, though he had examined few foreigners. Of the foreigners the Canadians and Irish were well developed. In comparison: "The Negro, in many of his physical characteristics, is well calculated to make as good a soldier as every marched to the field of battle." He had examined 1600 blacks.

Low opinion of others

Drafted men who show themselves to the board of enrollment are generally a miserable set; so that, judging from those that make their appearance, the conclusion would be that there is no physical aptitude in the American people for military service. But such a conclusion is manifestly erroneous. Nearly all the Germans who are drafted are physically worthless; they have already been rejected from the armies of Europe, and have come here physically disabled, as tailors, tanners, shoemakers, gardeners, milk-men, vine-dressers, rag-pickers, and small shopkeepers.

The Irish and English mostly claim alienage; and, if not exempted upon that plea or some other, the Irish all run off. Upon the whole, therefore, I am inclined to give an opinion in favor of the American people, though I believe the Irish may possibly excel them; but I have not a sufficient number of facts from experience to verify this conjecture in reference to them.
Within the last year I have examined about sixteen hundred negroes, some drafted men, more as substitutes, but by far the larger number as recruits. Except for being over age or under age, very few comparatively have been rejected; not more perhaps than ten per cent. Out of a hundred recruits examined on one occasion, but five were rejected, three for hernia, one for loss of the right eye, and one for some difficulty about the ankle-joints. Fifteen drafted men (colored) reported on the same day; they were examined carefully one after another and not one rejected. The same thing could not occur among a like number of white men, except by a miracle. The negro is rarely, according to my experience, the subject of hernia, except in the umbilical form, until he becomes forty-five or fifty years old. Their bones, too, would seem to be tougher, and less brittle than the osseous structure of the white race, for fractures are very uncommon among them. They are almost entirely exempt from haemorrhoids; indeed, I never saw, as far as I can now recollect, a case of internal piles in one of them, nor of prolapsus ani, and only one or two of fistula in ano. This last disease is a very extraordinary thing in a colored man. They have no complaints to make about their livers, stomachs, bowels, kidneys, or bladders. Tuberculosis is comparatively rare among them; and, contrary to the generally-received opinion in the slave States, they are not, as far as my experience goes, more subject to scrofulosis than other people. Though often the subjects of rheumatism, I have never met, so far as recollection goes, with more than four or five cases of organic disease of the heart. Curvature of the spine may exist, and functional disease of the heart, but are both matters of surprise when met with, such is almost their universal exemption from these troubles which so often afflict the white race. Their teeth are nearly always perfect. But few, if any, have ever been rejected or exempted on account of the loss of these organs. The eye, however, is not
The American citizen, inured to out-door labor, is the best specimen of physical manhood, and presents the greatest aptitude for the performance of any physical service. The colored race are not inferior to the whites in physical organization, except in the formation of the feet and ankles, in which a number are defective.

The counties of Garrard and Madison had a great many negroes, who did a vast amount of labor; the whites not doing so much labor as in the other counties, which were and are more deficient of negroes. Our district has been sacked for the last four years; for we are upon the frontier,
My views as to the physical qualifications of the colored race for military service.—For symmetry, muscular strength, and endurance, I do not think the Kentucky negro can be surpassed by any people on earth. The stoutest and most muscular men I ever examined were the negroes I examined at this office. If they had the mental qualification, I would think the white man was not their superior for military duty. I think the negro, if he was better informed, and, as a consequence, possessed of more moral courage, would be more enduring, as he is certainly more muscular, than the white man. He is, in addition, generally better developed in the chest than the white man.

Was he qualified on eval. of mental ability?

In Mason, Fleming, Montgomery, and Bath Counties, the labor has heretofore been principally performed by slaves. In the other counties, this has not been the case; there being comparatively very few blacks in them. In Greenup, Boyd, Carter, and Lewis Counties there are twelve furnaces
The colored men who were sent from this office, it is believed, were among the very best that were obtained, from the fact that there are very few towns of any considerable size in the district, and consequently very few blacks who had been employed as house-servants and confined exclusively to indoor work. Most of them were what are termed farm-hands, always employed at outdoor work. Many of them had been accustomed to work about the iron-furnaces, shantying out, and chopping wood during the winter, making charcoal, driving teams, and doing such other work as was required about the furnaces in the summer. The negro, from his great powers of imitation and the discipline to which he has been subjected while in servitude, easily adapts himself to a soldier's life. At the present day, negroes of purely African descent are rarely met with here. The race has become essentially a mixed one, and from this cause it is believed his health and physical efficiency have been impaired, and that he is far more predisposed to scrofula. This has certainly been true; but, in the mixed race as it now exists, may it not also possibly be true that where the parties were both sound, of healthy, robust constitutions, one white and the other colored, the offspring both physically and intellectually may be as likely to possess the requisite qualifications for the military service as where the parents are both colored? The opportunities for observation were not great here, but some of the best colored men examined were known to be the children of white fathers and colored mothers. There was one instance where the father was a mulatto and the mother a white woman. He was a substitute, and is said to have made a good soldier, always having been healthy and able to perform any duty required of him while in the service, which, however, was only for one year. A few of the colored men examined here could read and write, and were able to sign their own names. I regret that I did not keep a record of the exact number. Those who came from the rough, mountainous parts of the districts seemed to possess the highest physical qualifications; and this was also the case with the white men.

LOUISVILLE BLACK MUSICAL SOCIETY, 1877

Jas m. Trotter, Music and some Highly Musical People, 1968 (1881)

p 330/ "Louisville, Ky., shows its appreciation of music by organizing a society devoted to the latter, numbering over a hundred persons. This fact has attracted the attention of Brainard's 'Musical World,' which journal, in the number for October, 1877, alludes to it as a bright evidence of the dawn of better times in the South."
1845 SPLIT IN LOUISVILLE BLACK BAPTIST CHURCH

john miles, ed, calvary baptist church, 1969 (pamphlet)

no page given/

Says in 1845 a part of the membership of First Colored Baptist Church moved to Fifth Street & became the Fifth Street Baptist Church. A part remained at the old site of 5th & York Sts. and was known as the York Street Baptist Church. Those refusing to move were pastored by Rev. W. W. Taylor until his death in 1882.

"BOYS BANDS" IN KY IN POST C W

Eileen Southern, music of black americans, 1971

p 274/ post-civil war period

"Negro brass 'boy bands' became very popular, especially because of the novelty they added to almost any plantation scene. The first of these bands was organized in Cincinnati by John Brister, who was also the leader of an adult brass band, for one of the In Old Kentucky companies." /begin p 341/ Says that when W. C. Handy arrived in Evansville, Ind., in the 1890s, he found three good bands and: "In nearby Henderson, Kentucky, the noted David Crutcher had a band." No other details.
BRIEF BIOG: BLIND TOM

One of the most traveled of black entertainers was Thomas Greene Bethune (1849-1908) "Blind Tom" of Columbus, Ga., a slave of Col. Bethune who purchased Tom's mother; Tom being blind from birth. Had no musical instruction; first played piano at age 7; phenomenal memory for music; subjected to rigid tests of memory for music; once played a 20 page piece without error. First recital in Savannah Ga, in 1858; "prodigious memory" and one program listed 82 pieces he might be asked by the audience to play. Played classical, marches, parlor selections, etc. Chopin, Mendelssohn, Rossini, Heller, Hoffmann, Thalberg, Gottschalk, Liszt, Verdi, Bellini, Gounod. Played for whites all over the country, making a fortune for his owners; then his managers.

BLACK VISITOR TO LOUISVILLE SEES STRAINED RACE REALTIONS 1891

"But a black visitor in 1891 made a revealing statement about the nature of race relations in Louisville when he astutely observed that the 'races get along nicely--like oil and water--the whites at the top and the Negroes at the bottom.' In other words, what existed in Louisville was racism in a polite form."
In 1829 the blacks at Walnut St. Bap Ch (white) under care of First Baptist Church of Louisville later became Walnut St. Bap Ch. The black church was called "The African Church" & worshiped in a building on Market Street near 8th. Name: First, 1st Colored Baptist Church originated 1842 when blacks separated from white 1st Bap Ch.

5TH ST BAP; 5TH & YORK ST BAP, LOU

miles, calvary baptist,

p 4/ Henry Adams, black, started Calvary Ch. Located 5th & York sts, 1841-1845 as First Colored Baptist Church. Moved? In 1883 took name of Calvary Baptist Church.

/p 5/ 5th & York St Bldg erected 1872 on a lot deeded by Benj. Stansberry to Henry Smith /black/. On this sight York Street Baptist Church 1845-1883. In Oct 1883 changed name to Calvary Baptist Church.
"A Kentucky physician, writing in the Western Medical Reformer, in 1836, on the diseases peculiar to slaves, says. 'They are imperfectly clothed both summer and winter.'"

"The Western Luminary, a religious paper published at Lexington, Kentucky, in an editorial article, in the summer of 1833, says: "'A few weeks since we gave an account of a company of men, women and children, part of whom were manacled, passing through our streets. Last week, a number of slaves were driven through the main street of our city, among whom were a number manacled together, two abreast, all connected by, and supporting a heavy iron chain, which extended the whole length of the line.'"
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BATH CO. SLAVE SAID WHIPPED TO DEATH 1832-33 1900

p 90/ Info from Rev. Joseph G. Wilson, pastor of the Presby Ch in Salem, Washington Co., Indiana:

"In Bath co., Kentucky, Mr. L., in the year '32 or '33, while intoxicated, in a fit of rage whipped a female slave until she fainted and fell on the floor. Then he whipped her to get up; then with red hot tongs he burned off her ears, and whipped her again! but all in vain. He then ordered his negro men to carry her to the cabin. There she was found dead next morning."

SLAVE BEATEN BY PATROL 1823 1901

p 92/ "Mr. Tobias Boudnot, a member of the Methodist Church in St. Albans, Licking county, Ohio, says: 'In Nicholasville, Ky, in the year 1823, he saw a slave fleeing before the patrol, but he was overtaken near where he stood, and a man with a knotted cane, as large as his wrist, struck the slave a number of times on his head, until the club was broken and he made tame; the blood was thrown in every direction by the violence of the blows.'"
LEX. NEWSPAPER AD TO HIRE SLAVES 1838

Will be hired, for one year, on the first day of January, 1839, on the farm of the late Mrs. Meredith, a number of valuable NEGROES. R. S. Todd, Sheriff of Fayette Co. And Curator for James and Elizabeth Breckenridge."

AD FOR RUNAWAY IN LEX. NEWSPAPER 1838

"From the 'Lexington (Ky.) Intelligencer,' July 7, 1838. "$160 Reward.--Runaway from the subscribers, living in this city, on Saturday 16th inst. a negro man, named Dick, about 37 years of age. It is highly probable said boy will make for New Orleans, as he has a wife living in that city, and he has been heard to say frequently that he was determined to go to New Orleans. Drake and Thompson."
AD FOR RUNAWAY IN LEX. NEWSPAPER 1838

"$50 Reward.--Ran away from the subscriber a negro girl, named Maria. She is of a copper color, between 13 and 14 years of age--bare headed and bare footed. She is small of her age--very sprightly and very likely. She stated she was going to see her mother at Maysville. Sanford Thomson."

WHITE MINISTER TELLS OF FLOGGING OF FEMALE SLAVE

"Rev Charles Stewart Renshaw, of Quincy, Illinois, in a letter, speaking of his residence, for a period, in Kentucky, says--"
"'In a conversation with Mr. Robert Willis, he told me that his negro girl had run away from him some time previous. He was convinced that she was lurking round, and he watched for her. He soon found the place of her concealment, drew her from it, got a rope, and tied her hands across each other, then threw the rope over a beam in the kitchen, and hoisted her up by the wrists;'and"said he, "I whipped her till I made the lint fly, I tell you." I asked him the meaning of making "the lint fly," and he replied, "til the blood flew." I spoke of the iniquity and cruelty of slavery, and of its immediate abandonment. He confessed it an evil, but said, "I am a colonizationist--I believe in that scheme." Mr. Willis is a teacher of sacred music, and a member of the Presbyterian Church in Lexington, Kentucky."
1838 FRANKFORT MINISTER INTENTIONALLY WOUNDED SLAVE

t d weld, am slavery as it is, 1839 (1969)

p 181/ "Mr. Joel S. Bingham, of Cornwall, Vermont, lately a student in Middlebury College, and a member of the Congregational Church, spent a few weeks in Kentucky, in the summer of 1838. He relates the following occurrence which took place in the neighborhood where he resided, and was a matter of perfect notoriety in the vicinity. +

"Rev Mr. Lewis, a Baptist minister in the vicinity of Frankfort, Ky. had a slave that ran away, but was retaken and brought back to his master, who threatened him with punishment for making an attempt to escape. Though terrified the slave immediately attempted to run away again. Mr. L. commanded him to stop, but he did not obey. Mr. L. then took a gun, loaded with small shot and fired at the slave, who fell; but was not killed, and afterward recovered. Mr. L. did not probably intend to kill the slave, as it was his legs which were aimed at and received the contents of the gun. The master asserted that he was driven to this necessity to maintain his authority. This took place about the first of July, 1838."

SLAVE SAVED FROM "DOWN RIVER" BY SLAVE FAMILY'S MONEY

rawick, ed, indiana narratives, vol 6, 1972 (first pub 1941)

p 8/ Mary Crane, ex-slave, Warren St., Mitchell, Ind. /begin p 9/ Born on farm of Wattie Williams, age 82. Benn in Mitchell, Ind., 50 years. Her mother was owned by Wattie Williams of Laru Co., Ky; father a slave on Mr. Duret's farm, nearby. says "... Slave owners, whenever one of their daughters would get married, would give her and her husband a slave as a wedding present, usually allowing the girl to pick the one she wished to accompany her to her new home. When Mr. Duret's eldest daughter married Zeke Samples, she choose my father to accompany them to their home." Says Zeke Samples lost all his money from drinking, and his slave were sold to pay his bill, meaning Mary's father sold. "... There were men who made a business of buying up negroes at auction sales and shipping them down to New Orleans to be sold to owners of cotton and sugar cane plantations, just as men today, buy and ship cattle. These men were called 'nigger-traders' and they would ship whole boat loads at a time, buying them up, two or three here, two or three there, and holding them in a jail until they had a boat load. This practice gave rise to the expression, 'sold down the river.' /p 10/"My father was to be sold at auction, along with all of the rest of Zeke Samples' property. Bob Cowherd, a neighbor of Matt Duret's owned my grandfather, and the old man, my grandfather, begged Col. Bob to buy my father from Zeke Samples to keep him from being 'sold down the river.' Col. Bob offered what he thought was a fair price for my father and a 'nigger-trader' raised his bid $25. Col. said he couldn't afford to pay that much and father was about to be sold to the 'nigger-trader' when his father told Col. Bob that he had $25 saved up and that if he would buy my father from Samples and keep the 'nigger-trader' from getting him he would give him the money. Col. Bob Cowherd took my grandfather's $25 and offered to meet the traders offer"
Mary Crane (age 82) describes treatment in Laru Co., Ky

G. P. Rawick, ed., Am slave, composite autobiog., 6, Indiana, 1972 (first pub. 1941)

p 10

"The negroes in and around where I was raised were not treated badly, as a rule, by their masters. There was one slave owner, a Mr. Heady, who lived nearby, who treated his slave worse than any of the other owners but I never heard of anything so awfully bad, happening to his 'niggers'. He had one boy who used to come over to our place and I can remember hearing Massa Williams call to my grandmother, to cook 'Christine,' give Heady's Doc something to eat. He looks hungry.' Massa Williams always said 'Heady's Doc' when speaking of him or any other slave, saying to call him, for instance, Doc Heady would sound as if he were Mr. Heady's own son and he said that wouldn't sound right. +

"When President Lincoln issued his proclamation, freeing the negroes, I remember that my father and most all of the other younger slave men left the farms to join the Union army. We had hard times then for awhile and had lots of work to do. I don't remember just when I first regarded myself as 'free' as many of the negroes didn't understand just what it was all about."

Rules of Business and Decorum of Green St. Bap Ch., Louisville (1844)

Minute Book I, Sept 1844-July 1867, Green St. Bap Ch., Louisville, mf, ul arch.

No date/"1st The Meeting shall be opened by Singing & Prayer
2d The Minutes of the former meeting shall be read
3d Visiting Members invited to seats
4th A door opened for the reception of Members
5th The fellow-ship of the Church inquired for
6th References attended to
7th Matters of new business enquired for
8th Read the minutes
9th Adjourn by some devout exercise.
Art 12 These rules of decorum may be altered or amended at any regular meeting of business by a majority of two thirds of the members present, concurring therein; notice thereof having been given at a previous monthly meeting."

All rules copied, no 10th & 11th included in original
Sept 29, 1844/

Bro Geo Wells having applied to the First Baptist Church for permission to labor as a Preacher of the Gospel, under the supervision of and protection of that Church, whereupon a committee was appointed to enquire into the expediency & who having reported favorably, Bro Wells' petition was granted, and Brethren Heth, Bagby, Clark, Hampton & Willson, were appointed the committee of protection.

"Met this day for the constitution of a Second African Church. Bro. W. Colgan was called to the chair and Bro Heth elected clerk for term and after Prayer by Bro Wells, the following members were received by the committee by Letters from the African Church." Members then listed. "Bro Geo Wells was then unanimously elected Pastor of this church and Bro Heth was appointed her regular Clerk. The time for holding the meetings for business was fixed for the 2d Sunday in each Month at 3 o'clock P.M."

signed:  A. T. Heth, Clk, Geo Wells, pastor.

Nov 10, 1844 (next entry vol I)/

"It is proposed by Bro Geo Wells that this church be known as the 2d Colored Baptist Church of Louisville, which was agreed to. On Motion the moderator was authorised to appoint a Committee of vigilance, to act until such time as the church shall elect her Deacons, whereupon he appointed James Pope, Benj. Reinhard, Caesar Churchill & Pluto Walker."

"On Motion, Bro Duke was elected Treasurer for the church. The question was then put--shall Bro Wells be required to give his whole time to this Church, which was decided in the affirmative." A.T.Heth,Clk,Geo Wells, Moderator.
Minute Book I, Green St Bap Ch, Louisville, mf, ULAffiles

Jan 12, 1845/ received by letter from 1st Colored Ch, Louisville, /this was
done regularly.
Jan 12, 1845/ from African Baptist Church in Nicholasville, Bro David Williams.
April 18, 1845/ received from Beargrass Church 4 members.
May 11, 1845/ 3 members received from Beargrass Church
June 8, 1845/ "Alfred and Nancy his wife the property of Mr. John B. Pleafare joined by letter"
July 13, 1845/ letter moved from Shelbyville church
Oct 14, 1849/ Polly Duke joined from the "Little Flock" church, location not
given; Sister Henna Wisacre from "the chh in Frankfort."

GREEN ST BAP CHURCH: ELECTIONS BY "BALLOT" (2d Col. Exp.)

Minute Book I, Green St. Bap Ch, Louisville, mf, u of l archives

Jan 12, 1845/ "... It having been settled by the Church that Election
of officers of the Church are to be, in all cases, by voting by Ballott."
ELECTED: 2D COL. BAP CH LOUISVILLE (GREEN ST) 1914

Minute Book I, Green St. Bap Ch, Louisville, mf, u of l archives

Feb 9, 1854/ "Bro T Lawrence was elected Sexton to serve for the ensuing year and his salary fixed at $150 per year."

DEACONS, 2D COL BAP (GREEN ST) TO VISIT SUBSCRIBERS TO COLLECT (1845) 1915

Minute Book I, Green St. Bap. Ch., Louisville, mf, u of l archives

July 13, 1845/ "...The Deacons should visit the Monthly Subscribers and collect the Monthly subscription and hand it over on our regular Days of business."
Sept 14, 1845/ "Resolved that a public collection be taken up every second Month for the benefit of Bro Geo Wells and the first are to be taken up on the first Sabbath in October."
"Resolved that Bro Wells shall have two months during the year to visits."

Jan 11, 1846/ "Bro. Clement Taylor made application to preach. The Church appointed a time to hear him. Bro Taylor was notified and give the Church time to hear him and after he was heard by the Church, The Church gave him, leave to hold public meetings by prayer & Exultation whenever called On."
Feb 8, 1846/ "Bro. Bird Bullet was Appointed to take charge of the Sunday School Library."

April 12, 1846/ The church unanimously "agreed to give their Pastor the Elder Geo. W. Wells Two hundred and Fifty Dollars the time Affixed January 1846 and expiring Jany 1st 1847."
Nov 8, 1846/
"Sister Elvira Pope was presented for her disorderly conduct in time of the fair."+ 
"After a full and fair investigation she was excluded from the fellowship of this Church, entirely for using vain language and threatening the Pastor and Decons and members of the same."

didn't take it sitting down

same date: Sister Mary Lewis apparently also criticized for "slandering the Church because she calculated they were going to hold a fair..." She was forgiven. She objected to holding the fair in the church.
Dec 11, 1846/ "Bro Wells is to rectify the minutes that a great many of the Members were laboring under in having the fair in the Church."

Jan 10, 1847/ "On motion and seconded Elder Geo Wells was called to the care of the 2nd Colored Baptist Church for the time of one year to wit from Christman 1846 to Christmas 1847 for which time the Church agreed to pay him $200 paid Quarterly." E. Broady presided. R Heth recorded.
Feb 14, 1847/ "The Church herein agreed to furnish Sister Milly Davis with a pair of shoes and hoes."

Feb 14, 1847/
"Brother Andrew Johnson was then presented before the Board for flying in the face of his pastor and speaking disrespectful to him in a gross and unbecoming manner and then refusing to give his pastor general satisfaction. The matter was then finally taken up and investigated. The Church found that said Johnson had treated Brother Wells very ungentlemanly causing a flaw in the Church. +

"The Church requested him to give to his pastor (Geo Wells) a complete and general Satisfaction As he had repeatedly injured the feelings of said Wells his Brother and pastor in Charge which was considered thereby disgraceful in the eyes of the Church. Whereby he was discharged from his office as Deacon. He also made acknowledgments, met to said Wells of which said Wells forgave him." Wells stepped aside as moderator during this meeting. The meeting was moderated by E. Broady.
March 2, 1847/ The committee on buying "the church" reported and was discharged. "On motion and seconded It was resolved that an agreement be made to give Bro W. C. Buck the sum of $2500 for said property and allowed the limited time of four years to pay the amount specified." E. Broady Mod.

Well apparently stopped aside at business meeting when point spending money a when cases involved

Dec 1847 (no day given)/ "On motion and Second and carried 2 that we apply to the First White Baptist for a New Committee."
A.D. LAINE TO DEDICATE NEW CHURCH, 2D COL BAP CH LOUISVILLE (1848) 1928

Minute Book I, green st bap ch, louisville, mf u of l archives

Dec 1847 (no day given)/ "...Bro A. D. Laine / to / preach the Dedication Sermon in the Newly Bought Church of the Second Colored Baptist Congregation on the first Sunday in January 1848."

SOME MINUTES GREEN ST BAP CH LOST (1848-49?) 1929

Minute Book I, green st bap ch, louisville, mf u of l archives

A note following the Dec 1847 (no day give) entry says simply: "Minutes of all the church meetings for two years were accidentally lost and could never be copied into this book." This is followed by undated material, then the dates of 1859, then 1849. (Jan 1849)
no date/ following Dec 1847 entry/  
"The Church covanent being desious of in ? the privileges Whitch appertain to the people of god in church relation. We do in the nae of the lord Jesus Christ. (Eralantly)? and fully give our salries up to the lord and to one another according to his Word. to be one body under one Head." To act by the "rules of the Gospel ..." as "the Lord has commanded," ..."particularly to deny our Selves, take up our cross, follow crist, keep faith, assemble our selves together..." etc. It goes on extensively, difficult to read, etc.

---

INCOME, 2D COL BAP CH, MAY, JUNE, JULY 1858: EXPENSES

<table>
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<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>38</td>
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</table>

\[ \frac{249}{80} \]

Expenditures May 9-July 5 $238 with Pastor apparently getting $40 the first of each month, the sexton $7 in June and $6 in July. Bal of $11.80 $196/brought in July 7-Sept 5. Expenditures same period: $125.30.
Jan 14, 1849/ "Voted That the Salary of Bro Wells for this next year be Two Hundred Dollars, payable in equal proportion each month of 16.67."

Oct 14, 1849/ "That Eld George Wells be called as the Pastor for one year from next Christmas at a Salary of $200 payable monthly."

Feb 11, 1849/ "Voted that Bro Henry Johnson be the clerk at a salary of 25.$ a year."

March 11, 1849/ Objection to salary for clerk led the matter to be reconsidered.

April 8, 1849/ "Voted, That the vote appointing Bro H. Johnson Clerk be wholly rescinded."
LETTER FROM LONDON FERRELL TO 2D COL BAP CH, LOUISVILLE (1849) 1934

Minute Book I, green st bap ch, louisville, mf u of l archives

Date: March 24, 1849/ Minute Book I entry, Apr. 8, 1849/

"To the Second Coloured Baptist Church in Louisville +

"I received your letter by the hands of Bro Wells respecting a report which Geo Brent circulated against him in Louisville against Bro Wells. It was a mistake of one of our brethren who would have rectified it, but Geo. Brent had commenced preaching and he could not & was stopped. The next morning he came to me and requested me to rectify it and confessed he had made a misstatement.+

"I said to the Congration in the church that Bro. Wells were innocent of the charge and stood clear.+

"Now brethren I am glad that you have protected your Pastor by raising a wall around him.+

"We received Bro Wells in love and he has preached several time, and is highly esteemed and we shall keep him here till after Sunday and him and me have been laboring to make Bro Brent confess his error. He would not till on Friday and then Bro Wells & I thought he ought to confess to the whole church and when he went to the church he would not but promised that he would give us a letter to the church stating that he was guilty.+ 

"And now brethren no more at present. I remain your elder brother. The church unites with me in love & affection; and both for the future, let us beware of tale bearing and back-bitting, Bro Wells can give you further particulars Yours in gospel bonds. L. T. Ferrill"

"This Record Erased by order of the Church Dec 20, 1849."

2D COL BAP CH, LOUISVILLE, EXCLUSIONS

Minute Book I, green st bap ch, louisville, mf u of l archives

Feb 11, 1849/ members excluded for "intoxication & absence" "nonattendance"
May 13, 1849/ Sister Kitty Everts excluded for dancing.
June 10, 1849/ Martha Marshall excluded for intemperance; Nancy Wakefield "excluded for joining the Methodists without any letter."
July 14, 1850/ "Sister Clarissa Abshaw was presented by the Deacons for exclusion for intemperance and prophanity."
April 13, 1851/ Grace Ann Churchill Ann Marshall excluded for "fighting and swearing & adultery."
May 4, 1860/ Bro Willis Taylor brought before the church for "flying in the face of the pastor before the public," and confessed and forgiven
Dec 11, 1860/ Case of Mary McMarty for "raising a riot on the street" forgiven
Jan 8, 1874/ Daniel Solemen excluded for "Flying in the face of the Church" regular offences: stealing, lying, cheating, playing cards, fussing, fighting, dancing, being absent, treating the church with contempt,
March 31, 1882/ "playing unbecoming plays" and "allowing unbecoming plays"
May 22, 1885/ "being absent"
Aug 3, 1887/ "cursing & Being in the work-House"
Oct 23, 1888/ "unbecoming Language" "being arrested"
Oct 16, 1891/ "for being in jail and selling whisky."

This Record Erased by order of the Church Dec 20, 1849."
"The Sisters reported that $. 275 was made at the late fair to pay for the church."

"The total Number of members reported to the Association this year is 212 being a gain of 32 members."
Dec 20, 1849/

"A letter was received from Eld Pratt of Lexington in reference to a letter on record (see Ap. 8th 1849) from Eld Ferril of Lexington concerning Eld Geo Brents and recommending its erasure as being incorrect so far as Eld Brents was concerned. After a full discussion by Eld Wells & others it was Voted to erase the record of that letter by a nearly unanimous vote."

RECORDS NOT FOUND AFTER DEATH OF GEO WELLS, 2D COL BAP CH, LOUISVILLE 1850

Jan 13, 1850/

"The church held a regular church meeting, but the record (being left in the hands of Eld Wells by order of the church) was not to be found. So also of the Records for Feby & March. When Eld. Wells died nothing could be found of the above records or of the list of the names of the members. C.C.P. Crosby"
May 12, 1850/

"Voted That the sisters of the church can use the building for a fair to raise money to pay off the church debt."

DEATH OF GEO WELLS, PASTOR 2D COL BAP CH, LOUISVILLE, 1850

"Eld Wells of Shelby Co. Ky. was the first pastor of the 2nd Coloured Church and under his labours the church was constituted and increased until it numbered about 300 members. He was a man of good & sound mind, an able and useful preacher, a Faithful Pastor and a Kind friend. +

"He died on the 22nd July 1850 after an illness of only three days and was interred from the church followed by a large mourning flock."
2D COL BAP CH CHOOSES NEW MINISTER, 1850

Sept 8, 1850/

"Voted - That Eld Chs Satchell of Cinc be called as Pastor of the Church. The vote was unanimous. +
"Voted - That Brn. A. Johnson James Reves, D Williams C Broady & Fille Hatton be a Come with the Deacons to carry the call to Eld Satchell."

Oct 13, 1850/

Satchell contaced, accepted the call at a recommended salary of $400.

Jan 23, 1851/

The treasurer's report was given; the treasurer was short $661.32 OF the xxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxx xxxxxx money taken in. "...He gave security on his lost of land for 553.$ and gave his note for 108.32 being a full ballance when paid.

"A Committee from the Walnut street church consisting of Bro Chs Duffield and Chas Quincy were present."
Feb 22, 1851/ Voted:

"The Roll of members be called Each month 'during the year 1851' Each member answering to their respective names shall be required 'to pay monthly according to their ability such sums of money' as there circumstances will allow'. Which money or moneys 'collected from time to time shall be put in the hands of the treasurer' For the payment of the debts contracted by the church ' and members who refuse wilfully to share their part of the above responsibility ' shall be held as covenant Breakers' and accountable for the offence to church'' Also voted "That Elder Satchell have the sanction of the church 'to solicit home and abroad' donations to assist the church out of her Present embarisments."

Jan 26, 1851/

Church voted"That whenever there is the sum of twenty five dollars in the hands of the treasurer; the Trustees shall draw it out of his hands and pay it over on the note due for the house Provided that, that money was collected for the payment of the debt on the house.

"Voted That the mortgage from Bro W. Anderson be made out to the Trustees of the Walnut Street Bapt Church, and that Bro Chs Quincy be requested to manage the business of collecting the amount and paying it over to the treasurer. + "Voted That Bro Quincy be requested to investigate the title to this church property."
Bros Chs (or C. W.) Quincy & J. M. Delph reported that they had examined the Records in relation to the property of this church, and that the title is good from Eld Buck to the Trustees.+

"And that the amount due from W. Anderson is $661. and that it is uncertain how much of it can be secured by his property; on which they have taken a mortgage."

Case of W. Anderson for defalcation as the Treasurer was taken up. The Com reported" Case continued.

June 8, 1851/ Case of Wash. Anderson to continued "...one month, and that he be notified to attend."
April 24, 1851/

Deacons suggested the rehiring of Satchell. "Voted. That to adopt the recommendation that Eld Satchell be continued as Pastor for the ( ? ) of the year by his serving once in a ( ? ) the and that Eld. Fitzgerald be his substitute and at the expense of Eld Satchell and to serve under him."

Nov 17, 1851/

"Dear Brethering and Sisters The time appointed which severs the relation between us as pastor and people has come; We shall be separated in body 'I hope we shall still be joined in spirit.' Since I have bin with you my aim has bin 'your temporal & spiritual good. My preaching since I have bin among you has not bin with enticing words of mans wisdom yet it has bin with the ability which God has given me'. I trust that you will be of one mind and perfectly joined to gether in our judgment "And that God may send you one to go in and out before you better qualified for the important trust than your unworthy brother. That you may be fully advised of the doings of the past year and present condition of the church, I beg leave to furnish you with the foweling report Which embraces the labors and means introduced by me,during the year ending 1 nov. 1851" Baptized 33, by letter 6; watch care 3; received but not baptized 4; restored 3, dismissed 1, deceased 6, excluded 14."
April 1, 1852/ The committee to select a minister after Satchell resigned came up with the name of Rev. Chas Satchell. Committee discharged. The church voted not to attempt to hire Satchell, since he has already been hired for the year and "...that it is inexpedient to call him to be Pastor of this church."

April 1, 1852/ After turning down rehiring Rev. Chas Satchell, the church voted to call "Orrin Shanks be called to the pastoral care of this church. only 6 voting in a minority."
TRUSTEES REPORT, 2D COL BAP CH, LOUISVILLE (1852) 1951

Minute Book I, green st bap ch, louisville, mf u of l archives

April 1, 1852/ (material follows Apr 1, 1852, I assume it is of that date)

Debt of church

Note Due Dec 16, 1851 (owed by Wash Anderson, former treasurer
By cash pd. Oct 20, 1851. $257.85
Interest to Dec 16, '51 2.57

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Note Due Dec 16, 1851} & \quad 622.00 \\
\text{By cash pd. Oct 20, 1851} & \quad 260.42 \\
\text{Interest to Dec 16, '51} & \quad 361.58 \\
\text{Paid Feb 2, 1852} & \quad 1.90 \\
\text{Interest on balance to Feb} & \quad 363.48 \\
\text{By cash paid Feb 16, 1852} & \quad 19.16 \\
\text{Bal du Feb 16, 1852} & \quad 344.32 \\
\end{align*} \]

Treasurer reported $25 in treasury.

The 622 was owed by Washing Anderson

MINUTES INDICATE MIDNIGHT MEETING? 1952

Minute Book I, green st bap ch, louisville, mf u of l archives

Feb 8, 1852/ "Sab'ath Evening - 12 oclock" was this afternoon or night?

The April 1, 1852 notes begin "Sunday Afternoon"
In a special called meeting the church voted to ask Rev. Richard Sneethen to be minister.

Oct 9, 1857/ a report of $261.30 income, expenses of $252.00, leaving a balance of 9.30; no indication of how many months this covers. Could it be 3rd quarter? yes
July 9, 1857/ Income report: $172.50; expenses $139.00, balance of $32.75. 2d quarter income & expenses.

March 6, 1857/ not really 1st quarter

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<td>bal</td>
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FINANCE REPORT, 2D COL BAP CH, LOUISVILLE (May 1858)

May 7, 1858/

Income 328.85

313.25 expenses

15.60 bal

FINANCIAL REPORT, 2D COL BAP CH, LOUISVILLE (July 1858)

July 9, 1858/

$ 249.80 income

238.00 expenses

11.80 bal
TREASURER'S REPORT, 2D COL BAP CH, Jan 1859

Min A Book I, green st bap ch, louisville, mf u of l archives

Jan 7, 1859/

$ 215.25 income

102.95 expenses

112.30 bal

TREASURER'S REPORT, 2D COL BAP CH, APR 1859

Minute Book I, green st bap ch, louisville, mf u of l archives

April 8, 1859/

$348.55 income

190.10 expenses

158.45 bal
### July 8, 1859

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<td>$</td>
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<td>263.75</td>
<td>expenses</td>
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<td>254.80</td>
<td>balance</td>
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### July 6, 1860

"... the church voted to have the House Ensured for 6,000 Dollars after this the church voted for the Pastor to Borrow $600 & pay the deed (deed) due the first of July with the understanding that she (the church) would raise the same & pay it ateen (?) a gain to him (the pastor) in two months."
Sept 7, 1860/

$  802.65 income
  974.10 expenses

  171.45 over drawn

Nov 9, 1860/ The minutes show that the church voted "to change the" name of 2d colored to "the Green Street Baptist Church." They also voted that the pastor could stay as long as he wanted, but if he decided to leave the church should give 3 months notice, and the church the same to the pastor.
Dec 7, 1860/

"The sick committees made they report then the minits of the last month by correcting was read received & andopted after this the subject of attending to the sick was laid before the church with a view to see it they could not be some another plan fall upon where in the sick members could be better attendid to. then they have bin + "the Moderator sugested a plan to the church which was andopted to wit there being eight Deacons, the city is to be devided in eight Districts on wards. Each Deacon is to have his ward with some of the members unpainted with them as assistaince + "it shall be the Deacons duty to see after & atten to all the sick members in they respective Wards & report the same at avery regular monthly church meeting"
Feb 6, 1862/

"...the church voted to open the school at Half past one o'clock & close at 10 minutes before 3 o'clock & after which the following (cpanes ?) Bro & Sister was appointed (appointed) & confirm by the church to be Sunday School Teachers to wit sister Elizabeth Mongomery Bro Clessee Ship"
TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST, May 1862

May 9, 1862/

$ 243.00 income
218.70 expenses

24.30 bal

---

TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH, JULY 1862

July 11, 1862/

$ 320.75 income
304.00 expenses

16.75 bal
TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST, Sept 1862

Sept 13, 1862/  
$  282.20  income  
    238.50  expenses  
    ____  
    48.70  bal  

GREEN ST HIRES WATCHMAN FOR SUNDAY EVENING AND NIGHT SERVICES  

Oct 10, 1862/  
"...the church voted to employ a Watchman Sunday Evening & Sunday night & pay him a Dollar for the Evening & night Services"
TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST, Nov 1862

Minute Book I, green st bap ch, louisville, mf u of 1 archives

Nov 7, 1862/

$ 355.25 income

282.65 exp

7.60 bal

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TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST, Jan 1863

Minute Book I, green st bap ch, louisville, mf u of 1 archives

Jan 9, 1863/

$ 288.60 income

260.00 exp

28.60 bal
TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH, May 1863

May 8, 1863/

$ 491.95 income
504.65 expenses

12.70 due (overdrawn)

TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP, July 10, 1863

July 10, 1863/

303.20 income
336.05 expenses

32.85 bal due
TREASURER'S REPORT, BREEN ST BAP, Nov 1863

Nov 6, 1863/

$ 346.60 income

362.55 expenses

15.25 bal due

TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP, Feb 1864

Feb 12, 1864/

$ 223.10 income

164.90 expenses

58.20 bal
TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP, Mar 1864

March 11, 1864/

$ 306.50 income
103.40 expenses

202.65 bal

TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP, May 1864

May 6, 1864/

$ 488.90 income
422.35 expenses

66.55 bal
Nov 4, 1864/

$389.30 income

$286.05 expenses

103.25 bal

Nov 23, 1864/

"...a motion & second that the following officers shall remain as officers of the Soldiers Aide Society + "Miss Mary Lewis, Tally Fietus & Fausie Pope for President & vice President & Secretary & Rna Wm ( Evers Treasury of the Society & was carried in the affirmative" They went on to name members of the committee of the Soldiers' Aid Society of the Green St Bap Ch."
TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH, Jan 1865

Minute Book I, green st bap ch, louisville, mu of l archives

Jan 6, 1865/

$ 336.45 income
202.20 expenses

134.25 bal

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WHITE RELIGIOUS SERVICES IN THE HOME FOR SLAVES

thos l webber, deep lie the rivers; education in slave quarters, 1978

p 52/ "Often it was the planter's wife who took the primary responsibility for organizing the religious instruction of the plantation's slave population. When Israel Campbell's master's new wife arrived at the Kentucky plantation, 'She established family prayer, and at night all the slaves were called upon to participate in the devotion--master reading the Bible and Miss Sally singing a hymn and praying.'"

from Israel Campbell, Bond & Free, Yearnings for Freedom... 1861, p 12
TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH, March 1865 1985

Minute Book I, green st bap ch, louisville, mf u of l archives

March 10, 1865/

$ 450.55 income
331.25 exp

119.30 bal

PASTOR SNEETHEN, GREEN ST BAP, PROPOSES CHURCH BE USED FOR DAY SCHOOL 1986
April 1865

Minute Book I, green st bap ch, louisville, mf u of l archives

April 7, 1865/ "... the following resolution was andopted which was auford (offered) by the Pastor in regard to the Day School the said (can't read: porape insistian ) nead (need?) is follow (?) to take the Basement of the church for the use of the Day School & appoint a man to teach the children & also to take charge of the lot in the Back part of the church & have it fenced in for the School children to play in & to anpoint Trusties to take charge of the School." approved.
OLD SCHOOL TRUSTEES REMOVED & NEW DAY SCHOOL TRUSTEES APPOINTED
MAY 1865

Minute Book I, green st bap ch, louisville, mf u of l archives

May 12, 1865/ The church asked the Day School Trustees to report on the progress of the Day School. They had not had time to do the work needed to get the school going. The church voted to appoint new trustees, "...that would see to the Day School & to discharge the duty of a trustee for the school...." They chose Bros Wm Evens, Jessee Davis & Isaac Curtis as new Trustees of the Day School.

GREEN ST BAP CH VOTED TO JOIN BAPTIST CONVENTION (May 1865)

Minute Book I, green st bap ch, louisville, mf u of l archives

May 12, 1865/ The church voted "narrowly" to join the Baptist Convention, then voted to send Rev Sneethen and several members of the church with him.
TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH, May 1865

Minute Book I, green st bap ch, louisville, mf u of l archives

May 12, 1865/

$ 357.25 income
317.20 expenses

40.05 bal

INCREASED PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY AT GREEN ST BAP CH IN MID-1865

Aug 10, 1865/ Daniel A. Gaddie received by letter. Delegates appointed to the convention: Sneethen & others appointed. Set up"committee of arrangement to see after & attend to the Delegates in giving them suitable places to stay at while in the city." The church then "...voted to call a council for the ordination of Brother Daniel A. Gaddie to the ministry+ "on motion & second the church voted for the Pastor to call the council & sit the time for the council to meet+ "where upon the Pastor R. Sneethen call the following Bretheren Preachers & Deacons + "Rev. Henry Adams & the Deacons of the fifth Street Baptist Church with the Rev. Bro Heath + "Rev. Bro Charles Edwards. + "Rev. R Sneethen of the Green Street Baptist Church & the Deacons of the same with Bro Haridsbrane (?) + "the council to meet for eximnation at 2. o'clock & the ordenation to take place at 3. o'clock on motion & second the church concurred in the above"
TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH, Sept 8, 1865

Sept 8, 1865/

$ 376.55 income

360.65 expenses

15.90 bal

MEMBERS OF GREEN ST BAP CH LIVING AT HOUSES OF ILL FAME EXCLUSION PROPOSED

Nov 2, 1865/ This had come up before when members were excluded for frequenting such houses. "Voted to take up the subject of members living at Houses of Ill fame Bro Vincent Helm motion that if any member found living at Said Houses shall come under dealing of the church." After a long discussion the motion was voted down.

After another resolution and a long discussion, the church voted: anyone found living at houses of ill fame shall give the church satisfaction or be excluded.
Nov 10, 1865/

$ 332.25 income
301.30 expenses

30.95 bal

Dec 21, 1865/

Church voted to appoint a superintendent for the Day School. They chose Rev. Sneethen as the superintendent.
Minute Book I, green st bap ch, louisville, u of l archives

JAN 12, 1866/

$ 359.85 income

141.90 exp

217.95 bal

April 6, 1866/

$ 540.95 income

621.25 exp

80.30
March 5, 1868/

$ 270.55 income
550.67 expenses

185.65 amt due

July 10, 1868/

$ 699.20 income "since the last report"
450.84 expenses

248.36 bal
CLERKS AT GREEN ST BAP CH

Minute Book I, II, green st bap ch, louisville, u of l archives

Willis York Clinton
W. Y. Clinton (couldn't spell) 1852a–60'2, again 6–1868–1870s–Resigned 1-18

M. J. Davis (nice record, good hand writing) abt 1867–

Jacob Stone, clerk 1-10-1879--June, 1881

H.C.Marrs, clerk June 24, 1881 --

HC Houston clerk 1880's

Thomas A. Hammond, clerk, 1890s

GREEN ST DEBATES, THEN WITHDRAWS FROM "CONVENTION" (1868)

Minute Book II, green st bap ch, louisville, u of l archives

July 10, 1868/ Under New Business:
"1st the subject of continuing in the convention was presented after hearing of a full statement by the pastor concerning his treatment in the Convention and refusing to have any further to do with said convention, it was to continue in said convention. + "after having of a lengthy discussion on the subject, the same was voted the third time & by a majority of the last vote it was carried in negative to come out of said convention"
GREEN ST CH MEMBERS NOT TO JOIN FREE MASON (1868)

Minute Book II, green st bap ch, louisville, u of l archives

Sept 28, 1868/
Refers to a resolution that prohibits church members from joining the free masons.

Dec 22, 1868/ A committee working on the problem of Free Masonry.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR PERIOD July 10, 1868-Jan 1, 1869: Green Street BAP CH

Minute Book II, green st bap ch, louisville, u of l archives

March 12, 1869/

$ 3,189.17 income

3,680.00 expenses

490.83 bal due
March 12, 1869/

$356.75 income
460.53 expenses

103.78 bal due

May 7, 1869/

$333.65 income
162.05 expenses
TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH (1869) (Mar 12-Apr 7)

$ 328.90 church income
162.05 sunday school

490.95 total income
450.37 expenses

40.58 bal

Church debt reduced from $1558.23 by 40.58
1517.65

TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH, July 1869

$ 397.40 income
328.17 expenses

debt reduced to $1448.42
TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH,  Jan 1870

Minute Book II, green st bap ch, louisville, u of l archives

Jan 7, 1870/

$ 361.60 income
301.92 exp

59.68 bal   Debt $ 1302.01
            59.68 paid

1242.33 bal

SUNDAY SCHOOL INCOME, GREEN ST BAP, Apr 1869-May 1870

Minute Book II, green st bap ch, louisville, u of l archives

June 10, 1870/

$ 211.10 income sunday sch, April 1869-May 29, 1870
37.10 expenses

174.00 bal   m

Debt reduced to 747.63 from 1091.90

church income Mar 11, 1870

$ 722.15 income
551.88 exp

170.27 bal

344.27 bal with sun. sch.

Sept 9, 1870/

debt reduced to

1091.90
TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH, Jan 1871

$ 691.50 income
465.19 expenses

226.81 bal

$ 513.41 debt
226.81

287.10 bal on "the old debt of the church

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP REPORT, JAN 1871, GREEN ST BAP

161 "By experniece of Grance & Baptism"
18 members returned
9 "members Rec'd by relation"
5 by letter

193 total

24 excluded
11 died
6 dismissed by letter
41 total lost to church

152 net gain to church, giving a total membership of 1111, up from a total of 959 last January.
July 27, 1871/ the following resolution passed

"1st to allow the Pastor $1200 a year from the first of August /71 on motion & second the church voted to Give the Pastor Elder R Sneethen $1200 a year +
"2nd on motion & second the church voted to allow the Pastor Elder R Sneethen all the Sunday School Money etrits (?) recieved from time to time. that is over above the expenses of the Sunday School Library the above resolutions was carried unanimously in the affirmative with the exception of one vote after which the church voted to give The Clerk Willis Y Clinton $60 a year...."
TREASURER'S REPORT JAN 12, 1872, GREEN ST BAP (ORIGIN: OLD DEBT)

Minute Book II, green st bap ch, louisville, u of l archives

Jan 12, 1872/

$ 318.75 income

328.40 expenses

9.65 bal due, increasing the "old Debt / to/ $164.07" Apparently the amount not taken in by the church was taken from the pastor's salary.

PROPOSAL TO CALL REV D A GADDIE TO GREEN ST BAP CH (1872)

Minute Book II, green St Bap CH, Louisville, u of l archives

Sept 6, 1872/

The church voted to take up the matter of calling a pastor; a motion was made to call Rev Elder D. A. Gaddie. The matter was to be discussed and then a vote to come at the next meeting.
Sept 17, 1872/

The church voted to call Elder D. A. Gaddie for a year beginning the first of October 1872. "... the Church voted to appoint a Committee to wait on Elder Gaddie & to inform him of the action of the church carried. Bro Henry Wade & Daniel Solomen the committee discharge their duty & Brother Gaddie came forward & excepted the call in a very feelingly manner (manner) after which the meeting anjurne."

Oct 11, 1872/

A motion was made to pay Rev. GAddie 800 dollars a yr, and carried. A second motion proposed that his salary be raised to $900 a yr; then an amendment to the motion raised the salary to $1000, which was defeated. A new motion proposed $900 a year which passed. They also voted to give the clerk $10 per month.
The church voted 124 to 64 to "Buy the Picture of Elder R. Sneethen" and to erect a monument on his grave.

Church voted to have the "sketch" of Elder Sneethen's life read before the deacons and "before the church and congregation"
TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH, 1873

Feb 7, 1873/

$ 2,297.85 income from Mar 31, 1872 to Jan 8, 1873
2,193.85 expenses same period

104.00 bal.

ATTENDANCE AT GREEN ST BAP BUSINESS MEETINGS (1873)

March 6, 1873/

On the issue of compensating the church treasurer, the church voted 83 yes and 96 no to let the board of deacons decide (on $2.50 per mo). A second motion was introduced "not to allow the Treasury anything for his service" but was lost 91 yes and 97 no. The church then voted to give the Treasurer $2.50 a month for his service. Vote not recorded.
GREEN ST CALL COUNCIL OF ALL "REGULAR" CHURCH TO INVESTIGATE
ELDER W.W. TAYLOR

Minute Book II, green st bap ch, louisville, u of l archives

July 1, 1873/

The church informed the Bd of Deacons to call a council "...for the purpose of investigating the case of Elder W.W. Taylor." "The church voted to call a council of Pastors & Deacons. Carried. Voted to calle the Pastors & three deacons from all the regular Baptist Churches in the city." To meet in the Green st bap ch July 1873.

There have been numerous other references to councils to ordain ministers, etc. Apparently the churches of Louisville worked together to build the churches of the city.

July 31, 1873/ "Elder W.W. Taylor fail to give the Church a direct advice upon the Charge & the night of July the 23/73." The pastor called a second "advisory council" to meet on July 31, 1873, 11 A.M. "towit whereas there are rumors prejudicial to the moral character & ministerial influence of Elder W. W. Taylor, & as a council are not prepared to go into an investigation of the matter, ..." but urged the Green St Bap Ch to appoint "...a judicial committee to thoroughly investigate the rumors ... & that the Church withdraw for the time being the credentials of Elder W. W. Taylor authorizing him to Preach & perform the ministerial functions, until the ..." charges are proven or disproven, within 6 months. The church concurred. The church went on to vote to "grant Elder W.W.Taylor the privilege of attending to the financial matters of the York Street Church.

REPORT OF JUDICIAL COMMITTEE OF GREEN ST BAP CH ON W W TAYLOR CASE 1873

Minute Book II, green st bap ch, Louisville, u of l archives

Aug 8, 1873/

"...the committee report that they could not find no Scriptual prooff against Elder W.W. Taylor whereby We could condemn him in regard to Kate Thames (Thomes, Thomas) but brought in a charge against Elder Taylor for occupying the Pulpit giving out Hymns & pronouncing the benediction." The church voted to recieve the report, and the Judicial Committee was discharged. The church voted to go through the report section by section. The church voted for Taylor to come forward and answer the charge. Taylor acknowledged the charge but wanted someone to show him where he did wrong. The church, after a full hearing, voted to delay decisions until the next meeting.

Sept 18, 1873/ "...the Church voted to take Elder Taylors Credentials away & Silence him for twelve months, carried." They further voted to grant Taylor a letter of dismissal, and a committee of three was sent to him to retrieve his ordination papers. They voted to publish their decision in the "Western recorder & the Louisville Daily Commercial."

Oct 7, 1873/ Taylor refused to give the 3-man committee his credentials. The church then took up the case of Taylor's refusal to obey the church. A discussion followed, then an investigation, and a decision to exclude Taylor passed.

Oct 10, 1873/ Taylor's request in writing for a new hearing was refused.
Oct 10, 1873/ Apparently, the Green st bap ch had started the Newburgh Baptist Church in the 1870s, and had dismissed some members to that church. At this meeting they transferred the deed to the property of the Newburgh Bap Ch to that group.

Oct 23, 1873/ "Bro Willis W. Taylor made his actnolledgement after a long discussion Pro & Con and a motion to forgive Brother Taylor & to recieve him again as a full member. the same motion carried by a standing vote of 57 for & 63 against"
Oct 23, 1873/ "...the Church voted to suspend the 19th Rule of the Deacons for 10 minutes. carried + 
"After which on motion & secd the Church voted to grant Brother Willis W. Taylor his letter of Dismission. carried" There was another attempt to suspend rule 19 that failed. Possibly someone wanted to return his credentials?

Dec 20, 1873/ A request from the 5th and York Street Baptist church for the credentials of Elder W. W. Taylor ("Credentials of their Pastor Elder W. W. Taylor") was voted down. "our Reason for not giving Bro Taylor credential to the Church we donot think of him intitled of them"

Jan 9, 1874/ Green St Bap Ch voted a committee of 20 to meet with the York St Bap Ch. Gaddie was to be on the committee and to pick the remaining 19. The comm. of 20 was to be their "most Judicious Brethren," to discuss the W.W.Taylor issue.

Feb 6, 1874/ The committee reported to the Green St Bap Ch, report given by Gaddie. The church then voted standing 99 to 45 to give W.W.Taylor's credentials to the York St Bap Ch (the 19th rule having been suspended 65 to 41).

Feb 7, 1874/ A comm. of 2 to take Taylor's credentials to the York St. Ch. A letter was taken to York St Ch from Green St. It announced a reconciliation since York St allowed Taylor to preach there while out of fellowship with the Green St. Bap Ch. They wrote on the back of Taylor's credentials that "the Green st Church is nomore responsible for his as a preacher."

Feb 20, 1874/ Church voted upon reconsideration to leave off all comments on Taylor's credentials, writing only "Transferred by the Green St Baptist Church to the 5 & York Street Baptist with Day & Date"
Feb 7, 1874 /

$ 997.21

from Oct 10, 1873 to Jan 28, 1874, balance to date of

GREEN ST BAP CH MEMBERSHIP, 1873

Feb 7, 1874 /

81 Baptis & experience Grace
17 by restoration
13 by letter
3 by relation

114

37 left by letter of dismission
12 by exclusion
19 by death

68 total

net gain of 46

Jan 1873 total 1108
Jan 1874 total 1154
Feb 7, 1874/

Motion introduced: "that no Preacher or Deacon of the Green Street Baptist church shall participate any Political Election," but laid on the table. This was followed by a motion to "...reconsider the Election of Bro Vencent Helm until after the City Election" which passed.

April 10, 1874/

The members of the sick committee for 12 wards, with the streets defining the ward were elected.
The issue of membership in secret societies had been laid on the table earlier. A full discussion of the matter was resolved by voting "...to leave the Pulpit in charge of the Pastor to invite any Preacher to Preach for him that he think is the right kind of a man according to the Scripture."

The church voted to send Vencent Helm to Frankfort "...as one of the Trustees of the Hill Property" providing $10 for the cost.
May 8, 1874/

"The Church voted to let a White Brother of the Walnut Street Baptist Church speak a lecture on Temperance Fry Day night."

May 11, 1874/

Gaddie rehired for $1200 a year, from May 1, 1874.
July 3, 1874/

In a meeting the Green St. Bap. Ch. passed a resolution "...to ask the General Association through the Green Street Baptist Church to establish a temporary Normal Theological School immediately in Louisville or its vicinity." The church then approved "... a proposition presented by Brother J. W. Flint which was to ask the General Association to establish a Book Concern in the city of Louisville or its vicinity."

Aug 24, 1874/

The church voted to allow D.A. Gaddie to have a school in the church basement.
The church voted to pay for the "schooling of Brother Steven Davis after full hearing of the subject".

The church voted to give $10.00 per year to the Baptist African missionary, Elder David.
Dec 11, 1874/

"...the Church voted make Sister Emma Sneethen a present of the $20.00 that the Pastor Dict. (?) God to present (?) her & the Church is to pay the insurache on Sister Sneethen house every year"

TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH, 1875 (Jan)

Jan 8, 1875/

$ 422.21 income

388.85 expenses

$ 33.36 bal. period not given
MEMBERSHIP REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH, Jan 1874-Jan 1875

Minute Book II, green st bap ch, louisville, mf, u of 1 archives

Jan 8, 1875/ Report from Jan 1, 1874 to Jan 1, 1875

Total membership Jan 1, 1875 was 1243

143 gain
54 lost
89 net gain

W W TAYLOR PARTICIPATES IN EXAMINATION OF BLACK MINISTERS (1875)

Minute Book II, green st bap ch, louisville, mf, u of 1 archives

July 2, 1875/

A presbytery of ministers and deacons from the various black churches of Louisville appointed committees to examine Bro. George Ward for the ministry. Rev. Elder Rev. W.W.Taylor and 2 deacons of 5th & York St Bap ch participated.
Dec 10, 1875/
in a letter to the church
Gaddie/said many are indifferent to the work of the church; don't attend, don't give money; etc. GAddie offered his resignation. The church voted to receive the letter, but not the resignation. A committee was sent to assure Gaddie the situation would be corrected.

Supplemental Meeting, Dec 10, 1875/ Gaddie informed the church he would remain if the church would begin a policy of calling the roll at the meetings to ascertain the presence of members. Carried, that the roll would be called once a month.

TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH, Jan 1876

Jan 7, 1876/

$ 395.80 income (period not stated)
    371.30 exp
    24.50 bal
GREEN ST BAP CH, PREVENTED BODY OF DECEASED MAN FROM ENTERING CH

Minute Book II, Green st bap ch, louisville, mf, u of l archives

Jan 20, 1876/

For reasons not given, the deacons voted, the pastor concurring, that the body of a dead man, one Simmons, not be allowed to enter the church.
UNMARRIED PREGNANT GIRLS & THE MEN INVOLVED EXCLUDED FROM GREEN ST

Minute Book II, green st bap ch, louisville, mf, u of l archives

Jan 20, 1876/

The church resolved "...that if any member or members by found in a Delecate Situation & the same is proven, they shall be excluded from the membership of the Church not with standing the said members may or should get married before the case is brough before the church...." carried.

SUNDAY SCHOOL TREASURER UNABLE TO PAY CHURCH ITS MONEY, GREEN ST

BAP CH (1876)

Minute Book II, green st bap ch, louisville, mf, u of l archives

March 10, 1876/

The church sent a committee to visit Brother Morris Stone to inform him that he must pay the sunday school money he had in his possession over to the church. "Brother Stone said he intended to pay the money over to the Treasury & could done (pay) it over at most any time & the reason that he has not payed it he had use the money ..." Stone came to the church and said he intended to pay the money soon. He gave $6.30 to the church, but still owed 12.40.

April 7, 1876/ Bro. Stone paid the remainder of the Sunday School money.

Jan 29, 1877/ This apparently caused Morris Stone no problem; he was on a committee to visit a wayward member in Jan 1877 and reported unfavorably to the church.
**TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH, Jan 1877**

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**GREEN ST BAP CH, HIRES WATCHMAN TO KEEP ORDER OUTSIDE CHURCH**

The church discussed a motion to hire a watchman; they decided on "...Paying a Policeman to keep order abot /sic/ the Door same carried & it was amdended (amended?) that a Policeman be employed to aide the Deacons in Keeping order...."
May 4, 1877/ The Green St Bap Ch was asked by the "Roselane Street Baptist Church" to go bond for the "sum of two thousand seven hundred & fifty Dollars ($2750). A 3-man committee led by Gaddie investigated and reported to the Green St Bap Ch that they could aid with advice, etc, but could not "...step as a Church in place of an other." The report was received and adopted.

Oct 12, 1877/ "a petition from Brother W. Y. (or J) Clinton praying that the Church would grant him the privilege of one Sunday morning & night for the purpose of allowing the Members & congregation an opportunity to give him a public Collection to buy a Watch." Granted by the church, to be on the 2d Sun in Nov., morning and night.
TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH, JAN 1878

Jan 11, 1878/

$ 678.81 income

678.81 exp

297.50 debt.

$ 96.10 Sun. Sch. income

33.53 expenses

62.57 bal

Poor Saint Fund

$ 20.15 income

15.75 exp

4.40 bal

TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH, SHOWING DEBT, MAY 1878

May 10, 1878/

$ 856.00 income

856.00 exp

Church Debt

$ 57.66 to pastor

150.00 to Hess & Bro for funerals

12.00 "one Bath Tub"

219.66 total

$ 116.32 Sun Sch income

27.10 exp

99.22 bal

$ 26.55 Poor Saint fund

21.00 exp

5.55 bal
The church voted to have a committee of 15 male members to prepare a history of the Green Street Baptist Church.

Mary Jane Carter got the use of the church auditorium for the nights of Feb 11, 12, 13, 1880, "for the purpose of giving an entertainment for the benefit of the Orphans Home. first two nights, for the Orphans, third and last night for the benefit of the church."
Nov 12, 1880/

The church voted to get a bank through which it would pay its debts. The treasurer would have to deposit all monies of the church above $15.00 had to be deposited in 24 hours. Four members of the Board of Trustees would have to sign drafts on the church. Claims against the church would be paid between the 1st and 15th of each month.

June 10, 1881/

The church voted to "...take part and assist in giving an Entertainment, to be given at Seminary Park on July the 4th 1881, for the Benefit of the College...."
Aug 29, 1881/ A charge was made, not clear by whom, that Elder D.A.Gaddie had stolen $300.00 in church money. A committee to look into charge.

Aug 30, 1881/ "The Committee was then called upon to make their statement. as regards the final settlement of the treasury, all testified that report was correct and nothing was missing and that Elder D. A. Gaddy was exonerated from every charge further that the church was at that time indebted to him fifty seven dollars. On motion Elder D.A.Gaddy was exonerated from all charges. It was further Resolved that all parties implicated in the Charge against the pastor be taken up. Those taken were Brothers Jacob Stone I Curtis, James Fry, Bro. Broadus Bro. Redford Walker O.R. Fountain and Henry Nutter. Bro. Jacob Stone was the first to offer defence He stated that he held in his pocket papers sufficient to prove the correction of the Charges made against Elder Gaddy not withstanding a few minutes prior to the above statement he exonerated Elder from all charges. To go back of the charge was out of order therefore he was confined to the subject under debate. Bro. Stone refused to proceed further saying that he could not receive Justice - being proven that Elder Gaddy was clear of the Charge that his accusers had exonerated him. On motion Bro. Stone was removed from the office of Deacon. Sister Watson and Bro. Phillip Smith were taken up for disorderly conduct cases laid over until next Church meeting." adjourned. 

Sept 5, 1881/ Stone's defense was unacceptable and he was excluded from the church. Bro. Isaac Curtis was called upon by Stone to confirm Stone's account of the events between Gaddie and himself. Curtis said "he had gone across the street for water during the conversation and did not know what occurred while he was away." Curtis was excused from the charges against him.

Sept 7, 1881/ Case of Bro Fountain. "Fountain stated that the Church owed Elder Gaddy over fifty-dollars and that all he said that it was to prove the Elder innocent. He believed him to be clear of the Charge. Bro. Clemens stated that they all agreed that Elder Gaddies' reports were Correct" Bro Fountain was "relieved from his Deacon Office" but the charge against Fountain was dropped, and then he was reelected deacon. Bro Henry Nutter voted innocent of the charge against him; Bro Fry had arrived and was removed as a deacon, and excluded for charges against him.
MUSICAL DIRECTOR APPOINTED FOR GREEN ST BAP CH (1881)

Oct 1, 1881/

"1. Resolved that George Thomas be and is hereby appointed musical director of the Green St Church Choir with the privilege of selecting such members as have musical talent to sing for the Church. +

"(2) Resolved that the Merian sing Association are respectfully invited to with draw as singers for the Church and are cordially invited to join the Church Choir under Bro Geo. Thomas."

SUPPORT FOR GADDIE AGAINST NEWSPAPER ATTACK (1881)

Nov 3, 1881/

"Bro. H. C. Marrs offered a resolution exonarating Elder D. A. Gaddy the charges made against him in the Ohio Falls Express by Mr. Stone the resolution was adopted ... a motion prevaild that the adoption was reconsidered and a committee appointed to draw up a more suitable resolutions Committee"

May 12, 1882/

"Be it resolved that we the members of the Green st Baptist Church support our pastor Elder D.A. Gaddy in getting money to vindicate himself before the law as to his character and reputation as a Christian gentleman having been faulsly assailed by Jacob Stone"
SUNDAY SCH FINANCIAL REPORT, GREEN ST BAP, Sept-Nov 1881

Dec 10, 1881/

$ 9.91 Sept 1881
11.55 Oct
1090 Nov

45.36 total
paid out $22.70
Bal in Trea 22.66

GREEN ST BAP CH ROOM TO BE USED FOR NIGHT SCHOOL

May 12, 1882/ The church granted Miss Nelly L. Fry the use of a church room for a night school.
Dec 4, 1882/ "Be it resolved That this law shall be the established rule of the Green St. B. Church be enforced to the letter. (to all individual in rebellion) All members that shall be found giving aid or comfort or acting in any way in rebellion against the administration of the laws of the Green St. Baptist Church shall be considered as walking disorderly and shall be called to an account before the Church for the same and failing to give satisfaction to the Church after hearing the witnesses in the Case they shall be excluded from the membership of the Church."

Dec 22, 1882/ "The business of the deacon board was then called for, and the following resolutions were presented. Resolved 1st, That we, the deacon board, do hereby recommend, that the church erase the charges alleged against Bros. Jacob Stone and James Fry. This resolution on motion and second was rejected. Then the Second section of the resolution, which reads as follows, was on motion offroned (offered?) Resolved 2nd. We the deacon board recommend that the church allow these brothers to come forward and read the order made in the Jefferson Court, and be restored upon the same. Then the two brothers came forward, and brother Stone read the order of the court. After he had done so, the moderator, Elder D. A. Gaddie, asked him if what he had read, was his sentiments. Brother Stone refused acknowledge this, saying that he was called upon to do more than the order called for. Then the moderator, called upon brother Wm. H. Stewart, of the Fifth St Baptist church to read the order to the church and state his views concerning it. Then brother Stewart came forward, and after saying that he wished the members to know that he and brother Gaddie had had no previous meeting concerning the order; and that brother Gaddie knew nothing of his views in regard to it; he clearly and distinctly read the order, commenting upon it as he read +

"After he had read the order, in a very touching speech of about five minutes, he went on to show that for the good of the cause, and for the general prosperity of the Baptist of Kentucky, each side in this difficulty, should be willing and ready to make some concessions. He said that if the order which brother Stone had read were really his sentiments, he saw no impropriety in brother Stone' acknowledging the same. After brother Stewart had taken his seat Stones said, he didn't care what any one said
THE GADDIE-STONE CONTROVERSY CONTINUED (1882) COURT ORDER

Minute Book III, green st bap ch, louisville, mf, u of l archives

/Dec 22, 1882 cont'd/

about the order, he didn't intend to admit to any thing or do any thing which the order did not require: Then after much persuasion, and numerous speeches, and of rage (?) by Elder Renolds, the following was offered by brother A H Payne. 'For the sake of the cause of Christ, and the prosperity of the green St Baptist Church, We as workers for God, do hereby brother Stone to the fellowship of the Church' (apparently: do hereby receive brother) this motion was lost by a vote of 86 to 73. Then after much talk the following resolution was offered by brother Isaac Curtis.+

"Resolved that J. Stone and J. Fry be restored to the fellowship of the church, upon the recommendation of the deacon board, which was lost." adjourned.

THE GADDIE-STONE CONTROVERSY RESOLVED

Minute Book III, green st bap ch, louisville, mf, u of l archives

Jan 29, 1883/ Under unfinished business, the following: "Then it was announced to the moderator that brothers Stone & Fry were present and wished to come forward for restoration. Then it was moved that the above named brothers be allowed to come forward and make their wishes known. They came forward and brother stone stated that he wished to be restored to the membership of the church upon the agreement or order made in the Court between Elder Gaddie and himself. It was then moved that brother Stone be restored back to the church on the face of the order, which motion was lost. Then being asked by the moderator if he wished to say any thing further, brother Stone preceded to do so, when great excitement was created in the church, by disorderly members; during which brother Aaron Payne was called to the chair, and the moderator and brother Stone withdrew to the rear room. Order having been restored brother Fry, being called upon came forward and stated that he wished to be restored to the fellowship of the church, upon the face of the order. on motion, after a great deal of discussion, brother fry was restored to the fellowship of the church by a vote of 56 to 48. Then it was moved that brother Stone also be restored to the church, which was carried by a vote of 64 to 48. Then brother Redford Walker, being called upon, engaged in prayer with the church, for her peace and prosperity, after which the church engaged in a general hearty shake hands, and adjourned...."
MINUTE BOOK III, GREEN ST BAP CH, LOUISVILLE, MF, U OF L ARCHIVES

Jan 30, 1883/

"The moderator then arose and stated that there was great dissatisfaction on the part of some of the members, because he seemed to be so anxious to receive Stone & Fry to the fellowship of the church on face of vote, and that they, the dissatisfied members, were saying that this seemed to be a strong evidence of his guilt - and in consequence of this dissatisfaction he wished a reconsideration of the reports of 1879 and '80 and have an investigation of the whole affair made in the presence of the church. After he resumed his seat the following resolution was offered by brother Wm Pendragas. 1st Be it resolved that the reports made by brothers Jacob Stone in 1880 for the year 1879 and 1880 of the treasury of the Church, be reconsidered - 2nd That the whole report be investigated by the church 3rd If after a careful investigation of all the money, that he shall make it good, by paying the debt. It was moved that this resolution be adopted. same prevailed, after an amendment to it, offered by brother Curtis, that brother Stone and Bro Gaddie be added to the investigating committee was lost. After which it was moved that brothers Stone and Fry be requested to return to the church all the church's property in their possession. Same was carried."

CONFRONTATION OF STONE WITH CHURCH, GREEN ST, FEB 1883

Feb 6, 1883/ After prayer "... that part of the minutes bearing on the resolution for an investigation of report of 79-80, was read, and on motion adopted. After which the moderator arose and stated the object of the meeting, and also stated that the com sent to recover the books and papers of the church from brother Stone had failed to secure them. After he re sumed his seat, brother Jacob Stone arose, making a very long speech, not germane to the object of the meeting. He finished this speech by saying that before he would surrender these books and papers, to Trustees whose minds were biausied against him, he would let the grass grow over his grave. He said that if he was allowed to select such Trustees as he might see fit and the church the same, to compose the investigating committee, then he would bring the books and papers forward. Then the moderator arose and recapitulated brother Stone's speech that the members might know clearly brother Stones position. This speech was followed by one from brother H. C. Marrs, brother Marrs had to quit speaking however, before he had finished; on the account of brother Stone, arising and in a threatening manner advancing toward him saying that he would not allow that man meaning brother Marr, to say what he was saying, and that he would rather die first. Such very great excitement prevailed here that, it was fully five minutes before the moderator could restore order. Order being restored the moderator ruled that no more speeches could be made, motions on resolutions being only in order. The moderator resuming his seat, brother Isaac Curtis gained the floor and offered the following substitute for the resolution on the minutes - that the same committee of brothers who had brought in the report, reinvestigate the reports - same was lost. Then it was moved that the
February 6, 1883

The meeting was referred to a committee selected by Brother Stone and the moderator - same was lost - after this Brother H.C. Marrs secured the floor, and in an able speech set forth his grievance; showing how ungentlemanly and unchristian like he had been treated by brothers of that church." Adjourned.

February 9, 1883

Church treasurer W.Y. Clinton offered his resignation, but it was turned down (21 yes, 25 no). "Then Brother Clinton arose, and stated that if the church wished him to be her treasurer, that she would have to have some system to the business or money affairs of the church. After he resumed his seat the following resolution was offered by Brother H.C. Marrs - Resolved that all money paid out by the treasurer of this church be drawn by an order written by the secretary of the church, and signed by the clerk of the deacon-board. That the treasurer and secretary make a quarterly report instead of every two months. That all debts of the church be settled by notes, if the parties so desire." Adopted. "Then it was moved that the secretary be authorized to write orders on the treasurer for the payment of all church debts" carried.
Feb 12, 1883/ Brother A. Payne offered the following resolution: "Resolved. That the church reconsider the resolution, asking brothers Jacob Stone and James Fry to return the books and papers over to the church, until after an investigation of the same: 2nd. That the church appoint an equal number of brethren with brother Stone to form a committee to examine the reports of 1879 and 1880 and report the results to the church: 3rd. That no one be held responsible but the pastor in case any money is unaccounted for. 4th. After which the brethren shall turn the books and papers over to report to church - Same was lost by an overwhelming majority. It was then moved that a committee of two be appointed to wait on brothers stone and Fry & in the church's name, request them to hand over to them the books & papers now in their possession, but that they could make a copy of the same before doing so, if they desired. Same was carried. Then on motion brother A.H Payne and Isaac Curtis were appointed to form the committee."

May 15, 1883/ This is the next entry in the minute book (Feb 12, 1883 on page 181 was the last entry; p 182 if May 15, 1883).

"The committee appointed to wait on bro. Jacob Stone and ask for the books & papers, was called upon to make its report. It stated unreadiness, and on motion the committee was continued."

May 30, 1883/ The committee to make the report on the visit to stone was called upon, but did not make a report, A.H.Payne being absent.
BRO. STONE—GREEN ST BAP CH CONTROVERSY OVER CH RECORDS

June 6, 1883/ "The committee sent to wait on brother Stone then reported, that they had seen bro. Stone concerning the books; and he said that he was willing to return them over to the church, after he had made a copy of the same. The report was adopted. 
"It was then moved that bro. stone have thirty days in which to take the copy & return the book." carried.

July 6, 1883/ Stone had not returned the books as of this date. The church voted to give Stone until next regular meeting.

considerable skips in minutes after this.

Oct 5, 1883/ "...the church Voted for the Clerk to Search the Church Record or Minutes Book and Collect all the unfinished Business, Resolutions, and Sofourth and present the Same to the Church." Another motion called for "... the Books and Papers to be turned over to the Board of Deacons and Trustee, to be examined and that they Report their work to the church at the next Monthly Meeting" but was laid on the table.

Feb 8, 1884/ After the treasurer's report, details not given, the following was offered:
"A proposition was offered by the pastor through the Deacon board respecting the assumption of his debts. As payment to him or to raise him $300. by the first of March. on motion Nutter to raise the $300. and after discussion The motion H. Hairston & second was that the motion pending be tabled Same was Carried. on motion H. Hairston & secon to secure the papers Same was . . . . (in original) on motion & second. that the papers B defer to the deacon & trustee board for investigation On motion the the (sic) newly-elected Trustees be known in The Court of Louisville, County of Jefferson Carried."
Sept 15, 1884/
"Members carried Resolution offered Where as we as a church being satisfied with the Investigation & Report maid by the Committee Therefore be it and hereby is Resolved that every Member of this Church who had their names Signed to that paper (stating that the Pastor Eld D.A. Gaddie was short in his accounts, was scratched out) Respecting the Stone & Gaddie Dispute come & make an open acknowledgement as to their satisfaction or Dissatisfaction or will Be dealt with by the Church."

Sept 16, 1884/
Four members of the church came forward and stated that they had merely signed the "paper against Brother Gaddie" to get at the truth. All were satisfied with the investigation.

Oct 16, 1884/ Three more members came forward and asked that their names be erased from the paper against Bro Gaddie since they were satisfied with the report. Afourthhowever, Isaac Curtis, was reported by the committee as saying, while satisfied, he "did not want to be tried with Bro. D.A. Gaddie the pastor acting moderator/"

Sept 17, 1884/ "Every Bro.or Sister that was batling against the Church and Every Bro. or sister that can be Identified as being Implicated in the riot Against the Church be Excluded +
"Bro Samuel Davis by mo & sec. was Excluded for being in the riot
" O.K.Fountain by mo & sec- " " attempting to kill
" Jessie Shipp " " " " being in the riot
" Jacob Stone " " " " " " " " fighting in church
" David Yancy " " " " " " " " fighting in church
" Joseph Anderson " " " " being in the riot
" James Porter " " " " " " " " fighting in church
" Redford Walker " " " " " " " " being in the riot
" James Frye " " " " " " " " " " " " " " Having a pistol
" Sterling Abernatha " " " " Having a pistol

After a lengthy discussion Respecting the treasurer of the church Bro Henry Nutter on motion that a com be appointed to Wait on him and Investigate his accounts & Report at the Call meeting Committee H.C. Houston & Wm. Pendegrast & Abaham Simms same are Requested to bring Books & Papers" meeting adjourned.
Nov 3, 1884/ The committee sent to interview Isaac Curtis regarding his signing of a paper against Elder Gaddie reported. "Randolph Hughes, presented a paper tour Bro. Curtis which Read as follows Breatheren of com. from the Green st. Baptist Church I say to you frank, that I never offered a word of objection to the arbitrators Report in the Gaddie & Stone case. I. Curtis" The paper was discussed, but Curtis was and a decision was made to have a church meeting Saturday at noon--Curtis apparently said he couldn't meet at night--to give Curtis an opportunity to speak to the church regarding his action.

Nov 8, 1884/ The church dealt with the next case, "Bro Isaac Curtise for failing to Comply with the Resolution of the Church. Bro Curtise was called forward to Express his satisfaction and failed to do so for some time but stood in the pue and acted very disorderly at last he came forward and made his statement that he was satisfied with the investigation as made by the Committee mo & sec that his name be erased from the list of Names that were in opposition in the investigation case."

Dec 12, 1884/ "A Resolution was offered by Bro R. W. Goodall Where,as this Church, for the following named reasons Excluded Jacob Stone Jessie Shipp James Fay, Samuel Davis Chas Mc Magruder, O R Fountain David Yancy, James Posten (Porter) Joseph Anderson Redford Walker, Sterlin Abernather from the membership of this Church, for engaging in a riot and fighting which destroyed the peace and Dignity of the Church and for using threatening Gestures Therefore we are compelled to beleive their evident entention was to committ a black crime which Was averted by the timely action of the Brothers & sisters, for they was making strait to the pastor, it as a plane fact that their entention was to commit a homicade which would have in the future held this Church down in Chains of infamy and disgrace in all future time, and they had no reasons for their rash action because the Church thought by their Charges, and accusations against the pastor of the Church which was not true of him and it has caused their families to forsake the Church and many other Who have absented themselves from Church through their enflence and false Statements made to them about the pastor and having made so great a diviscous a mongst the members, of the church by having accused the Pastor of taking the Churches money which they cannot prove. having tried 2 or 3 times since they have accused him and have failed We as an endependent Baptist Church - Demand that those men should make - Statements and acknowledgements, as would be considered by thinking and reasonable - Christians as satisfactory to the Church so the blame may rest on those who have brought it on. they refused to do what the Church Requested of them therefore it was necessary to administer her discipline which ended in their exclusion from the membership of the church since we learn from one of that party they ask us to
Dec 12, 1884 cont’d/ reconsider their expulsion or give them a copy of it. as they knew what the Church Demanded of them as members of the Church, since they in the out burst of the confusion, that they made in the Church, that raised the whole neighborhood, and brought to the scene over one thousand people, therefore be it resolved, that this Church, will not reconsider her action in their exclusion. Which was duely considered by the Church and was just neither will we give them a copy of their exclusion and if they wish to return to the Church, as essing (?) Breathing against the Authority of the church they have been members of the church for many years, and know well, the Conditions of the bible and of the Church. the doors of the Church are all ways open, to here them, when they come as they should. we are right in what we have Done, and will stand inflexible + "We shall call, no Council no attend any, as We feel that we are Capable of attending to our own Business. We are an endependent Church, and will take care of our selfs."

TREASURER’S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP, Sept 1885

Nov 9, 1885/ Trea report for Sept

$  158.63 income

  157.43 exp

     1.20 bal

$  131.65 income past 10 months in sunday sch

    71.13 exp for period

     60.52 bal
RAISING MONEY TO PAY GADDIE $300 OWED HIM (1886)

Minute Book III, green st bap ch, louisville, mf, u of l archives

March 12, 1886/ The church voted for each member to pay .25¢ each monthly meeting to attempt to raise the money to pay the debt to the pastor. Upon failing to pay, a member could be excluded.

TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH, JAN-MAR, 1886

Minute Book III, green st bap ch, louisville, mf, u of l archives

April 9, 1886/

$  756.90  income  Jan, Feb, Mar, 1886

763.12  exp

$  78.63  Sun Sch  income
DISCUSSION OF GADDIE'S SALARY (1888)

A motion to raise Gaddie’s salary to $1200 tabled. Discussion of paying him $900 per yr and assuming "the debt that He owes the Society S. & B of Frindship" Considerable discussion and no vote, apparently.

June 8, 1888/

"on motion and adopted that the Pastors Salary B $1200, per anum the Pastor then stated that he would not Exact the $1200 per anum"

GREEN STREET MISSION, OF GREEN ST BAP CH ? (1889)

April 9, 1889/ Apparently the Green St bap Church was associated in some way with the Green Street Mission. The church voted "...to allow Bro Burbrage to retain the name of the Green St Mission to his mission that he has started in the vicinity of 12th and Hornsby ave"

Green St Bap Ch had also helped start the Newburgh Church in the 1870s
Bro Isaac Curtis arose to make a statement Respecting the old folks home - society and Stated that a place with 26 Rooms had been Purchased by the above named society and has one old Lady as an occupant. On Motion and adopted that the Green St Baptist Church Subscribe $100. to be paid by Enstallments of $25. anuly.

TREASURER'S REPORT, GREEN ST BAP CH, Jan 1890

Jan 10, 1890/

Poor Saints Fund

$ 99.36 income
  68.71 expenditures

  30.65 bal in fund

$ 101.65 incidental expenditures
  103.68 trans$iet preachers
  146.95 associations
  10.00 messengers
  22.70 water bills
  102.09 gas bills
  120.00 organist
  76.67 clerk
  360.01 sexton
  1223.01 Pastor

  2266.76 total incidental expenditures report adopted
"In 1869, St. Augustine's Church, Louisville, Ky., situated on 14th Street and Broadway, was erected with a special view to the needs of the colored Catholics. Rev. John L. Spalding, later Bishop of Peoria, was named pastor. On each Sunday and holyday of obligation two services took place in it: one for the colored people for whom it had been built, and one for the white Catholics living in the neighborhood. This arrangement lasted until the following year when the Church of the Sacred Heart was opened for the white people."

"Many negroes are leaving their masters & some are refusing to work /./ My Man Abe solemnly vows that he will not leave me again. I have almost lost confidence in all of them."
Chapter 1: A Slave, Ambassador and City Doctor.

This paper was prepared after several interviews had been obtained with the subject of this sketch.

Dr. George Washington Buckner, tall, lean, whitehaired, genial and alert, answered the call of his door bell. Although anxious to oblige the writer and willing to grant an interview, the life of a city doctor is filled with anxious solicitation for others and he is always expecting a summons to the bedside of a patient or a professional interview has been slated.

Dr. Buckner is no exception and our interviews were often disturbed by the jingle of the door bell or a telephone call.

Dr. Buckner's conversation lead in ever widening circles, away from the topic under discussion when the events of his own life were discussed, but he is a fluent speaker and a student of psychology. Psychology as that philosophy relates to the mental and bodily tendencies of the subjects African race has long since become one of the major factors with which this unusual man struggles. "Why is the negro?" is one of his deepest concerns.


Dr. Buckner's first recollections center within a slave cabin in Kentucky. The cabin was the home of his step-father, his invalid mother and several children. The cabin was of the crudest construction, its only windows being merely holes in the cabin wall with crude bark shutters arranged to keep out snow and rain. The furnishings of this home consisted of a wood bedstead upon which a rough straw bed and patchwork quilts provided meager comforts for the invalid mother. A straw bed that could be pushed under the bedstead through the day was pulled into the middle of the cabin at night and the wearied children were put to bed by the impatient step-father.

The parents were slaves and served a master not wealthy enough to provide adequately for their comforts. The mother had become invalidate through the task of bearing children each year and being deprived of medical and surgical attention.

The master, Mr. Buckner, along with several of his relatives had purchased a large tract of land in Green County, Kentucky and by a
custom or tradition as Dr. Buckner remembers; land owners that owned no slaves were considered "Po' White Trash" and were scarcely recognized as citizens within the state of Kentucky.

Another tradition prevailed, that slave children should be presented to the master's young sons and daughters and become their special property even in childhood. Abhering to that tradition the child, George Washington Buckner became the slave of young "Mars" Dickie Buckner, and although the two children were nearly the same age the little mulatto boy was obedient to the wishes of the little master. Indeed, the slave child cared for the Caucasian boy's clothing, polished his boots, put away his toys and was his playmate and companion as well as his slave.

Sickness and suffering and even death visits alike the just and the unjust, and the loving sympathetic slave boy witnessed the suffering and death of his little white friend. Then grief took possession of the little slave, he could not bear the sight of little Dick's toys nor books not clothing. He recalls one harrowing experience after the death of little Dick Buckner. George's grandmother was a housekeeper and kitchen maid for the white family. She was in the kitchen one late afternoon preparing the evening meal. The master had taken his family for a visit in the neighborhood and the mulatto child sat on the veranda and recalled pleasanter days. A sudden desire seized him to look into the bed room where little Mars Dickie had lain in the bed. The evening shadows had fallen, exaggerated by the influence of trees and vines, and when he placed his pale face near the window pane he thought it was the face of little Dickie looking out at him. His nerves gave way and he ran around the house screaming to his grandmother that he had seen Dickie's ghost. The old colored woman was sympathetic, dried his tears, then with tears coursing down her own cheeks she went about her duties. George firmly believed he had seen a ghost and never really convinced himself against the idea until he had reached the years of manhood. He remembers how the story reached the ears of the other slaves and they were terrorized at the suggestion of a ghost being in the mas-
BIOG DR. GEO WASH BUCKNER, KY SLAVE

That is the way superstitions always started," said the Doctor. "Some nervous persons received a wrong impression and there were always others ready to embrace the error."

Dr. Buckner remembers that when a young daughter of his master married, his sister was given to her for a bridal gift and went away from her own mother to live in the young mistress' new home. "It always filled us with sorrow when we were separated either by circumstances of marriage or death. Although we were not properly housed, properly nourished nor properly clothed we loved each other and loved our cabin homes and were unhappy when compelled to part."

"There are many beautiful spots near the Green River and our home was situated near Greensburgh, the county seat of Green County. The area occupied by Mr. Buckner and his relatives is located near the river and the meanderings of the stream almost formed a peninsula covered with rich soil. Buckner's hall relieved the landscape and clear springs bubbled through crevices affording much water for household use and near that springs white and negro children met to enjoy themselves.

"Forty years after I left Greensburg I went back to visit the springs and try to meet my old friends. The friends had passed away, only a few merchants and salespeople remembered my ancestors."

A story told by Dr. Buckner relates an evening at the beginning of the Civil War. "I had heard my parents talk of the war but it did not seem real to me until one night when mother came to the pallet where we slept and called to us to "Get up and tell our uncles good-by." Then four startled little children arose, mother was standing in the room with a candle or a sort of torch made from grease drippings and old pieces of cloth, (these rude candles were in common use and afforded but poor light) and there stood her four brothers, Jacob, John, Bill, and Isaac all with the light of adventure shining upon their mulatto countenances. They were starting away to fight for their liberties and we were greatly impressed."
Dr. Buckner stated that officials thought Jacob entirely too young to enter the service as he had a few scattered white hairs but he remembers he was brawny and unafraid. Isaac was too young but the other two uncles were accepted. One never returned because he was killed in battle but one fought throughout the war and was never wounded. He remembers how the white men were indignant because the negroes were allowed to enlist and how Mars Stanton Buckner was forced to hide out in the woods for many months because he had met slave Frank Buckner and had tried to kill him. Frank returned to Greensburg, forgave his master and procured a paper stating that he was at fault, after which Stanton returned to active service. "Yes, the road has been long. Memory brings back those days and the love of my mother is still real to me, God bless her!"

Relating to the value of an education Dr. Buckner hopes every Caucasian and Afro-American youth and maiden will strive to attain great heights. His first efforts to procure knowledge consisted of reciting A.B.C.'s from the McCuffy's Blue backed speller with his unlettered sister for a teacher. In later years he attended a school conducted by the

Leaving Greensburg the young mulatto made his way to Indianapolis where he became acquainted with the first educated negro he had ever met. The negro was Robert Bruce Bagby, then principal of the only school for negroes in Indianapolis. "The same old building is standing there today that housed Bagby's institution then," he declares.
Dr. Buckner recalls that when he left Bagby's school he was so low financially he had to procure a position in a private residence as a house boy. This position was followed by many jobs of serving tables at hotels and eating houses, of any and all kinds. While engaged in that work he met Colonel Albert Johnson and his lovely wife, both natives of Arkansas and he remembers their congratulations when they learned that he was striving for an education. They advised his entering an educational institution at Terre Haute. His desire had been to enter that institution of Normal Training but felt doubtful of succeeding in the advanced courses taught because his advantages had been so limited, but Mrs. Johnson told him that "God gives his talents to the different species and mix he would love and protect the negro boy."

After studying several years at the Terre Haute State Normal George W. Buckner felt assured that he was reasonably prepared to teach the negro youths and accepted the professorship of a schools at Vincennes, Washington, and other Indiana villages. "I was interested in the young people and anxious for their advancement but the suffering endured by my invalid mother, who had passed into the great beyond, and the memory of little Master Dickie's lingering illness and untimely death would not desert my consciousness. I determined to take up the study of medical practice and surgery which I did."

Dr. Buckner graduated from the Indiana Electric Medical College in 1890. His services were needed at Indianapolis so he practiced medicine in that city for a year, then located at Evansville where he has enjoyed an ever increasing popularity on account of his sympathetic attitude among his people.

"When I came to Evansville," says Dr. Buckner, "there were seventy white physicians practicing in the area, they are now among the departed. Their task was strenuous, roads were almost impossible to travel and those brave men soon sacrificed their lives for the good of suffering humanity." Dr. Buckner described several of the old doctors as "Striding a horse and setting out through all kinds of weather."

Dr. Buckner is a veritable encyclopedia of negro lore. He stops
at many points during an interview to relate stories he has gleaned here and there. He has forgotten where he first heard this one or that one but it helps to illustrate a point. One he heard near the end of the war follows, and although it has recently been retold it holds the interest of the listener. "Andrew Jackson owned an old negro slave, who stayed on at the old home when his beloved master went into politics, became an American soldier and statesman and finally the 7th president of the United States. The good slave still remained through the several years of the quiet uneventful last years of his master and witnessed his death, which occurred at his home near Nashville, Tennessee. After the master had been placed under the sod, Uncle Sammy was seen each day visiting Jackson's grave.

"Do you think President Jackson is in heaven?" an acquaintance asked Uncle Sammy.

"If n he wanted to go dar, he dar now," said the old man. "If n Mars Andy wanted to do any thing all Hell couldn't keep him from doin' it."

Dr. Buckner believes each negro is confident that he will take himself with all his peculiarities to the Land of Promise. Each physical feature and habitual idiosyncrasy will abide in his redeemed personality. Old Joe will be there in person with the wrinkle crossing the bridge of his nose and little Stephen will wear his wool pulled back from his eyes and each will recognize his fellow man. "What fools we all are."

"The most treacherous impulse of the human nature and the one to be most dreaded is jealousy." With these words the aged Negro Doctor launched into the expression of his political views. "I'm a Democrat."

He then explained how he voted for the man but had confidence that his chosen party possesses ability in choosing proper candidates. He is an ardent follower of Franklin D. Roosevelt and speaks of Woodrow Wilson.
Through the influence of John W. Boehne, Sr., and the friendly advice of other influential citizens of Evansville Dr. Buckner was appointed minister to Liberia, on Woodrow Wilson's cabinet, in the year 1913. Dr. Buckner appreciated the confidence of his friends in appointing him and cherishes the experiences gained while abroad. He noted the expressions of gratitude toward cabinet members by the citizens of that African coast. One Albino youth brought an offering of luscious mangoes and desired to see the minister from the United States of America. Some natives presented palm oils. "The natives have been made to understand that the United States has given aid to Liberia in a financial way and the customs - service of the republic is temporarily administered headed by an American." "A thoroughly civilized negro state does not exist in Liberia nor do I believe in any part of West Africa. Superstition is the interpretation of their religion, their political views are a hodgepodge of unconnected ideas. Strength over rules knowledge and jealousy crowds out almost all hope of sympathetic achievement and adjustment." Dr. Buckner recounted incidents where jealousy was apparent in the behavior of men and women of higher civilizations than the Afri-

NARRATIVE OF DR GEO WASH BUCKNER, KY SLAVE

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NARRATIVE DR. GEO WASH BUCKNER, KY SLAVE

Dr. Buckner's influence is mostly exhibited in the sick room, where his presence is introduced in the effort to relieve pain.

The gradual rise from slavery to prominence, the many trials encountered along the road has ripened the always sympathetic nature of Dr. Buckner into a responsive sufferer among a suffering people. He has hope that proper influences and sympathetic advice will mould the plastic character of the Afro-American youths of the United States into proper citizens and that their immortal souls inherit the promised reward of the redeemed through grace.

"Recipients of emancipation from slavery and enjoyers of emancipation from sin through the sacrifice of Abraham Lincoln and Jesus Christ; Why should not the negroes be exalted and happy?" are the words of Dr. Buckner.

Note: G. W. Buckner was born December 1st, 1852. The negroes in Kentucky expressed it, "In fox huntin' time" One brother was born in "Sammon time", one in "Sweet tater time," and another in "Plantin' time."

"---Negro lore."

NARRATIVE MRS. BETTY GUWN, KY SLAVE

Mrs. Betty Guwn was born March 25, 1832, as a slave on a tobacco plantation, near Canton, Kentucky. It was a large plantation whose second largest product was corn. She was married while quite young by the slave method which was a form of union customary between the white masters. If the contracting parties were of different plantations the masters of the two estates bargained and the one sold his rights to the one on whose plantation they would live. Her master bought her husband, brought him and set them up a shack. Betty was the personal attendant of the mistress. The home was a large Colonial mansion and her duties were many and responsible. However, when her house duties were caught up her mistress sent her immediately to the fields. Discipline was quite stern there and she was "lined up" with the others on several occasions.

Her cabin home began to fill up with children, fifteen in all. The ventilation was ample and the husband would shoot a prowling dog from any of the four sides of the room without opening the door. The cracks between the logs would be used by cats who could step in any-
where. The slaves had "meetin'" some nights and her mistress would call her and have her turn a tub against her mansion door to keep out the sound.

Her master was very wealthy. He owned and managed a cotton farm of two thousand acres down in Mississippi, not far from New Orleans. Once a year he spent three months there gathering and marketing his cotton. When he got ready to go there he would call all his slaves about him and give them a chance to volunteer. They had heard awful tales of the slave auction block at New Orleans, and the master would solemnly promise them that they should not be sold if they went down of their own accord. "My mistress called me to her and privately told me that when I was asked that question I should say to him: "I will go." The master had to take much money with him and was afraid of robbers. The day they were to start my mistress took me into a private room and had me remove most of my clothing; she then opened a strong box and took out a great roll of money in bills; these she strapped to me in tight bundles, arranging them around my waist in the circle of my body. She put plenty of dresses over this belt and when she was through I wore a bundle of money clear around my belt. I made a funny "figger" but no one noticed my odd shape because I was a slave and no one expected a slave to "know better." We always got through safely and I went down with my mistress every year. Of course my husband stayed at home to see after the family, and took them to the fields when too young to work under the task master, or overseer. Three months was a long time to be separated.

"When the Civil War came on there was great excitement among us slaves. We were watched sharply, especially soldier timber for either army. My husband ran away early and helped Grant to take Fort Donaldson. He said he would free himself, which he did; but when we were finally set free all our family prepared to leave. The master begged us to stay and offered us five pounds of meal and two pounds of pork jowl each week if we would stay and work. We all went to Burgard, Kentucky, to live. At that time I was about 34 years old. My husband has been dead a long time and I live with my
NARRATIVE MRS. BETTY GUWN, KY SLAVE

children. If the "Good Lord" spares me until next March the 25th, I will be 106 years old. I walk all about lively without crutches and eye-glasses and I have never been sick until this year when a tooth gave me trouble; but I had it pulled."

NARRATIVE GEO CONRAD, KY SLAVE (b 2-23-1860)

I was born February 23, 1860 at Connersville, Harrison County, Kentucky. I was born and lived just 13 miles from Parish. My mother's name is Rachel Conrad, born at Bourbon County, Kentucky. My father, George Conrad, was born at Bourbon County Kentucky. My grandmother's name is Sallie Amos, and grandfather's name is Peter Amos. My grandfather, his old Master freed him and he bought my grandmother, Aunt Lisa and Uncle Cy. He made the money by freighting groceries from Ohio to Maysville, Kentucky.

Our Master was named Master Joe Conrad. We sometimes called him "Mos' Joe Conrad. Master Joe Conrad stayed in a big log house with weatherboarding on the outside.

I was born in a log cabin. We slept in wooden beds with rope cords for slats, and the beds had curtains around them. You see my mother was the cook for the Master, and she cooked everything — chicken, roasting ears. She cooked mostly everything we have now. They didn't have stoves; they cooked in big ovens. The skillets had three legs. I can remember the first stove that we had. I guess I was about six years old.

My old Master had 900 acres of land. My father was a stiller. He
made three barrels of whisky a day. Before the War whisky sold for 12¢ and
15¢ a gallon. After the War it went up to $3 and $4 per gallon. When War
broke out he had 300 barrels hid under old Master's barn.

There was 16 colored men working for old Master Joe and 7 women. I
think it was on the 15th of May, all 14 of these colored men, and my father,
went to the Army. When old Master Joe came to wake 'em up the next morning
—I remember he called real loud. Miles, Eam, George, Frank, Arch, on down
the line, and my mother told him they'd all gone to the army. Old Master went
to Cynthia, Kentucky, where they had gone to enlist and begged the officer in
charge to let him see all of his boys, but the officer said "No." Some way
or 'mother he got a chance to see Arch, and Arch came back with him to help
raise the crops.

My mother cooked and took care of the house. Aunt Sarah took care
of the children. I had two little baby brothers, Charlie and John. The old
Mistress would let my mother put them in her cradle and Aunt Sarah got jealous,
and killed both of the babies. When they cut one of the babies open they took

out two frogs. Some say she conjured the babies. Then niggers could con-
jure each other but they couldn't do nothing to the white folks, but I don't
believe in it. There's an old woman living back there now (pointing around
the corner of the house where he was sitting) they said her husband put a
spell on her. They call 'em two-headed Negress.

Old Master never whipped any of his slaves, except two of my uncles

—— Pete Conrad and Richard Sherman, now living at Maysville, Kentucky.

We raised corn, wheat, oats, rye and barley, in the spring. In
January, February and March we'd go up to the Sugar Camp where he had a grove
of maple trees. We'd make maple syrup and put up sugar in cakes. Sugar sold
for $2.50 and $3 a cake. He had a regular sugar house. My old Master was
rich I tell you.

Whenever a member of the white family die all the slaves would turn
out, and whenever a slave would die, white folks and all the slaves would go.

My Master had a big vault. My Mistress was buried in an iron coffin that they
called a potanic coffin. I went back to see her after I was 21 years old and
she look just like she did when they buried her. All of the family was buried

NARRATIVE GEO CONRAD, JR, KY SLAVE

2089-A

GEORGE CONRAD, JR, KY SLAVE (b 2-23-1860)

G. P. Rawick, ed., Am Slave, Okla Narr., vii, 1942 (1972), Narra Geo Conrad, Jr,
taken Okla city, born Harrison Co, Ky,
...in those vaults, and I expect if you'd go there today they'd look the same.

The slaves were buried in good handmade coffins.

I heard a lot of talk 'bout the patrollers. In them days if you went away from home and didn't have a pass they'd whip you. Sometimes they'd whip you with a long black cow whip, and then sometime they'd roast elm switches in the fire. This was called "cat-o-nine-tails", and they'd whip you with that. We never had no jails; only punishment was just to whip you.

Now, the way the slaves travel. If a slave had been good sometimes old Master would let him ride his hoss; then, sometime they'd steal a hoss out and ride 'em and slip him back before old Master ever found it out.

There was a man in those days by the name of John Brown. He called him an underground railroad man, 'cause he'd steal the slaves and carry 'em across the river in a boat. When you got on the other side you was free. 'Cause you was in a free State, Ohio.

We used to sing, and I guess young folks today does too:

"John Brown's Body Lies A-moulding In The Clay."

...and

"They Hung John Brown On a Sour Apple Tree."

Our slaves all got very good attention when they got sick. They'd send and get a doctor for 'em. You see old Mistress Mary bought my mother, father and two brothers threw in for $1,100 and she told Master Joe to always keep her slaves, not to sell 'em and always take good care of 'em.

When my father went to the army old Master told us he was gone to fight for us niggers freedom. My daddy was the only one that come back out of the 13 men that enlisted, and when my daddy come back old Master give him a buggy and hose.

When the Yanks come, I never will forget one of 'em was named John Morgan. We carried old Master down to the barn and hid him in the hay.

I felt so sorry for old Master they took all his hams, some of his whiskey, and all day could find, hogs, chickens, and jest treated him something terrible.

The whites folks learned my father how to read and write, but I didn't learn how to read and write 'til I enlisted in the U. S. Army in 1863.
They sent us here (Oklahoma Territory) to keep the immigrants from settling up Oklahoma. I went to Fort Riley the 1st day of October 1883, and stayed there three weeks. Left Fort Riley and went to Ft. Worth, Texas, and landed in Henryetta, Texas, on the 14th day of October 1883. Then, we had 65 miles to walk to Ft. Sill. We walked there in three days. I was assigned to my company, Troop B, 9th Calvary, and we stayed and drilled in Ft. Sill six months, when we were assigned to duty. We got orders to come to Ft. Reno, Okla., on the 6th day of January 1885 where we were ordered to Stillwater, Okla., to move five hundred immigrants under Capt. Couch. We landed there on the 23rd day of January, Saturday evening, and Sunday was the 24th. We had general inspection Monday, January 25, 1885. We fell in line of battle, sixteen companies of soldiers, to move 500 immigrants to the Arkansas City, Kansas line.

We formed a line at 9:00 o'clock Monday morning and Captain Couch ran up his white flag, and Colonel Hatch he sent the orderly up to see what he meant by putting up the flag, so Captain Couch sent word back, "If you don't fire on me, I'll leave tomorrow." Colonel Hatch turned around to the Major and told him to turn his troops back to the camp, and detailed three camps of soldiers of the 8th Company to carry Captain Couch's troop of 500 immigrants to Arkansas City, Kansas. Troop L, Troop D, and Troop B, taken them back with 43 wagons and put them over the line of Kansas. Then we were ordered back to our supply camp at Camp Alice, 9 miles north of Guthrie in the Cimarron horseshoe bottom. We stayed there about three months, and Capt. Couch and his colony came back into the territory at Caldwell, Kansas June 1885.

I laid there till August 6, then we changed regiments with the 5th Calvary to go to Nebraska. There was a breakout with the Indians at Ft. Reno the 1st of July 1885. The Indian Agency tried to make the Indians wear citizens' clothes. They had to call General Sheridan from Washington, D. C., to quiet the Indians down. Now, we had to make a line in three divisions, fifteen miles a part, one non-commissioned officer to each squad, and these men was to go to Caldwell, Kansas and bring him to Ft. Reno that night. He came that night, so the next morning Colonel Brisbane and General Hatch reported to General Sheridan what the trouble was. General Sheridan called all the Indian Chiefs together and asked them why they rebelled against the agency, and they told them they weren't going to wear citizens' clothes. General Sheridan
called his corporals and sergeants together and told them to go behind the guard house and dig a grave for this Indian agent in order to fool the Indian Chiefs. Then, he sent a detachment of soldiers to order the Indian Chiefs away from the guard house and to put this Indian agent in the ambulance that brought him to Ft. Reno and take him back to Washington, D. C., to remain there 'til he returned. The next morning he called all the Indian Chiefs to the guard house and pointed down to the grave and said that, "I have killed the agent and buried him there." The Indians tore the feathers out of their hats rejoicing that they killed the agent.

On the 12th of the same July, we had general inspection with General Foresides from Washington, then we was ordered back to our supply camp to stay there 'til we got orders of our change. On August 8, we got orders to change to go to Nebraska, to Ft. Robinson, Ft. Hickey, and Ft. McKinney, and we left on the 8th of August.

This is my Oklahoma history. I gave this story to the Daily Oklahoman and Times at one time and they are supposed to publish it but they haven't.

I joined the A. M. E. Methodist Church in 1874. I love this song better than all the rest:

'As I a Soldier of the Cross'

Abraham Lincoln was a smart man, but he would have done more if he was not killed. I don't think his work was finished. I'll tell you the truth about Booker T. Washington. He argued our people to stay out of town and stay in the country. He was a Democrat. He was a smart man, but I think a man should live wherever he choose regardless. I never stopped work whenever I'd hear he was coming to town to speak. You know they wasn't fighting for freeing the slaves; they was fighting to keep Kansas from being
a slave State; so when they had the North whipped, I mean the South had 'em whipped, they called for the Negroes to go out and fight for his freedom. Don't know nothing 'bout Jeff Davis. I've handled a lot of his money. It was counterfeited after the War.

I've been married four times. I had one wife and three women. I mean the three wasn't no good. My first wife's name: Amanda Nelson. 2nd: Pocahontas Jackson. 3rd: Nannie Shumpard. We lived together 9 years. She tried to beat me out of my home.

When he got ready to go there he would call all his slaves about him and give them a chance to volunteer. They had heard awful tales of the slave auction block at New Orleans, and the Master would solemnly promise them that they should not be sold if they went down of their own accord. "My Mistress called me to her and privately told me that when I was asked that question I should say to him: "I will go." The Master had to take much money with him and was afraid of robbers. The day they were to start my Mistress took me into a private room and had me remove most of my clothing; she then opened a strong box and took out a great roll of money in bills; these she strapped to me in tight bundles, arranging them around my waist in the circle of my body. She put plenty of dresses over this belt and when she was through I wore a bustle of money clear around my belt. I made a funny "figger" but no one noticed my odd shape because I was a slave and no one expected a slave to "know better". We always got through safely and I went down with my Mistress every year. Of course my husband stayed at home to see after the family, and took them to the fields when too young to work under the task master, or overseer.
Another tradition prevailed, that slave children should be presented to the master's young sons and daughters and become their special property even in childhood. Adhering to that tradition the child, George Washington Buckner became the slave of young "Mars" Dickie Buckner, and although the two children were nearly the same age the little mulatto boy was obedient to the wishes of the little master. Indeed, the slave child cared for the Caucasian boy's clothing, polished his boots, put away his toys and was his playmate and companion as well as his slave.

Sickness and suffering and even death visits alike the just and the unjust, and the loving sympathetic slave boy witnessed the suffering and death of his little white friend. Then grief took possession of the little slave, he could not bear the sight of little Dick's toys nor books not clothing.

Dr. Buckner remembers that when a young daughter of his master married, his sister was given to her for a bridal gift and went away from her own mother to live in the young mistress' new home. "It always filled us with sorrow when we were separated either by circumstances of marriage or death. Although we were not properly housed, properly nourished nor properly clothed we loved each other and loved our cabin home and were unhappy when compelled to part."
G.W. BUCKNER NARRATIVE TELLS OF EARLY EDUCATION BY SISTER

Relating to the value of an education Dr. Buckner hopes every Caucasian and Afro-American youth and maiden will strive to attain great heights. His first efforts to procure knowledge consisted of reciting A.B.S. from the McGuffey's Blue backed speller with his unlettered sister for a teacher. In later years he attended a school conducted by the freemen's Association. He bought a grammar from a white school boy and studied it at home. When sixteen years of age he was employed to teach negro children and grieves to recall how limited his ability was bound to have been. "When a father considers sending his son or daughter to school, today, he orders catalogues, consults his friends and considers the location and surroundings and the advice of those who have patronized the different schools. He finally decides upon the school that promises the boy or girl the most attractive and comfortable surroundings. When I taught the African children I boarded with an old man whose cabin was filled with his own family. I climbed

a ladder leading from the cabin into a dark uncomfortable loft where comfort and a straw bed were my only conveniences."

Leaving Greensburg the young mulatto made his way to Indianapolis where he became acquainted with the first educated negro he had ever met. The negro was Robert Bruce Bagby, then principal of the only school for negroes in Indianapolis. "The same old building is standing there today that housed Bagby's institution then," he declares.

Dr. Buckner recalls that when he left Bagby's school he was so low financially he had to procure a position in a private residence as house boy. This position was followed by many jobs of serving tables at hotels and eating houses, of any and all kinds. While engaged in that work he met Colonel Albert Hohson and his lovely wife, both natives of Arkansas and he remembers their congratulations when they learned that he was striving for an education. They advised his entering an educational institution at Terre Haute.
My old Master had 900 acres of land. My father was a stiller. He made three barrels of whisky a day. Before the War whisky sold for $1.50 and 12½ a gallon. After the War it went up to $3 and $4 per gallon. When War broke out he had 300 barrels hid under old Master's barn.

There was 14 colored men working for old Master Joe and 7 women. I think it was on the 13th of May, all 14 of these colored men and my father, went to the Army. Then old Master Joe came to make 'em up the next morning —I remember he called real loud. Ellen, Ezzie, George, Frank, Arch, on down the line, and my mother told him they'd all gone to the army. Old Master went to Cynthia, Kentucky, where they had gone to enlist and begged the officer in charge to let him see all of his boys, but the officer said "No." Some way or 'tener he got a chance to see Arch, and Arch came back with him to help raise the crops.

We raised corn, wheat, oats, rye and barley, in the spring. In January, February and March we'd go up to the Sugar Camp where he had a grove of maple trees. We'd make maple syrup and put up sugar in cakes. Sugar sold for $2.50 and $3 a cake. He had a regular sugar house. My old Master was rich I tell you.

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WHITE KENTUCKIAN LIVING IN OHIO TELLS OF TREATMENT OF SLAVES

t d weld, am slavery as it is, 1969 (1889)

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TESTIMONY OF MRS. NANCY LOWRY, A NATIVE OF KENTUCKY.

Mrs. Lowry, a member of the non-conformist church in Columbus, Stark County, Ohio, is a native of Kentucky. We have received from her the following testimony.

"I resided in the family of Reuben Long, the principal part of the time, from seven to twenty-two years of age. Mr. Long had 16 slaves, among whom were three who were treated with severity, although Mr. Long was 'Brighth' to be a very humane Master. Three names, namely John, Ned, and James, had wives; John and Ned had them at some distance, but James had his with him. All three died a premature death, and it was generally believed by his neighbors, that extreme whipping was the cause. I believe so too. Ned died about the age of 25 and John 34 or 35. The cause of their flogging was commonly staying a little over the time, with their wives. Mr. Long would tie them up by the wrists, so tight that their toes would just touch the ground, and then with a cowhide lay the lash upon the naked back, until he was exhausted, when he would sit down and rest. As soon as he had rested sufficiently, he would ply the cowhide again, thus he would continue until the whole back of the poor victim was lacerated into one uniform coat of blood. Yet he was a strict professor of the Christian religion, in the southern church. I frequently washed the women of John, with cold water, to prevent their prohibition. This was the usual course pursued after a severe flogging; their hands would be full of grease, so deep that I seldom knew my finger in them. They were generally laid up after the flogging for several days. The last flogging Ned got, he was confined to the bed, which he never left till he was carried to his grave. During John's confinement in his last illness, on one occasion while attending on him, he exclaimed, 'Oh, Nancy, Miss Nancy, I haven't much longer in this world. I feel as if my whole body inside and all my bones were beaten into a jelly.' Soon after he died. John and Ned were both professors of religion.

"John Rafter, a slaveholder, had one slave named Pinsey, whom he as well as Mrs. Rafter would often flog very severely. I frequently saw Mrs. Rafter flog her with the broom, shave, or any thing she could seize in her rage. She would knock her down and then kick and stamp her most unmercifully, until she would be apparently so lifeless, that I more than once thought she would never recover. Often Pinsey would try to shelter herself from the blows of her mistress, by creeping under the bed, from which Mrs. Rafter would draw her by the feet, and then stamp and leap on her body, till her breath would be gone. Often Pinsey would cry, 'Oh Missus, don't kill me!' 'Oh Lord, don't kill me!' But Mrs. Rafter would beat and stamp away, with all the venom of a demon. The cause of Pinsey's flogging was, not working enough, or making some mistake in baking, &c. &c. Many a night Pinsey had to lie on the bare floor, by the sides of the cradle, rocking the baby of her mistress, and if she would fail asleep, and suffer the child to cry, so as to awaken Mrs. Rafter, she would be sure to receive a flogging."
TESTIMONY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD OF KENTUCKY AGAINST SLAVERY, 2097

HARSH TREATMENT OF SLAVES

t d weld, am slavery as it is, 1969 (1839)

TESTIMONY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD OF KENTUCKY;

A large majority of whom are slaveholders.
This system licenses and produces great cruelty.

Mangling, imprisonment, starvation, every species of torture, may be inflicted upon him, (the slave,) and he has no redress.

There are now in our whole land two millions of human beings, exposed, defenseless, to every insult, and every injury short of maiming or death, which their fellow-men may choose to inflict. They suffer all that can be inflicted by wanton caprice, by grasping avarice, by brutal lust, by malignant spite, and by insane anger. Their happiness is the sport of every whim, and the prey of every passion that may, occasionally, or habitually, infest the master's bosom. If we could calculate the amount of we endured by ill-treated slaves, it would overwhelm every compassionate heart—it would move even the obdurate to sympathy. There is also a vast sum of suffering inflicted upon the slave by humane masters, as a punishment for that idleness and misconduct which slavery naturally produces.

Beaten stripes and all the varied kinds of personal indignities, are not the only species of cruelty which slavery licenses.

TESTIMONY OF HARS...
The following is an extract of a letter dated March 5, 1839, from Mr. John Clarke, a highly respected citizen of Schenectady, New York, and a member of the Presbyterians in that city. Having amassed an immense fortune, he returned to Lexington a few years since, and still resides there. Mr. C. the writer, spent the winter of 1836-7 in Lexington. He says, "Yours of the 27th ult. is received, and I hasten to state the facts which came to my knowledge while in Lexington, respecting the occurrences about which you inquired. Mrs. Turner was originally a Boston lady. She is from 35 to 40 years of age, and the wife of Judge Turner, formerly of New Orleans, and worth a large fortune in slaves and plantations. I repeatedly heard, while in Lexington, Kentucky, during the winter of 1836-7, of the wanton cruelty practised by this woman upon her slaves, and that she had caused several to be whipped to death; but I never heard that she was suspected of being deranged, otherwise than by the indulgence of an ungoverned temper, until I heard that her husband was attempting to incarcerate her in the Lunatic Asylum. The citizens of Lexington, believing the charge to be a false one, rose and prevented the accomplishment for a time, until, killed by the false promises of his friends, they left his domicile, and in the dead of night she was taken by force, and conveyed to the asylum. This proceeding being judged illegal by her friends, a suit was instituted to liberate her. I heard the testimony on the trial, which related only to proceedings had in order to getting her admitted into the asylum; and no facts came out relative to her treatment of her slaves, other than of a general character. "Some days after the above trial, (which by the way did not come to an ultimate decision, as I believe) I was present in my brother's office, when Judge Turner, in a long conversation with my brother on the subject of his trial with his wife, said, 'That woman has been the immediate cause of the death of six of my servants, by her severity.' "I was repeatedly told, while I was there, that she drove a colored boy from the second story window, a distance of 15 or 15 feet, on to the pavement, which made him a cripple for a time. "I heard the trial of a man for the murder of his slave, by whipping, where the evidence was to my mind perfectly conclusive of his guilt; but the jury were two of them for convicting him of manslaughter, and the rest for acquitting him; and so they could not agree were discharged—and on a subsequent trial, as I learned by the papers, the culprit was acquitted."
In 1738 a movement to colonize the West spread over the Atlantic seaboard. From several parts of Maryland, Catholics had begun to move towards Kentucky as early as 1774. In 1785 twenty-five of a league of sixty families set out from St. Mary's County to settle on lands which they had taken up at Pottinger's Creek. The following year another party of Catholics settled at Hardin's Creek. In 1787 Bardstown was the home of another cluster. Nicholas Miles, whose son later became Bishop Miles, the Father of the Church in Tennessee, settled at Froman's Creek, about six miles northeast of Bardstown, in 1796. We are told that Miles took his slaves with him, a dozen or more, and it is not improbable that other settlers also had slaves.

We are assured that the most cordial relations existed between masters and slaves in the Diocese of Louisville. "Many of the wealthier Catholics owned slaves who attended the mission with their masters, kneeling along side of them at the confessional and the altar rail to receive Holy Communion. . . . . . . . The pious custom of saying family prayers at morning and night existed very generally; and when the head of the house owned slaves they, too, were required to be present at these exercises. All knelt together in the same room and the father or mother of the family gave out the prayer and the others answered. Before or after these exercises the master would frequently enter into conversation with his slaves concerning the health of this one or the occup-

Nor can we pass over in silence the admirable solicitude for the Negroes of such men as Badin,' Flaget,' and Nerinckx. Father Nerinckx was the founder of the "Little Society of the Friends of Mary, Under the Cross of Jesus". This community of white sisters opened a school at Loretto, Ky., which "will become an asylum or shelter for old age, and decrepit and useless slaves". As we shall see later, it was Father Nerinckx who gave the veil of religion to the first colored girls to enter a convent in the United States. Bishop Miles too, while still a young priest stationed at St. Rose's Convent, Springfield, Ky., had a reputation for kindness to the Negroes, and he numbered among his penitents not a few colored people. In 1833, when Kentucky was stricken by a terrible plague, of Father Miles it is written that "the poor colored people were the objects of his special solicitude."

Bishop Miles from Louisville, Ky., to settlers at Hardin's Creek.
In the year 1824 an effort had been made to found a sisterhood to do for the Christian education of Negro girls, most of whom were slaves, what the half dozen convent schools then in existence in this country were doing for the white girls. The attempt was made in Kentucky by Rev. Charles Nerinckx, founder of the Sisters of Loretto. Pitying the moral degradation and the mental neglect of the blacks in bondage, their spiritual desolation and their lack of industrial skill, Father Nerinckx planned the establishment of a branch of his institute to be composed of colored sisters devoted to the training of the young of their race and sex. With this purpose in mind, he brought to Loretto, Ky., from farms in the surrounding region, a few talented Negro girls to be trained for the noble career he had planned for them. Some of them made such satisfactory progress in piety, learning, and industrial accomplishments that they were admitted to the Loretto society. In May, 1824, Father Nerinckx wrote: "Two days ago twelve young ladies offered themselves at Loretto for the little veil, among them our three blacks who received nearly all the votes. Their dress is to be different, also their offices and employment, but they keep the main rules of the society—they will take the vows, but not the perpetual ones before twelve years of profession." Subsequently two other colored postulants were received. The five lived apart from the white sisters in the novitiate, but they followed the same community exercises.

Later in the same year Father Nerinckx departed from Kentucky for Missouri, turning over to Bishop Flaget the sisterhood he had founded. The Bishop appointed the Rev. Guy Chabrat as ecclesiastical superior of the community, but the new director, persuaded that the time had not come for Afro-American religious, released the five Negro novices from their obligations and sent them back to their former homes.
The development of the Catholic mission school for the colored children was naturally more humble than was that of the more favored public school; efforts were necessarily individual and hampered by pecuniary difficulties. But the little mission school was not without its glory. For instance, Father Greene, S.S.J., writing in St. Joseph's Advocate in 1883 of the school tax in Kentucky, the only one of the late Slave States which threw the whole burden of colored schools on colored taxation, noted: "We know that long before this school law engaged the attention of the legislators, long before this anti-Catholic Commonwealth had ceased to frown upon every attempt to educate these poor people, they were the deep and anxious concern of the Kentucky clergy. So late a date as 1874 is that of its legislative recognition of the Creator's act—brains in a black head! In one Catholic corner of this diocese are to be found more Catholic schools for these poor people's children than in the entire belt of states from the Mississippi to the Atlantic immediately north of Mason and Dixon's line! We personally know those of Louisville, Bardstown, New Haven, Lebanon, Springfield, St. Mary and St. Charles, clustering, as it were, round the old chair of 1808 like sprouts from an invisible root. The first two are taught by the Sisters of Charity, that of Springfield by Dominican nuns, and the rest by those of Loretto, except, perhaps, that near St. Charles Borromeo's in which we meet only one lay teacher. What was our surprise, driving one day with a friend along a lonesome road cut through the woods of Washington County, to find a handsome buggy without horse or man, apparently abandoned on the public highway; and what to hear that this vehicle was brought to that identical spot every morning, left there all day and taken away in the evening?

In the adjacent field we noticed a solitary horse and a good one, browsing round a handsome frame building. That building was a colored school, into which we were cordially welcomed by two Irish ladies, white-robed daughters of St. Dominic, from the great convent and academy of St. Catherine, some two or three miles distant. Without fuss or feathers or sound of trumpet, here was a colored school in the woods of Kentucky, teeming with children, supplied with books and stationery and school furniture, two teachers qualified to instruct in the first academy in the land, and at their service a costly conveyance."
Another such case in point was the school of St. Augustine, Louisville, of which Father Greene wrote: "Two Sisters of Charity, two of the best teachers we have ever met, have been engaged for many years without one dollar of salary or compensation otherwise. They preceded our advent more than a decade of years ago, with trudgings, every school day since, to and from their convent, of eighteen squares. Both at last actually 'fell in harness,' broken down with sheer toil, when two others of their heroic congregation stepped into the breach without the loss of a single day. We state a fact that time and again Protestant majorities could be seen in these schools, though cheek-by-jowl with one of the great sable palaces of the city school system."

**ORIGIN OF BLACK SPIRITUALS**


It is indeed hard to account for the strange misconceptions which prevail as to what really constitutes genuine African music. The "coon songs" which are so generally sung are base imitations. The white man does not live who can write a genuine negro song. At home there used to be a rare old singer, an old Kentucky mammy, whom everybody loved. She once said:

Us ole heads use ter make 'em up on de spur of de moment, arter we wasse wid de Spirt and come throo. But the tunes was brung from Africa by our granddaddies. Dey was jis' miliar songs. Dese days dey calls 'em ballots, but in de ole days dey call 'em spirituals, case de Holy Spirit done revealed 'em to 'em. Some say Moss Jesus taught 'em, and I's seed 'em start in meetin'. We'd all be at the "prayer house" de Lord's Day, and de white preacher he'd splain de word and read whar Ezekial done say—

Dry bones gwine ter lib ergin.

And, honey, de Lord would come a-shining' thoo dem pages and revive dis ole nigger's heart, and I'd jump up dar and den and holler and shout and sing and pat, and dey would all catch de words and I'd sing it to some ole shout song I'd heard 'em sing from Africa, and dey'd all take it up and keep at it, and keep a-addin' to it, and den it would be a spiritual. Dese spirituals am de best moanin' music in de world, case dey is de whole Bible sung out and out. Notes is good enough for you people, but us likes a mixtery. Dese young heads ain't wuth killin', fur dey don't keer bout de Bible nor de ole hymns. Dey's completely spiled wid too much white blood in 'em, and de big organ and de edification has done took all de Holy Spirit out en 'em, till dey ain't no better wid der dances and cuttin' up dan
BRIEF BIOG OF Israel Campbell

I. Campbell, Bond and Free, 1861

p 3/ Born a slave and saw both "the bright and the gloomy side." /p 6/ Wrote from Canada West to which he had escaped. /p 7/ Born Greenville Co., Ky, the slave of Capt. John Russell. /p 11/ Owner moved to Union Co, Ky near Morganfield, on the Ohio. / p 12/ His second(owner's) wife was a fine Christian and good to slaves. She required the slaves to participate in family prayers. / p 13/ Master died. /p 14/ when Israel was about 9 years old. Israel sold to Ezekiel Edwards, a tanner, for $10.00. Israel "ground tan," ran errands, etc., for his work. /p 18/ Heard of a woman who cut her throat rather than be sold to a slave dealer. /p 19/ Put on the auction block again the next year. Israel sold to John Wing of Morganfield, a merchant and an Englishman. /p 20/ If they whipped /begin p 21/ him for poor work, Israel had decided to run away. When whipped he ran to a neighbor 2 miles away and spent the night there. He was caught by his master and taken back. /p 23/ His mother remarried and there was "a lively time at the wedding, ... A sermon was preached by a Baptist minister...." Mother had married a preacher. /p 24/ Israel was 12 at the time of his mother's marriage. Israel taken into town on a horse to be sold. His mother bid him farewell and told him "not to be saucy to any one, to be honest and trustworthy." /p 25/ Stopped in Livingston Co., for breakfast. Israel was inspected by a lady and told by slaves there that /p 26/ their master was terrible to his slaves. Israel was shortly told he had been sold to the man for $350.00 he learned. /p 27/ Seeing harsh treatment the prospect from the new master, Israel ran away, hoping to reach his mother. /p 28/ Went 7 miles and stopped at a blacksmith's shop to rest. The blacksmith betrayed him to his master and Israel was caught. /p 28/ Israel ran away three days later, but was again found by his master, though he got 8 miles this time. Whipped /pp 30-31/ Whipped. /p 32/ In the field working after being whipped. Never whipped again by that master. Master decided to move to Mississippi. Sold everything in Ky except his slaves /p 33/ whom he took with him to Miss. /p 95/ Israel in Miss, plastered a room in his master's home when he wasn't supposed to. Master asked Israel /p 96/ if he wanted to learn that trade. Israel said

he would, and his master said that he could make money for his master and at the same time earn money for himself. Master told Israel that if he learned well, master might let Israel visit Kentuck and see his relatives. Master wrote Israel an 18 day pass to go to Kentucky. /p 97/ Israel thought he might pass at a tavern as a white man. /p 104/ arrived in Kentucky in 1839.
SCHOOL FOR FREEDMEN AT LITCHFIELD, 1872

5th Annual Report, Meth Episc Ch, Freed. Aid Soc, 1872

p. 13 / Only one school in Ky, at Litchfield, one teacher.
Greene Co.

FREEDMEN SCHOOLS AT HARDINSBURG, CLOVERPORT, 1871

4th Annual Report, Meth Episc Ch, Freed. Aid Soc, 1871

p. 5 / Schools in Hardinsburg & Cloverport, one teacher at each school.

Breckenridge Co.
FREEDMEN SCHOOLS AT HARDINSBURG, CLOVERPORT, 1869

3rd Annual Report, Meth. Episc. Ch., Freed. Aid Soc, 1869
p. 6/ Home a sch. at Hardinsburg and Cloverport in 1869.

FREEDMEN AID SOCIETIES, PADUCAH, COLUMBUS, 1866

American Freedman, I, No. 2, May 1866
pp 25-26/

Working in Paducah—-the North Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, with headquarters in Chicago

Working in Columbus—the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, with headquarters in Cincinnati.
A report from Kentucky says most of the freedmen were taught by black teachers; that support for these schools was primarily by subscription, and that progress was slow. Says Kentucky has received less assistance from benevolent societies than other states.

C.D. Warner visited Louisville reform school for boys and girls about 1889. There were 125 whites and 79 blacks, xxxix living in "separate buildings in the same enclosure." Forty-one white girls occupied another house in a separate enclosure. No mention of black girls. The reform school had a farm, a greenhouse, and a library. The boys had organized "a very fair brass band." The girls made all the clothes, the boys the shoes and cane chairs.
c d warner, studies in the south and the west, 1889

p 287/ School for the blind in Louisville "... the few colored are accommodated by themselves in a separate building, in accordance with an Act of the Legislature in 1884 for the education of colored blind children."

HENRY ADAMS ERRONEOUSLY PLACED IN LA BY MECHAL SOBEL

mechal sobel, "trablin' on": slave journey to an afro-baptist faith, 1979

The missionary life-style adopted by George, Liele, and Willis was followed by mulatto Henry Adams, who led a group of Baptist pioneers from Edgefield, South Carolina, to Louisiana in the 1830s. Ordained at Mt. Lebanon, Louisiana, Adams pastored a white congregation that served as a center for Baptist missionizing. Adams then chose to return to an all-black church, Louisville, Kentucky’s African Church, and he was the man who led this church into a white association. Adams stayed at Louisville for over twenty-five years, gaining an “excellent” reputation and running a "flourishing" church that grew to some 900 prior to the war. As in the other large churches, the congregation met for preaching three times weekly, held two additional prayer meetings, and ran a large Sunday School. Adams continued to work successfully with the black congregation and, at the same time, he handled political relationships with whites. He accepted the fact that his church was represented by the white Walnut Street Church at the white Long Run Association meetings. Immediately after the war, however, Adams led the blacks out of the white organization and was instrumental in organizing, and later chaired, the Kentucky Colored Baptist Convention.20

20. Henry Adams was ordained at the Mt. Lebanon Louisiana Church on July 8, 1837, installed by Reverends John Mill and Henry Adams, white. He remained in this pulpit until 1839 and moved to Kentucky around 1840. Christian, Baptists of Louisiana, 73; Benedict, General History (1848), 814; Burrows, Baptist Register, 120; Minutes, Kentucky Colored Baptist Association (1866, 1869), 2; Baker, Southern Baptist Convention, 142.
**DANVILLE**

**FIRST COLORED BAPTIST CHURCH**[^139] Constituted in 1846.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Minister</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>Reverend Jordan Meaux (black)</td>
<td>This congregation had been attached to First Baptist Church of Danville. It became independent in 1846.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Henry Green (black), Ord.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Isaac Slaughter (black), Ord.</td>
<td>Slaughter was pastor for 26 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Slaughter</td>
<td>Joined Kentucky Colored Association.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^139]: "\[\text{constituted in 1846.}\]

---

**FRANKFORT**

**FRANKFORT COLORED BAPTIST CHURCH[^140]** (quasi-independent branch church): Constituted circa 1840.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Minister</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Reverend Thomas S. Malcom, writing in 1843, suggested that the Frankfort black church was in existence for some time.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>Joined Kentucky Colored Association.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INFO: BLACK BAPTIST CHURCH, GEORGETOWN, 1856

mechal sobel, "trablin' on": slave journey to an afro-baptist faity, 1979

p. 334 (opp. I)

GEORGETOWN

COLORED BRANCH OF FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH (quasi-independent): Constituted circa 1840; listed by Elkhorn Association in 1855.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td></td>
<td>In 1843 Reverend Malcom mentioned this church as long established.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>A reference to this church in the Elkhorn Association Minutes (1855) is the only official report of its pre-war existence. 35 baptized during 1854-1855.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>The 140 blacks in the congregation were reported as part of Georgetown Baptist Church (mixed). There was no separate listing for a black branch.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INFO: BLACK BAPTIST CHURCH HILLSBOROUGH, 1856

mechal sobel, "trablin' on": slave journey to an afro-baptist faity, 1979

p. 334 (opp. I)

HILLSBOROUGH

AFRICAN CHURCH OF HILLSBOROUGH: Constituted in 1856; member of Elkhorn Association in 1856.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>111 blacks left Hillsborough Church (mixed) to form an independent church. 24 blacks chose to remain in the mother church. Member of Elkhorn Association.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>116</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>127</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td></td>
<td>Had not joined Kentucky Colored Association as of 1869.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**INFO: BLACK BAP CH, LEXINGTON (OLD CAPT'S CH)**
mechal sobel,"trablin' on": slave journey to afro-bap faith, 1979

**LEXINGTON**

**OLD CAPTAIN'S CHURCH:** Constituted circa 1786.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1786</td>
<td>Old Captain (black)</td>
<td>Sources variously date the origin of this church as from 1786 through 1801. The preacher was Virginia-born and an ex-slave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1817</td>
<td>Old Captain</td>
<td>Old Captain was not ordained but did baptize believers. By this time he was aging but still preaching.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>Old Captain</td>
<td>Loudin Ferrill took the majority of the membership to First African Church, under the supervision of First Baptist Church (white). The older population tended to stay with Old Captain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td></td>
<td>Elkhorn Association, in answer to a query from the First Baptist Church of Lexington, &quot;voided&quot; any baptisms by a nonordained preacher. This action discredited the baptisms of Old Captain.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INFO: BLACK BAP CH, LEX (FERRILL'S FIRST AFRICAN)**
mechal sobel,"trablin' on": slave journey to afro-bap faith, 1979

**FIRST AFRICAN, FIRST COLORED CHURCH, or OLD APOSTOLIC CHURCH:** Reconstituted in 1822; joined Elkhorn Association in 1822.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1786-1820</td>
<td></td>
<td>There was probably one black church in Lexington, led by Old Captain, until about 1820, when Loudin Ferrill (or London Ferrell) led the majority of blacks into the &quot;annex&quot; church of First Baptist Church (white). This second church claimed as its date of origin the constituting date of the first congregation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1822 | Loudin Ferrill, Ord. (black) | First African Church, "under the superintendence of the First Baptist Church at Lexington, reorganized and constituted upon a written covenant in July 1822." White church ordained Ferrill, an ex-slave, after gaining association approval. Joined Elkhorn Association. |
| 1832 | Ferrill | 462 |
The church sent messengers to the association for the first time.

Technically, the church was still an "auxiliary" but actually "an imperium in imperio," and orderly and flourishing.

The church now called Old Apostolic Church. It was incorporated, and the town trustees paid the preacher a fee.

Ferrill died in October.

Ferrill was the largest in Elkhorn Association. (The membership of the association was 7,700.) The church contributed $16.18 to foreign missions; its expenses for the year were $836. It was the largest church in Kentucky.

Reverend Malcom suggests that this church existed for some time but was not officially registered. It was "under the care of the First Baptist Church of Lexington."

Joined Elkhorn Association.

1843

1844

1847
White Baptists helped the church by purchasing Dupuy when he was put up for sale. The blacks repaid the whites at the rate of $8.30 per week.

George Dupuy (black slave)  

White Baptists helped the church by purchasing Dupuy when he was put up for sale. The blacks repaid the whites at the rate of $8.30 per week.

M. Bell, Ord. (black)  

Joined Kentucky Colored Association.

In 1815, First Baptist Church of Louisville began a mission for blacks. By 1829, 18 slaves were meeting separately.

The "congregation" had its own meeting house and pastor and baptized its members. "The connection to the white church was merely nominal."

Free born and well educated, Henry Adams of Virginia, who had been a missionary pastor in Louisiana during 1827-1839, took over the pulpit.
INFO: BLACK BAP CH, LOUISVILLE (1ST COL, OR 5TH ST) 1829, 1842

Mechal Sobel, "Trablin' on": Slave Journey to Afro-Bap Faith, 1979

p. 338

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Adams</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adams led a revival at the church and baptized 62 in half a year. The pastor was regarded as &quot;excellent&quot; and was &quot;well supported.&quot; The Sunday School was &quot;flourishing.&quot; The church joined Long Run Association and sent black representatives.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>Adams</td>
<td>744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Adams</td>
<td>644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another black church, Second African, was formed; this led to a membership decline in First Colored.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Adams</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The church no longer sent representatives to the association.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>Adams</td>
<td>820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Adams</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walnut Street Church (white) represented Louisville African at association meetings.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Adams</td>
<td>887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preaching held three times a week, and prayer meetings two times a week. The church was &quot;flourishing&quot; and was reputed to have the finest black church building in the United States (estimated cost, $15,000).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Adams</td>
<td>906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Adams</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LOUISVILLE AFRICAN, WALNUT STREET, SECOND AFRICAN or GREEN STREET CHURCH. Constituted circa 1845: member of Long Run Association by 1850.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td></td>
<td>Members of First African Church left to constitute this second black church in Louisville.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>Baptized 65 during 1849-1850. The church joined Long Run Association and sent representatives (black).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>No representatives of the church sent to the association meeting of this year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>The church represented at association meetings by whites from Walnut Street Church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>Richard Snethen (black)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td></td>
<td>Snethen, an ex-slave, had been a pastor in St. Louis, Missouri, and Galena, Illinois.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>Snethen now an ordained member of the ABMC, but his church affiliation not noted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>The name of the church changed to Green Street Church.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INFO: BLACK BAP CH, LOUISVILLE (FIFTH AND YORK ST), 1858

Mechal Sobel, "Trablin' on": Slave Journey to Afro-Bap Faith, 1979

FIFTH AND YORK STREET AFRICAN CHURCH: Constituted in 1857; joined Long Run Association in 1858.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Constituted on</th>
<th>Joined Long Run Association in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>December 27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td></td>
<td>September.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Now known as York Street Church, Colored.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INFO: BLACK BAP CH, MAYSVILLE (FIRST AFRICAN) 1850

Mechal Sobel, "Trablin' on": Slave Journey to Afro-Bap Faith, 1979

MAYSVILLE

FIRST AFRICAN CHURCH: Constituted circa 1850; member of Bracken Association in 1850.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Became a member of Bracken Association. May have existed earlier.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>Elisha Green (black) 168 25 baptized during 1850-1851.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Green 250 Joined Kentucky Colored Baptist Association.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INFO: BLACK BAP CH, RICHMOND (TATE'S CREEK AF CH) 1851

mechal sobek, "trablin' on": slave journey to afro-bap faith, 1979

p. 340 (app. I) /

RICHMOND

TATE'S CREEK AFRICAN CHURCH: Constituted circa 1851.

1786-1850
Tate's Creek was an old mixed church and a member of Tate's Creek Association, 1818.

1847
T. J. Drane
Blacks request dismission.

1851
M. Campbell, Lic. (black) 275
Independent black church constituted.

INFO: BLACK BAP CH, SHELBYVILLE (BLACK BRANCH, SHELBYVILLE CH) 1840

mechal sobel, "trablin' on": slave journey to afro-bap faith, 1979

p. 340 (app. I) /

SHELBYVILLE

BLACK BRANCH OF SHELBYVILLE CHURCH\textsuperscript{151} (quasi-independent): Constituted circa 1840.

1843
Reverend T. S. Malcom noted in 1843 that this church had been in existence for some time.

1852
Shelbyville Church, member of the Long Run Association, reported 150 black members, along with 128 whites.

1859
134 blacks were reported as members of mixed church as well as 164 whites.

1869
W. J. Brown (black), Ord. 95
The black branch became the independent Shelbyville Colored Church and joined Kentucky Colored Association. It reported 95 members while the mixed church still claimed 247 blacks as congregants.
INFO: BLACK BAP CH, SIMPSONVILLE (COL BRANCH 1ST BAP) 1851

mechal sobel, "trablin' on": slave journey to afro-bap faith, 1979

SIMPSONVILLE

COLORED BRANCH OF FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH OF SIMPSONVILLE\(^\text{152}\) (quasi-independent): Constituted circa 1851.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>Charles Wells, Ord. (black)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>177 blacks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elijah P. Manns attended this church. He heard a "farewell" sermon preached by Reverend Sandy Bullitt at the outset of the Civil War. He witnessed the church being used as a haven by blacks during the war and being searched by the Southern troops. Prior to the war, this church was never listed as a separate church in official Baptist records. The mixed Simpsonville Church was a member of the Long Run Association.

177 blacks were recorded as members of the Simpsonville mixed church, along with 160 whites.

INFO: BLACK BAP CH, NICHOLASVILLE (AFRICAN CH) 1853

mechal sobel, "trablin' on": slave journey to afro-bap faith, 1979

NICHOLASVILLE

AFRICAN CHURCH\(^\text{153}\) Constituted circa 1853; listed in Elkhorn Association in 1853.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Amstead 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>A. Steel 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>C. Smothers, Lic. 350</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Probably a branch of the Nicholasville mixed church until this time. The independent African church became a member of Elkhorn Association. 7 baptized during 1852-1853.

As only one name is recorded, Amstead was probably black.

Joined Kentucky Colored Association.
INFO: BLACK BAP CH, PARIS (AFRICAN CH), 1858
mechal sobel, "trablin' on": slave journey to afro-bap faith, 1979

p. 342 (app.I)

PARIS

AFRICAN CHURCH. Constituted circa 1858; member of Elkhorn Association in 1858.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Joined Elkhorn Association. May have been constituted earlier.

Joined Kentucky Colored Association.

INFO: BLACK BAP CH, STAMPING GROUND (AF CH) 1859
mechal sobel, "trablin' on": slave journey to afro-bap faith, 1979

p. 342 (app.I)

STAMPING GROUND

STAMPING GROUND AFRICAN CHURCH. Constituted circa 1858; member of Elkhorn Association in 1858.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Member of Elkhorn Association as of 1858. May have existed earlier.

Joined Kentucky Colored Association.
**INFO: BLACK BAP CH, VERSAILLES (VERSAILLES AFRICAN) 1848**

mechal sobel, "trablin' on": slave journey to afro-bap faith, 1979

p. 342 (App. I)

**VERSAILLES AFRICAN CHURCH:**

Constituted in 1848; member of Elkhorn Association in 1848.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Constituted "Under the care of the Versailles white church." (The "white" church had been in existence from 1842, and the blacks may have been meeting separately prior to 1848.)

Baptized 16 during 1850-1851.

Steel was preaching at Nicholasville African Church as well.

**SOBEL CONFUSES HENRY ADAMS OF LOUISVILLE WITH H. ADAMS OF LA.**

mechal sobel, "trablin' on": slave journey to afro-bap faith, 1979

p. 347 (app I)

**MOUNT LEBANON, BIENVILLE PARISH**

**MOUNT LEBANON CHURCH:**

Constituted in 1837. Mixed church and black pastor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Minister</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>Henry Adams (mulatto), Ord.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Constituted on July 8. Adams ordained by the white Reverends John Mill and Henry Adams. Adams was one of a group which had come from the Edgefield District of South Carolina to form a church. This church became a center of Baptist missionary work in the area, with Adams serving as pastor until 1839. He then went East to serve the Louisville, Kentucky, African Church.
STEPHEN JOCELYN ORDERED TO LEXINGTON TO COMMAND BLACK TROOPS
July 1864, AND TO BOWLING GREEN

Stephen Jocelyn, Mostly Alkali: A Biography, 1953

p 26/ In April 1864 Jocelyn was examined for the army. He was from Brattleboro, Vt., and /p 27/ was commissioned "...first lieutenant in the One Hundred Fifteenth Colored Infantry... effective July 7. He was ordered to the District of Kentucky with headquarters at Lexington."

/p 28/ When Jocelyn reached Lexington where Major General Burbridge commanded, he was "...ordered to his regiment at Bowling Green."

/p 29/ Jocelyn found Bowling Green to be southern oriented, but found "...some good Union people..." there. "'There are about a baker's dozen of us (officers) here now and we are encamped about half a mile from town, mostly in barracks, although Lieutenant Frost and I preferred a tent and are very pleasantly located therein....'" (from his diary).

JOCELYN TELL US RECRUITING FOR BLACK TROOPS IN BOWLING GREEN AREA
AUGUST 1864

Stephen Jocelyn, Mostly Alkali: A Biography, 1953

Recruiting for the regiment goes on slowly—three companies only being full. I am temporarily in command of the third ("C") as but two captains of the regiment have reported. My 2nd lieutenant is a capital fellow who formerly belonged to the 9th Michigan Cavalry. He is large and stout, five or six years older than I, good-hearted and clever and one of the best officers in the regiment. We have eighteen officers here in all so that the duties are not very arduous. The troops at this post comprise (beside our regiment) about one-half of the 12th Colored Heavy Artillery and a part of the 26th Kentucky Mounted Infantry. The town and all its approaches are commanded by three quite strong forts, and pickets are kept continually posted. In making the "grand rounds" as Post Officer of the Day, I had the pleasure of riding ten or twelve miles after midnight last Wednesday to visit these picket posts. The enemy has no organized force of any magnitude anywhere in the state now, I think—nothing but guerrillas and bushwhackers; they are everywhere. One was shot at Russellville the day before I went there, in retaliation for the murder of a Union citizen.
Recruiting for the regiment went on so slowly that it was decided to send the four existing companies to establish three new recruiting depots in different parts of the state and, if possible, to pick up recruits as they marched. Consequently early in September companies B and C started off together towards Allensville. Another went to Franklin, on the railroad to Nashville, and the fourth to Cave City, near Mammoth Cave. "We shall probably not be gone more than two weeks," Jocelyn wrote, "unless Gen. Wheeler gets us. He is now threatening Nashville and Murfreesboro and is expected in Kentucky as soon as he is able to cross the Cumberland."

A letter of September 7 reported:

Our party left Bowling Green last Saturday morning, bound for Allensville by way of Butler, Muhlenberg and Todd Counties. Companies "B" and "C" of the 115th, together with several officers of the 13th Artillery sent with us to assist in recruiting, comprise the force. We forage for rations mainly, having but one wagon with us, and the country through which we pass affords the finest facilities for that purpose.

I have just more than enjoyed the tramp so far, notwithstanding we have marched like old troops; from fifteen to twenty-five miles per day. The officers along are an unusually pleasant lot of fellows. . . . Lieutenant McDowell of the 13th Artillery from Pennsylvania and I were in charge of a scouting party that followed some distance in rear of the main body yesterday. We had occasion to visit the house of a notorious rebel by the name of Bradley. Mrs. Bradley, being at home, presented herself and Oh my! . . . Whew! . . . Words are inadequate to express her indignation of Union soldiers visiting her (black ones in particular).
From Elk Fork, near Allensville, Jocelyn wrote,

The expedition came through all right and I find myself in tip-top fighting trim after marching one-hundred-and-fifty miles in seven days. Our camp at Bowling Green was not in a healthy location. Nearly everyone in the regiment suffered from the bad effects of the water, to which I attribute my improved health [sic]. ... As you know the principal object of our marching through the country, instead of coming down by rail, was to pick up recruits. Our success in that direction was not the best as we marched so rapidly we only brought in twenty-five.

On September 23 Jocelyn wrote from Hopkinsville:

Captain Barrows, Lieutenant Woodhill and seventy-five men, with myself as quartermaster of the detachment, left Allensville on the morning of the 23rd with orders to proceed to Hopkinsville and establish a recruiting station there. I took eight or ten days rations and, at the expiration of that time, if recruiting is not successful, we shall return to Allensville. Otherwise I may go back for supplies. ... Yesterday morning we came into town, many of the inhabitants looking upon a company of colored troops for the first time.
ladies most care to see of an officer, however, is a pistol by his side and to know that he will use it upon the first occasion of insult. . . . There was a smart little fight in this town two weeks ago between 90 federals and about 300 rebels commanded by Colonel Woodward. The latter were routed, with the loss of their colonel killed. We were encamped upon the park of a rebel widow who sent for a lock of the defunct colonel's hair the day he was buried here. She gave John Morgan and his men a big supper when they were raiding through this part of Kentucky.

The detachment remained at Hopkinsville the proposed few more recruits. When they got back they found that the fifty men they had left there had had an engagement in the stockade with guerillas, who had decided to attack the depleted garrison, thinking it a good opportunity to come into the town for plunder. They were nevertheless repulsed, but only with the loss of one man wounded.

It was at this time that the draft was applied to the state of Kentucky, where it naturally met with much opposition and indignation from the rebel element. Jocelyn, in this connection, wrote: "Exorbitant prices are paid for substitutes, with few to be had. The darkies do not fancy representing their masters in the army. They care the least for money of any people I ever saw. I saw a man in Hopkinsville refuse $600 from his master for one year's service and then immediately turn around and enlist with us for three years and no bounty."

The regiment was again assembled at Bowling Green in early October, from where it was immediately ordered to Baltimore.
The health of the regiment is not good,—I mean this month. Indeed it never has been too good and I am inclined to think it will never be. The negroes may fight well, but for hardship and endurance I would put one white regiment against a brigade of them. I can march ten miles farther a day, and continue it, than any man belonging to any company in the 115th Regiment. Surgeon Walker told me only yesterday that here in camp men died before physicians fairly decided that they were sick at all. I have never seen but one right tough darky. He is my servant boy, "Morgan." I got him at Hopkinsville last summer and named him "Morgan" (although his right name is Henry), because he had been with the rebel, John Morgan, for a year or more. His home is near Lexington and when Morgan was there with his band early in the war, he took the boy away as servant. He escaped to our lines and when I found him was with the 52nd Kentucky. He remained with me until about a week before we came east. One day, at Lexington, his former owner happening to see him in the city, resulted in my soon receiving an order from the Provost Marshal to deliver up a negro boy named Henry, the property of J. O. Keen. Of course I had to do it, but later I made arrangements to have him smuggled across the river at Louisville when we started for this army; by putting a big overcoat and knapsack upon him and placing him in the tanks. Every other slave, but one or two, who were in the ferryboats as officials' servants, were taken by the authorities. Morgan was shrewd and they did not detect him. He was invaluable to me as he looked out for my baggage and for me in every respect. He would steal, as they all will; but with the difference that he would not take anything from me, but, on the contrary, bring me everything that he got from others. I claim him as my servant still and muster him on the pay-roll as a "prisoner of war."

William J. Simmons was born a slave in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1849. By a stroke of unusual fortune, he, his mother, and his two sisters were smuggled aboard a vessel in Charleston Harbor when he was a boy of about ten, and all were taken to Philadelphia as runaway slaves.

William became a shoemaker, working first in Philadelphia and then in Chester. An uncle, Alexander Tardiff, a Philadelphia man of some education, provided him with the rudiments of an education.

In 1862, he became an apprentice to a dentist in Bordentown, New Jersey, where he demonstrated a quick mind and great aptitude. The war, however, had stirred his imagination, and in 1864 he ran away and joined the famous Forty-first Division of United States Colored Troops. He was honorably discharged in September, 1865, and was promptly re-employed by the kindly and tolerant dentist.

Simmons, a serious lad of obvious religious bent, professed
his faith and was accepted into full membership by the Baptist Church of Bordentown, whose congregation was otherwise entirely white. He rapidly attracted the attention of a number of wealthy members of this congregation by his charm and his intellectual gifts.

William made known to some of these new friends his growing desire to enter the ministry. A few quiet conferences were held among the church’s elders. They then approached William and told him that, if he wished to study for the ministry, the church would pay the entire cost.

Overwhelmed with gratitude, young Simmons enrolled in the theological faculty of Madison University, in 1868, and was graduated in 1871. His zeal for learning had only been sharpened by this experience. With the continued backing of the people who had so much faith in him, he then enrolled at Howard University in Washington, D.C., and received a second degree from that institution in 1873.

Simmons was ordained in 1878 and became pastor of the First Baptist Church in Lexington, Kentucky, the following year. However, his career as a national leader was not launched until 1880, when the trustees of the Normal and Theological Institute of Louisville, Kentucky, offered him the presidency of the school.

He accepted this invitation. The magnitude of his accomplishment in this post can be gauged by a single fact: the school is now called Simmons University. It is one of the nation’s leading institutions of higher learning.

During the first year of Dr. Simmons’s presidency of the Normal and Theological Institute, the Foreign Mission Convention had been organized in Montgomery, Alabama, under the guidance of the Reverend Mr. Colley. Simmons watched this development with the greatest interest. He recognized it as one of the most important strides forward that the Church had yet taken. But he also saw that there was yet more to do.

Throughout the country there existed a number of associations and conventions of Negro Baptist churches, some large, some small, some active, some inactive, some interested in foreign missions, and some placing their emphasis in other areas of work. Earlier in this chapter we cited a few of the largest of these groups; they were many more.

Simmons reasoned that, just as a national convention had been formed for foreign-mission work, another national con-
vention should be formed that would concern itself with other major concerns that the Baptist churches had in common.

The Reverend Mr. Simmons held some discussions with other Church leaders, who enthusiastically endorsed his idea.

On April 5, 1886, the Reverend Mr. Simmons sent an open letter to leading Negro Baptist clergymen and laymen, suggesting that a national convention of the denomination should be called to set up a permanent organization for all the churches. The reasons for creating such a group, he suggested, were as follows:

1. To promote personal piety, sociability, and a better knowledge of each other.
2. To be able to have an understanding as to the great ends to be reached by the denomination.
3. To encourage our literary men and women, and promote the interest of Baptist literature.
4. To discuss questions pertaining especially to the religious, educational, industrial, and social interests of our people.
5. To give an opportunity for the best thinkers and writers to be heard.
6. That, united, we may be more powerful for good and strengthen our pride in the denomination.

This interesting list of reasons for calling a national con-
vocation tells us a lot about the role of the church during the Reconstruction period.

First, the Church was, in many instances, the only activity in which Negroes were able to exercise their full native talents and abilities. Time and again we find that leaders of the Negro church in this era had held only menial jobs before blossoming in their ministerial roles. Other professional avenues in our society had as yet barely been opened to Negroes. The Church, therefore, was performing an indispensable function in providing a voice for capable Negroes and an institution in which they could exercise their abilities to the fullest.

Second, it is clear that the Church also provided a potential for intellectual, artistic, and cultural expression among both clergy and laymen that was not yet available in any large degree in society as a whole. Note Point 5 in Simmons’s list of reasons for having a convention. With such a convention, he says, our best cultural abilities could find a channel for use and dissemination.

Third, we can see from Simmons’s list the important role that the Church was playing in preparing the Negro for full participation in the life of American democracy. Within the Church itself, the running of its affairs provided its members with invaluable training and experience in the actual workings of the democratic process. And the Church inevitably served also as a meeting place in which broader problems of the race’s progress could be discussed in a framework of morality. Simmons’s Point 4 suggests the importance of the Church’s role in making such discussions possible.

Simmons’s letter was enthusiastically received, and a convention was scheduled to take place in St. Louis, Missouri, on August 25, 1886. It was attended by six hundred delegates from churches and church organizations throughout the coun-
try, making it easily the most important meeting of its kind that had yet been held.

The delegates established at this conference the American National Baptist Convention—a long stride forward toward the National Baptist Convention that we know today. However, it was an entirely separate organization from the Foreign Mission Convention that had been established six years earlier, and the American National Baptist Convention did no work in this area.

It hardly need be said that the first president of the American National Baptist Convention was William J. Simmons. Simmons was re-elected annually until four years later, in 1890. When he died he was only forty years old. Few men in history have accomplished so much in so short a life span.

BLACK FREEMASONRY IN KENTUCKY, 1851-

W. H. Grinshaw, Official Hist of Freemasonry Among the Colored People of North America, 1969 (1903)

FREEMASONRY IN KENTUCKY—1851.

In the year 1851 Brother R. H. Gleave, Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the State of Ohio and its jurisdiction thereunto belonging, warranted and established Mount Moriah Lodge, No. 6, F. A. A. M., now No. 1, located in the city of Louisville, Ky. This was the first Lodge organized in the State. Owing to the fact that this organization occurred during slavery times, none but free men were made Masons.

In 1861 the War of the Rebellion broke out, hence there was no growth of the craft until 1865, when Grand Master Nathaniel L. Durham, of African Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, chartered three Lodges, namely Meriwether Lodge, No. 13; David Smith Lodge, No. 15, and St. Thomas Lodge, No. 20. A convention of the craft was held August 16, 1866, at Masonic Hall, Louisville, for the purpose of organizing a Grand Lodge for the State, which resulted in the election of R. W. Brother Jesse Meriwether, G. M.; Levi Evans, D. G. M.; William Butcher, G. Treas., and George A. Shaefer, G. S. This Grand Lodge refused to recognize the National Grand Lodge, and passed the following Resolution: "That this Grand Lodge, being established in ample form after the fashion of 1717, Therefore, this Constitution shall be the Supreme Law of this Masonic Jurisdiction for the State of Kentucky."

The order spread rapidly over the State, and there are now 48 chartered Lodges, with a large membership. Plans have been drawn for a Widows' and Orphans' Home, to be located in the city of Louisville. There have also been established Royal Arch Chapters, Commanderies of Knights Templars, Scottish Rite and Ladies' Chapters throughout the State. The following are the Grand Officers from organization of the Grand Lodge to the present:


**John Rankin Describes UG RR, His Activities from Ripley, Ohio**

A Ritchie, the soldier, the battle, the victory; a brief act of rev. John Rankin in anti-slavery cause, 1852 (?) date questionable

"I kept a depot on what was called the underground railway. It was so called because they who took passage on it disappeared from public view as really as if they had gone into the ground. After the fugitive slaves entered a depot on that road, no trace of them could be found. They were secretly passed from one depot to another until they arrived in Canada. This road extended its branches through all the free States. These were formed without any general concert. There was no secret society organized. There were no secret oaths taken, nor promises of secrecy extorted. And yet there were no betrayals. Anti-slavery persons were actuated by sense of humanity and right, and, of course, were true to one another. It may seem in-

credible that lines over so extensive a region as that of the free States could have been formed without some general council having been held, but it is true that there was no such council. These lines were formed in the following manner. There were anti-slavery men living at various points on the border of the free States. With them fugitives would stop, and this made it necessary for safety to find some anti-slavery men on the way, to whom these fugitives could be taken. I will give my own case as an instance. I lived on the top of a high hill at Ripley. My house was in full view of Kentucky. The slaves by some means discovered that I was an abolitionist, and consequently, when any of them ran away,
they came to my house, and I knew that there were anti-slavery men on Red Oak, at Decatur, and Sardinia, and hence I could send them to any one of those places, and I had sons to convey them to such places as I chose to send them. And then they could be sent to Hillsborough, and then to Greenfield, and on from point to point until they arrived in Canada. In this way the various branches of the underground railway were formed. Could a history of the passengers on this road be written, it would be one of the most marvelous books the world has known.

RANKIN'S EXAMPLES OF UG RR; HIS NEIGHBOR HELPS MOTHER ESCAPE; SHE RETURNS FOR CHILDREN, ETC.

a ritchie, the soldier, the battle, victory; brief acct j rankin in anti slavery cause, 1852 (probably after civil war)

I will give some specimens of efforts made by slaves to gain freedom. A family of slaves lived near Dover, Ky. The mother of the family determined to free her husband and children. She commenced her enterprise by sending her husband to Canada. After he had entered into the land of liberty, she took her babe in her arms, and started for Canada. She designed to go to my house, but in mistake went to the house of a man who lived on a farm adjoining mine. In the night she knocked at the door; he opened it and saw her with her child in her arms; his compassion was deeply excited. He said to her ‘Don't be afraid; I'm an abolitionist; but I have never come out yet. I'll help you.’ He had hands working for him that he could not trust. He took her to a place of safety on the underground railway, and she went safely to Canada. She left six children in the care of her husband; she came back for her children on foot; for there were no back trains on the underground railway. She came to my house. She put on men's clothes, went over to Dover, and lay a whole day concealed in her master's garden, and held intercourse with four of her children. Two of her children were so young that she could not safely let them know of her being there, and they slept in the room in which the master and mistress slept; consequently she could not get them. During the night she started with four children and a grandchild, an infant; but failed to get over the river, and they were obliged to hide themselves in a field of green corn until the next night, and they had nothing but green corn to eat. The field was near Dover, and there was danger that the infant would cry so as to cause them to be discovered. A white man from Canada, who had fallen in with them, left them and came over to Ohio. During
a ritchie, the soldier, battle, victory; brief acct j rankin in anti-slavery cause, 1852 (date probably after civil war)

the next night he went over after them and succeeded in getting them over the river to a house in Ripley, at which they had to spend a day. A daughter-in-law of the gentleman, at whose house they had taken refuge, rode in from the country with her babe in her lap. She left it, and took away the colored infant to her home in daylight. The slave-hunters were out, and in the town it was believed there were watchers. How to get the fugitives safely out of the place was a matter of consultation. There were some faithful young men in town who attended to cases of this kind. I advised them not to wait until they would be expected
to go out; but in the dusk of the evening to pass them one at a time through a train of lots that extended across the town through which they could safely pass. In this way they passed on to my house, and then to another station, and safely on to Canada. Thus this brave woman freed her husband, herself, five children and a grandchild from slavery, and she had no white blood in her veins.

At Augusta, Ky., there lived a pious black woman, a member of a Presbyterian Church, who was a slave. She had been brought up in a Presbyterian family, and was sold into a Methodist family in which she nursed the children. She was permitted to live some time as a free woman. Her master and mistress died, and she fell into the hands of the heirs, who determined to sell her. She was now fifty years of age. Such was her piety and good conduct that the better class of people at Augusta could not endure to have her sold, and hence some of them secreted her for some days. A colored girl, who lived in Ohio, went over at night and brought her away in a skiff to Ohio. She was brought to my house in the night. She had a mild and lovely countenance, as if illuminated with the rays of the Sun of righteousness. I was deeply moved in looking upon this daughter of the Almighty, secreted in my dwelling, and obliged, in old age, to travel hundreds of miles at night to escape from a land of horrible oppression. The Lord was with her, and she safely gained the land of liberty. It was a high privilege to be permitted to aid a child of God in such a time of distress.
Seven valuable slaves started for Canada, and designed coming to my house but made the same mistake the colored woman made, and came at night to the house of my neighbor. He still had laborers, whom he felt that it was not safe to let know that he had fugitive slaves at his house. Consequently, he brought them to my house. After a little time he brought a large basket of provisions. He said if he could not keep them, he had a right to feed them. In the morning the slave-hunters came to town in pursuit. The fugitives saw their horses in the streets, and knew them. My neighbor went to town, and one of the slave-hunters having met him, said to him, 'I know it is not popular in Ohio, for a gentleman to take up slaves, but if you will tell me where those slaves are, I will give you one thousand dollars and no one shall ever know it.' He could have pointed at my house, and said, they are in yonder house, and would have received one thousand dollars, and I would never have known that he did it. But he could not be bribed to do such a deed of wickedness. The fugitives were forwarded by night, to another State, and so on to Canada.

"A young man, a fugitive slave, came to my house. He said twenty men had been after him in a wheat field, and passed so near him that he feared they would hear his heart beat. He said the Kentuckians told him that the abolitionists of Ohio took off the runaway slaves and sold them; but said he, 'I was sold anyhow— and I thought I would try it.' He thought, if what they said was true, his case would be no worse than it was, as he was already sold to go South. When some young men came with horses to take him to another station, on bidding us farewell, he said, 'Oh, how good it is to find friends; can I not come back and see you all again?' No, I said, the laws are against you, and therefore you can not come back.
A slave woman that lived opposite Ripley, was severely treated by her mistress, and consequently determined to leave for Canada. She took her infant in her arms and came to the house of a Scotchman, who lived on the bank of the river, and asked him to direct her what to do. He was an intemperate and wicked man, but he had not sinned away all his humanity. He said to her, 'A good man lives in that house on the hill beyond the river; cross over and go to that house; go right in, and you will be safe there. It was night; the river was frozen over; there came a thaw, and the river was about to break up; the water was running upon the ice; she waded over, carrying her infant in her arms. She came to my house. The doors were not locked; she entered the kitchen, made a fire, dried her clothes, then searched for the family, found my sons, and asked them to help her. They arose and took her two miles further before day. Before morning the ice was broken up, and the river was impassable. Had she not dropped a piece of child's clothing on the Ohio side of the river, her pursuers would not have known but that she was drowned. She passed on to the neighborhood of Greenfield, and there she was obliged to remain until spring, in consequence of the lakes.

Within a few weeks afterward she

husband left without leave to search for his wife and child. He went to the neighborhood of Greenfield. Some young men went to give notice that her husband had come. She became alarmed, thought they were Kentuckians come to take her back to slavery. She ran away with her child, and wandered about in the night until she and her child had almost perished with cold, and was forced to go to a house for shelter. A good Providence guided her to the house of a friend. When she met her husband she became so frantic that she could scarcely believe it was he. She shouted aloud, and manifested the most violent passion. Spring came, and they got safely to Canada.
The master of a young man who had a wife and one child, determined to move from Kentucky to Missouri. He promised the young man that he would buy his wife and child, and take them with him. On these terms the young man was willing to go to Missouri. The master violated his promise, and determined to take the young man with him without his wife and child. When ready to start, he ordered the young man to get his clothes and go with him. The young man went as if to get his clothes, and hid himself so that he could not be found; and after several days he went to Ohio, into a neighborhood of Quakers, a people who never turn the needy away from their doors unaided. In them he found true friends. His love for his wife and child was so ardent that he determined to have them at the risk of his liberty. A good Quaker brought him to Red Oak, five miles from the river. He came to my house, and by the help of a good man in Ripley he got his wife and two children safely to my house. One of them was born during his absence. He was exceedingly happy, and I and my family rejoiced with him. The good Quaker took him, with his wife and children, back to the Quaker neighborhood, and there was joy in that place. It was thought that they could dwell in perfect safety there, and hence they did not go on to Canada as they should have done. The hour of sorrow came. The young man went a hunting, and while he was absent a Methodist man came into the neighborhood pretending to buy hogs. He found the wife and children of this young man, and carried them off. The Quakers followed the villain, and overtook them at a village, but the villagers rose up to mob the Quakers and defend the man-stealer. The melancholy fact was published at Cincinnati in the Philanthropist. I read the article with the most painful sensations. My joy was turned into sorrow. The poor man lost his wife and children. He saw them no more.
J RANKIN TELLS OF RECAPTURE OF FUGITIVE FAMILY

a ritchie, the soldier, battle, victory; brief acct of j rankin in anti-slavery cause, 1852 (probably written after c w)

"I will record another sad case: A fugitive returned to Kentucky to get his wife and two children. They were near Richmond, far distant from the Ohio River. He found his wife and children, and started for Canada. He was so closely pursued in Kentucky that he had to abandon one of his children. He succeeded in getting to Ripley. I then lived in town. He stopped with a colored man just across the street from my house. I knew nothing of his being there. The colored man undertook to convey him, with his wife and child, to the country. He met a slave-catcher who asked some questions, and galloped off to get help. The colored man became alarmed and hid them, and came back to town for help. The slave-catchers found them, pretended to be friends and took them off, put irons on the man and took him, his wife and child back to hopeless slavery. Poor man! Hope expired and all was lost. His long and hazardous journey to get his wife and children ended in the loss of himself.

When I heard it I was seized with such anguish of spirit that it seemed as if there were nothing in creation that could cheer me. If he had been brought to my house he would have been safely conveyed to another depot and on to Canada. How near we may be to safety and yet lose all!

"The underground railway was kept in

such good order that there was but little danger of miscarriage. Often whole families passed on safely to Canada. I have had under my roof as many as twelve fugitive slaves at a time, all of whom made good their way to Victoria's dominions. My house has been the door of freedom to many human beings, and while there was a hazard of life and property, there was much happiness in giving safety to the trembling fugitives. They were all children of God by creation, and some of them I believe were redeemed by the blood of the Lamb."
Instead of fair treatment, there ensued a brutal and callous round-up of the Negroes. Brigade member, M. P. H. Jones, recalled that "They were torn from their homes, from the street, from their shops, from everywhere, and driven to the mule pen on Plum street, at the point of the bayonet...." An eyewitness, Henry Howe, recorded:

The colored men were roughly handled by the Irish police. From hotels and barber shops, in the midst of their labors, these helpless people were pounced upon and often bareheaded and in shirtsleeves, just as seized, driven in squads, at the point of the bayonet, and gathered in vacant yards and guarded.

Constitutional guarantees of freedom from unreasonable search and seizure were flouted as the police "went from house to house, followed by a gang of rude, foul-mouthed boys. Closets, cellars, and garrets were searched; bayonets were thrust into beds and bedding; old and young, sick and well, were dragged out, and amidst shouts and jeers, marched like felons to the pen on Plum Street...."

No explanation was given the hapless victims. Inquiries met with curses, pleas for time were denied. Consequently, "dismay and terror spread among the colored women and children," not knowing where their husbands and fathers were taken or why. Police ruffians, some drunk, were sent out with orders to "'bring all the niggers you can catch.'" The captain in charge of the conscript squads, William Homer, reacted bestially on finding some recruits, assembled in the pen across from the Cathedral, sitting in the shade while waiting several hours to go across the river; Clark reports that:

Coming into the yard, he ordered them all to rise, marched them to another part, then issued the order, "D—n you, squat." Turning to the guard, he added, "Shoot the first one who rises." Reaching the other side of the river, the same squad were marched from the sidewalk into the middle of a dusty road, and again the order, "D—n you, squat," and the command to shoot the first one who should rise."
Dickson continued, "who appeared among the negroes at work, selected from them the number they wanted, and, at the point of bayonet, marched them off... to be employed as cooks, or in some menial capacity for the officers." This kidnapping alarmed the Negroes as "They justly apprehended that they might be carried off with the regiments, or abandoned in Kentucky, where their presence as freemen was one of the most grievous crimes known to that State's laws, punishable with... enslavement...." Here was the supreme irony: Cincinnati's Negroes had volunteered earliest, yet were forcibly dragged into service, and now faced danger of being carted into territory where these free men, eager to defend their city from conquest, might themselves wind up in bondage. No wonder Judge Dickson commented acidly in a letter to a friend later that month: "This disposition to outrage and oppress the negro current among all classes and parties in the U.S. makes all our sufferings just, indeed we deserve much more."
GEN LEW WALLACE DENOUNCES TREATMENT OF CINCINNATI BLACKS AND PLACES THEM UNDER WM. MARTIN DICKSON.

Not all the people of Cincinnati were willing to see their colored fellow-citizens abused. The Commercial reported that the mistreatment "excited much indignation" among leading citizens who took up the matter with the commanding general. Whereupon, General Wallace "condemned" the injustice, according to Dickson, "and, for the purpose of protecting the colored men, and organizing them for their work, requested me to take command of them. . . ." Wallace's order, dated September 4, 1862, proclaimed that "William M. Dickson is hereby assigned to the command of the negro forces from Cincinnati, working on the fortifications near Newport and Covington and will be obeyed accordingly."

This order was the genesis of the "Black Brigade." Dickson organized a staff, recovered the Negroes kidnapped by the regiments, brought together the scattered units in which many were laboring, and formed his cohesive force.

COL WM M. DICKSON'S FAIR TREATMENT OF BLACK BRIGADE IN NOR KY SEPT 1862

Colonel Dickson's fairness heartened the demoralized Negroes. He began by marching "them back to the city" and releasing them for the night so they could prepare for camp life and reassure their anxious families. He told them he was confident "that their sense of duty and honor would cause them to obey all orders given, and thus prevent the necessity of any compulsion. . . ." The men were overwhelmed by such manly appeals as seen in the words of their spokesman, M. P. H. Jones, who later told the judge that "the members of the Black Brigade . . . deeply thank you . . .

for the kindness you have manifested to us in these trying times." So grateful were they that Jones soaringly proclaimed: "our mothers thank you, our sweethearts thank you, our children will rise up and thank you, and call you blessed."
p 88/ After Col. Dickson took the blacks back into Cincinnati to visit their families, the police began arresting them as they approached the houses. But on Friday morning, Sept 5, 1862, at 5 AM 700 of the 1100 were present to return to duty; Toppin estimates 400 were arrested earlier.

In their sector—along Three Mile Creek and Cemetery Ridge from the Alexandria Road to the Newport Turnpike and Licking River—the Black Brigade performed so spectacularly that they "did the most of the work upon the fortifications," surpassing the more numerous white civilians and troops erecting defenses elsewhere. In his farewell report, Dickson told the men "You have made miles of military roads, miles of rifle pits," cut down "hundreds of acres of the largest and loftiest forest trees, built magazines and forts." The supervising Engineer pronounced them "the most efficient laborers on the fortifications." At one time the blacks suggested an improvement in a military road they were building; the validity of their point was conceded, but prejudice was too strong for its acceptance.

On Saturday, September 20, 1862, the Black Brigade, having completed its task returned to the city. In formation
Among those inspired by the fabulous promises for a better life in the glorious North was the Reverend John Dudley, an itinerant minister of Mumfordsville, Kentucky, who in 1873 or 1874 called a group of Hart County Negroes together to discuss joining "Pap" Singleton on his next trip to the "Promised Land" of Kansas. A small group responded to the call and of these only ten or twelve finally agreed to follow Dudley on his westward trek. This group got as far as Jeffersonville, Indiana, where they became stranded. Some, as soon as they were financially able, returned to Hart County. A few, including Dudley, remained and took up residence in Jeffersonville. Jim and Will Dudley, sons of the Reverend Mr. Dudley, now in their eighties, along with descendants of the other early settlers, still reside there.

Others who started with Dudley and got as far as Louisville and lost their fervor were James Rowlett and family, Philip and Solon Garvin. The next year Rowlett with his family made their way to Kansas, settling in Wichita. Encouraged by the continued correspondence of Buck Hazel, a white man from Woodsonville, Kentucky, who had gone to Blue Springs, Missouri, a trading post in that day, Solon Garvin, in the fall of 1878, started west overland with a mule team and wagon. He drove south through Nashville before starting west to Blue Springs where he spent that winter. The next spring he drove to Salina, Kansas where he settled and remained until he died in the late 'nineties.
In 1878 a group of Negroes from in the vicinity of Harrodsburg and Lexington, Kentucky, came west on the Santa Fe Railroad to Hodgeman County, where two colonies were established at Hodgeman Center and Morton City. This latter took its name from Oliver P. Morton, one of the leading men in the group from Kentucky. These Negroes perhaps fared better than most of the migrants as they got work in the harvest fields, and as some of them were men with skills they were able to find various types of employment. One of them, Thomas Moore, was a carpenter, and became a successful builder and property holder. The founding of Little Coney Colony in Chautauqua County by some fifty odd families from Kentucky and Tennessee in 1881 brought to a close this, the second of the great mass movements of Negroes from the South.

One of the more colorful and picturesque characters identified with the colonization efforts of Singleton in Kansas was Samuel Garland of "Nicodemus Colony" in Graham County, Northwest Kansas. Born in February 1847 in Holly Springs, Mississippi, Garland's master brought his family to Arkansas when Samuel was about four years old.

As soon as he was old enough he ran away from slavery and by 1867 he was a scout on the western plains. Sometime during the early seventies he made his way into Kansas and went to work on the farm of a white man, Eph Bashor, near the then Indian community of Tonganoxie. A few years later he married Mary Samuels, the daughter of John Samuels, who along with the families of Manuel Napew and Merrit Sadler had come to Kansas from Kentucky and settled at Atchison.

In the summer of 1877 the Reverend Silas Lee, a Baptist minister from Georgetown, Kentucky, along with the families of Randall Smith, Lewis and Henry Williams, and a small group of others from around Clarksville and Jackson, Tennessee, came west to take up government land and found a colony. Garland, ever the venturesome pioneer, hearing of this group's arrival (and some of this group were known to the Samuels and Sadler families in Kentucky) decided he would join them in going to northwest Kansas. Topeka became the focal point for assembling of these pioneers who
in 1878 founded "Nicodemus Colony."

The families of Sam Garland, John Samuels, Manuel Napew and Merrit Sadler, decided to join the group and took three weeks to drive from Wyandotte to Graham County in wagons. Here with others from Topeka and newly arrived refugees led by the Reverend Silas Lee, the new colony was established on homestead land. In their efforts to break the sod and erect homes they were greatly aided by a white minister, a Reverend Mr. Hill, who had come west from Kentucky, and who knew some of the families. The town of Hill City was named in his honor as a tribute to his efforts in colonizing the new country. The first child born in this colony was Henry Williams, a son of one of the founders. Williams still resides in Nicodemus and is now in his seventies.

The fact that Junius George Groves came to Kansas from Louisville, Kentucky, in 1879, as a young man of 19, would seem to indicate that his coming west was influenced by the migration though there now is no definite knowledge of this fact. Louisville was one of the focal points for the "Exodusters" from that state. Groves was born in Louisville, April 12, 1859, and lived there until he was 19, when he left and came to Armourdale, Kansas, the meat packing center of that day and a separate municipality in Wyandotte County. He worked in the packing houses and two years after his arrival he married and moved to Edwardsville, Kansas, about ten miles west of the city in Wyandotte County, where he purchased ten acres of land in the Kaw River bottoms. He later sold this tract and bought 80 acres and began the raising of white potatoes. He became eminently successful as a potato grower and earned the sobri-
Garvin, "Benj or Pap Singleton & his followers," JNH, xxxiii (Jan 1948)

As Groves prospered, he continued to buy land. At the height of his success he owned over five hundred acres and built a twenty-room mansion on a knoll overlooking his holdings. He became such an important shipper on the Union Pacific Railroad, that the corporation built a private spur onto his property. Older settlers around Kansas City, Kansas, recall that E. E. Heim, President of the Kaw Valley Railroad, which once skirted Groves' land, offered him a price in six figures for his holdings, because he thought the place too fine for a Negro to own.

Groves, too, had the colonizing spirit and believed that Negroes should own land as a guarantee of their independence. He encouraged and urged them to come into the valley, and join him. In 1913, he founded the little community of Groves Center and sold small tracts of land to Negro families. There are today a few families in this settlement who till small acreages and commute to Kansas City where they work in the industrial plants. Groves died on August 17, 1925, and except for a small portion of his acreage held by some of his children, the major portion had passed to white ownership.

EARLY LIFE OF FRANCIS FREDERICK IN VA; MOVE TO KY (1821)

Francis Frederick, autobiog of Rev Franc. Frederick of Va., 1869

Born in Fauquier Co., Va., in 1809. His mother and father were slaves, but worked for different masters. "They had nine children, two boys and seven girls...." At age 12 he moved to Ky. "Such a change required a great deal of labor, and in due time all necessary preparations being accomplished, we set out on our journey, with several wagons, and a sorrowful cavalcade we were, too, the sobbing women, wailing children, and men whose stony looks expressed nothing but despair; torn forever from their kindred, and that word expressed all the poor slave had at that time to love and live for." They went across the mountains. Their diet was Indian meal mixed with water and baked, with salt herring. At Wheeling they took a boat to Maysville, Ky, where his owner bought a "large plantation in Mason county, about twenty miles from Maysville."
Upon first arriving in Maysville from Va, really Mason Co., near Maysville, the slaves cleared the land, and sowed bluegrass seed for the cattle to feed on. "The neighboring planters directed my master how to manage his new estate. + "I was now made a house slave. My duties were to wait on the table and help in the kitchen. I was extremely glad of this promotion, as it afforded me a better chance of obtaining good food. I shall never forget my first day in the kitchen, having discovered some bread in the pantry, I took piece after piece, and skimming the fat from the tap of the boiling pot with them, I made such a meal as I had never had in my life before, overjoyed at being placed in a situation where I could satisfy my appetite."

"My mistress now undertook to correct my pronunciation, for I was a dreadful murderer of the English language, and for this purpose she called me to her one day and said: 'Now Francis I want to make you a ladies man; to be such, you must in the first place be very polite to the ladies, and then you must speak as I do, and not say 'dis and dat and so forth.' She then gave me a lesson by speaking several words /p 10/ and making me repeat them after her." He said he forgot the first message he was to deliver in proper "English" but made out ok, eventually.
FRAN. FREDERICK FLOGGED FOR SETTING COTTON IN THE HOUSE ON FIRE 2163

Fran. Frederick, autobiog of rev Fran Frederick of va, 1869

p 10/ Frederick says he saw some cotton in a room in the house and wondered if it would burn. He touched a burning splinter to the cotton, but was unable to put it out without calling for help. He told his mistress that a spark jumped out of the fireplace and caught the cotton. Some weeks after, /p 11/ when asked by his mistress if he started the fire, Francis admitted that he had, and was "flogged right soundly."

FRANCIS FREDERICK DESCRIBES HIMSELF IN A VERY IGNORANT STATE IN SLAVERY 2164

Fran Frederick, autobiog of rev Fran Frederick of va, 1869

p 12/ Frederick describes attempting to write by copying on a letter his mistress's sister was writing (while she was out of the room), and getting a flogging. Says it was an indication of how ignorant he was. /p 13/ Says another indication of how ignorant he was the time he was told to work in a room where a portrait of his master's brother hung, and was told the master's brother would see to it that Francis worked hard. He did.
FRANCIS FREDERICK DESCRIBES FIGHT BETWEEN HIS GRANDFATHER & HIS MASTER

FRANCIS FREDERICK DESCRIBES FIGHT BETWEEN HIS GRANDFATHER & HIS MASTER

fran frederick, autobiog of rev fran frederick of va, 1869

p 14/ Says his grandfather was sent to get some meal, but apparently drank whiskey instead. Upon returning home was threatened by his master. When the master attempted to whip the grandfather he resisted. As they fought, Francis got a bowl of water and threw it on them. The two men stopped fighting, but the master's anger was turned toward Francis. Francis escaped a whipping by the intercession of his mistress.

FRANCIS FREDERICK WORKED IN THE KITCHEN

FRANCIS FREDERICK WORKED IN THE KITCHEN

fran fred-rick, autobiog of rev fran frederick of va, 1869

p 15/

"At this period I had a tolerably good time of it, being employed in the kitchen helping to cook, or waiting at the table, and, listening to the conversation going on. I learned many things of which the field hands were entirely ignorant." Says he asked for a watch from his mistress and she said if he worked hard and served well. /p 16/ Shortly she gave him a watch, though he had not yet learned to tell time. (when he was a lad)
Frederick says that when he was about 28 or 30 his "old master died." Later an elderly woman came to visit his mistress. She took a bible out of her pocket "...and asked me if I would like to hear her read about our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. I replied in the affirmative, when she told me I must not let my mistress know of it or she would drive her from the house.

"She then read a portion of scripture which tells us that all who forget God shall be turned into hell. There was such an evident sincerity about the good old lady, and her manner was so kind, that every word she either read or spoke to me went directly to my heart. Here was truth presented to me by one whose only possible object could be to do me good."

"I listened eagerly to every word that fell from her lips. She told me if I believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, I should be saved. That God was no respector of persons, that He loved all his people black as well as white. She said if I loved God, and showed it by my conduct, He would love me, and at last take me to heaven, to live with Him forever. That the gospel was commanded by our Saviour to be preached to all people; and that Jesus died for the sins of all men, that they, through Him, might have everlasting life in those beautiful mansions above, prepared by our Heavenly Father, for those who do his will, and with many such encouraging words, she left me, promising that when she came again to give me a spelling book, that I might earn to read the Holy Book of God myself." He said he "...firmly resolved from that time forward to put my trust in God, and to learn as much as I possibly could about Jesus."

Francis Fedric says in Slave Life in Va & Ky, 1863, that he was between age 25 & 30 when he was converted, on p. 51.

A woman who visited Frederick's mistress told him about Christ and promised a spelling book so he could learn to read the bible.

"The good lady, true to her promise, brought me the spelling book, and told me to lay it aside, and at every visit she would teach me one word at a time, \texttt{\texttt{\texttt{\texttt{\texttt{x\texttt{\texttt{\texttt{\texttt{x\texttt{\texttt{\texttt{\texttt{x\texttt{\texttt{\texttt{\texttt{x\texttt{\texttt{\texttt{\texttt{x}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}} until I was able to read. I hid it in the pastry room, where my mistress' sister soon after found it. She asked me what I was doing with such a book, and said she had a great notion to break my head with it, and if she ever found me with another one, she would make my master give me one hundred lashes." Frederick said, speaking of blacks, "It cannot be truthfully asserted that we are incapable of understanding, if we are taught. I myself am a living witness against such an absurdity; after my forty-sixth year I learned to read and write. No, no, stupidity is not the cause of our ignorance, but the lack of opportunity to learn when in bondage."
Says the plantation was "abundantly supplied with fruit, the greater portion of which we preserved and stowed away in the cellar for winter use. Some of the apples we would convert into apple butter, the rest, together with the peaches were carried to the distillery and made into apple and peach brandy. The pulp left in the troughs, was thrown out into the yard where the pigs would devour it, resulting in a great many of them becoming dreadfully intoxicated. This was always a source of great amusement to the children, who would gather around to witness the curious antics made by drunken pigs. They would, after eating a quantity of this pulp, stagger about for a while and drop down at last, grunting continually until the effects of the liquor had worn off."

The plantation on which he lived grew (apparently) flax, hemp, tobacco, wheat. "Large tracts of land are cultivated in Indian corn, which is the principal article of food for the negroes. I, while cook for my master, learned to cook this article in ten different ways." He says "patches of cotton" were raised in Ky, and "excellent crops of sweet potatoes." "Many of the slaves were allowed to keep the small ones for seed, which they sold in the spring of the year, and thus managed to have a little money, with which to purchase a few necessaries for themselves."
"We used to make a very pleasant drink by mixing the juice of cherries with whiskey, this we called cherry bounce. There were large quantities of fruit grown upon the plantations; the slaves were allowed, as a general thing, to appropriate as much to their own use as they wanted."

Frederick mentioned he went to "two camp meetings in Flemming County," each during a heat wave.
FRAN FREDERICK SPOKE NOSTALGICALLY OF KENTUCKY'S BEAUTY

Fran Frederick, autobiog of Rev Fran Frederick of Va, 1869

p 28/ "... the state of Kentucky, is as beautiful as the eye of mortal man would wish to behold...."

FRAN FREDERICK DESCRIBES A SLAVE WEDDING

Fran Frederick, autobiog of Rev Fran Frederick of Va, 1869

p 28/ Jerry wanted to marry Fanny. "In the first place Jerry had to get the consent of Fanny's master and mistress, whether or not he could have Fanny. On presenting himself he was asked if he really loved Fanny, to which he replied, 'Yes indeed marm.'" Jerry was asked how he knew he loved Fanny and responded: "'Because since me lub Fanny me lub everything on de plantation, de hosses and all de tings, dey all seem better den anybody elses since me lub me Fanny.'" Fanny's owners said "'we don't whip Fanny, Jerry, and you must not whip her either.'" Jerry said he wouldn't.

"Well Jerry," said Fanny's mistress, 'you must get January's Tom or Morton's Gilbert (these were two black men who were authorized to marry the slaves.) to marry you two weeks from this night, and tell your master and mistress we will give Fanny a supper, and shall be very glad to see them, since we are going to have a great many white ladies and gentlemen here.'

"On the night appointed, Jerry accompanied by January's Tom made his appearance at Fanny's master's. He had on a pair of black trowsers, a little too large in the legs, a coat fitting very well all to the tails, which were long; some one had given him a white waistcoat and a white cravat, which was only a little less stiff than its wearer; a pair of white gloves completed his attire."

"Fanny's mistress had dressed her in white muslin, she had on a pair of light shoes, her head being decked with white and red artificial. Her bridesmaid was attired somewhat similar. The happy pair were seated in the middle of a large kitchen; Fanny had a very pleasant countenance, and was admired very much by her friends, but most of all by Jerry."
"After awhile the parson was called for, at the sound of that dignified title, up jumped Tom. 'It is time,' said Fanny's mistress, 'for you to begin the ceremony.' + "'Yes marm,' said Tom. + "Now Tom could not read a word, but he had learned the marriage service by heart, from his master's grandson, and as luck or mischief would have it, the book was laid upside down. + "He now commenced with the book in his hand, inverted, as he had picked it up, as though he were actually reading the service. The ladies were infinitely amused at this, but Tom thought the laughter was caused by the couple he was joining in the /p 30/ holy bonds of matrimony. After the happy pair were pronounced man and wife, Jerry was told to salute his bride, but being a field hand he was totally ignorant of the meaning of the word salute, but, on being told it meant kiss his wife, he seized her round the neck and made the room resound with the smacks he gave her." Says Fanny's owner asked Jerry after the service to tell the guests how he chose Fanny. Jerry said he had gone "to see" a number of girls, but for one reason or another (Frederick describes this humorously) they never worked out. Then he met Fanny and after some time she agreed to marry him. "Then came the supper, at which about a hundred of Fanny's and Jerry's friends sat down. Fanny being a house servant, presided at the table with considerable tact. Jerry was called upon to give a toast, when he arose and said: + "'Me can't talk much, but me will do as well as /begin p 31/ me can, ---

FRANCIS FREDERICK DESCRIBES A SLAVE WEDDING

fran frederick, autobiog of rev fran frederick of va, 1869

/p 31 cont'd/ it is my heart will be talking to you. Me hope Fanny's master and mistress will nebber come to want, and me hope all de family, when dey die, will go to heben. And me hope Fanny and myself nebber will be parted from each other, or our children, (at the last word all laughed heartily.) For twenty years after their wedding, I knew this happy pair, with a dutiful family of sons and daughters around them. A kind Providence had granted Jerry's prayer. A good master and mistress were vouchsafed them on the same plantation." On p 32 of slave life in va & ky, 1863, Fedric says this is the "first wedding which I remember being at...."
p 32/

"By the kindness of the good friend who had first conveyed to me a true knowledge of religion, I had become acquainted with a gentleman, a perfect christian, and, having been flogged one day, I went to him to show him the condition of my back. He asked me what I wanted to do. I told him I wanted him to get me away to Canada. Oh, what a delightful word that was to us poor slaves. It was like speaking of some heavenly country. There was much in the name to us. Never did tempest tossed mariner long so much for a haven as did we for that land of the free."

"When I mentioned Canada to the gentleman, he sat silent for some minutes, then said:

"'Now if I promise to get you safely away from here, you must not mention a word of it to any one, not even to your mother or sisters, for if you do all will be betrayed.'"

"I solemnly assured him I would not say a word to any one."

"'Well,' said he, 'come to me on Friday night, about ten or eleven o'clock. I will wait until you come, don't bring any clothes, but bring what money you can get.'"

"After assuring him that I would obey him in every respect, I went home and passed an anxious day. I walked out to my poor old mother's hut, and saw her and my sisters. Oh, how I longed to tell them and bid them farewell. I hesitated several times when I thought I should never see them more, and turned back to look at my poor old mother. I knew she would be flogged, old as she was, if I succeeded in getting off. I thought of the torture she would suffer, and the distress she would feel when she found that I had left her forever. At length I banished these thoughts, and walked rapidly away, I arrived at my kind benefactor's house, a little after eleven, who immediately conveyed me to his friends in Maysville, who, in their turn started me on my journey to the land of freedom."

"On I went from one station to another, everywhere being received and lodged as though I were a chosen guest. Even if it was after midnight, all in the house, from the aged grandmother to the little children, would get up and crowd around me, listening to my sorrows and shedding alternately tears of joy and grief at my escape, and the pangs I endured." Says he was passed on to a spot about 160 miles from the Ohio R. He stayed there over the winter, from Nov. to May. /p 34/ While staying in northern Ohio, the children in the family where he hid began teaching him to read. He slowly learned the alphabet. He said before he had left he had read the first chapter of John. / Frederick had previously said he was age 46 when he learned to read. Is this the time? If so it would place his escape in 1837. / In the Middle of May he left for Sandusky on Lake Erie. /p 35/ Was sent on into Canada. (Toronto)
FRANCIS FEDRIC DESCRIBES CHRISTMAS AMONG SLAVES IN KY

fran fedric, slaves life in va & ky, 1863

p 28/

"About Christmas, my master would give four or five days' holiday to his slaves; during which time, he supplied them plentifully with new whiskey, which kept them in a continual state of the most beastly intoxication. He often absolutely forced them to drink more, when they had told him they had had enough. He would then call them together, and say, 'Now, you slaves, don't you see what bad use you have been making of your liberty? Don't you think you had better have a master, to look after you, and make you work, and keep you from such a brutal state, which is a disgrace to you, and would ultimately be an injury to the community at large?' Some of the slaves, in that whining, cringing manner, which is one of the baneful effects of slavery, would reply, 'Yees, Massa; if we go on in dis way, no good at all.'

"Thus, by an artfully-contrived plan, the slaves themselves are made to put the seal upon their own servitude. The masters, by the system, are rendered as cunning and scheming as the slaves themselves."

FRANCIS FEDRIC TELLS OF 2 SLAVES WHO REFUSED TO BE WHIPPED, THEIR FATE

fran dedric, slave life in va & ky, 1863

p 30/ Fedric said two slaves refused to be whipped, saying "'We are not going to allow you to beat us as you have done.'" Fedric says the master said little to the slaves for several days, but began sending for neighbors, slave owners, to appear at a predetermined time. Then suddenly the neighbors appeared and the slaves were severely beaten. One master watching the episode suggested the slaves be burned. Fedric concluded: "...How can an unarmed, an unorganized, degraded, cowed set of negroes prevent this treatment? The slaveholders can and do flog them to death, and nothing more is thought of it than of a dog being killed, and not so much."
Francis Fedric sees slaves sold to pay master's gambling debts

Francis Fedric, Slave Life in VA & KY, 1963

p 41/ Fedric says slaves usually the first property sold when money was needed. / p 42/ "Aunt Aggy was the first slave sold; she had a little boy eight or nine years of age, and when she was driven to the chained gang on the road he ran after her, crying, 'Mother--mother; oh my mother.' "

Says his master whipped the child for this act, mercilessly. Fedric described a horrible scene of a bleeding child, etc. "In three or four weeks after this, a 'trader' was seen talking to my master. The slaves were in a state of consternation, saying, 'Is it me? Is it me? Who'll go next?' One of the slaves said, 'See, they are selling the pigs to go to Virginia. They don't seem to care, but we can't be like pigs, we can't help thinking about our wives and children.'

"The slaves were all taking their dinners in their cabins about two o'clock. My master, the 'trader,' and three other white men walked up to the cabins, and entered one of them. My master pointed first to one, and then to another, and three were immediately handcuffed, and made to stand out in the yard. One of the slaves sold had a wife and five children on another plantation; another slave had a wife and three children; and the other had a wife and one child. My master, the dealer, and /p 43/ the others then went into another large cabin, where there were eight or nine women feeding the children with Indian-meal-broth. My master said, 'Take your pick of the women.' The poor things were ready to drop down. The 'trader' said, 'I'll give you 800 dollars for that one.' My master said, 'I'll take it.' The 'trader,' touching her with a long cane he had in his hand, said, 'Walk yourself out here, and stand with those men.' She jumped up and laid her child out of her arms in an old board-cradle, and walked to the chained men. My master said, 'Take your pick of the rest.'

Francis Fedric describes the selling of slaves: men & women

Francis Fedric, Slave Life in VA and KY, 1863.

/p 43 cont'd/ The 'trader' looked round and said, 'I'll give you 750 dollars for that one.' 'I'll not take it,' my master replied. 'What will you take?' said the 'trader;' /sic/ 'what is the least you'll take?' My master answered, 'Not a dollar less than I took for the other.' The 'trader' paused a minute or two, surveying her, and then said, 'I'll give it.' Then, holding his cane out, said, sternly, 'Walk out of this, and stand with those men.' She laid her child in one of the women's arms, and speaking low, said, 'Take care of my child, if you please.' The women were so terrified that they dared not say a word, for three or four weeks before this time this very 'trader' had given 1,000 dollars for a slave to a Mr. W., a neighboring planter. The slave had said it was hard for him to be carried away from his wife and children, the 'trader' instantly beat him so unmercifully, that Mr. W. thought /begin p 44/ the poor slave would be killed,..." "The three men and two women were driven out to the gang on the highway, and chained together, two and two. We never heard of them again."
FEDRIC DESCRIBES CORN SHUCKING BEE 1863

fran fedric, slave life in va and ky, 1863

p 47/ Fedric says: "In harvest-time, thirty or forty years ago ago, it was customary to give the slaves a good deal of grog, the masters thinking that the slaves could not do the hard work without the spirits. A great change has taken place now in this respect; many of the planters during harvest give their slaves sixpence a-day instead of the whiskey." "In autumn, about the 1st of November, the slaves commence gathering the Indian-corn, pulling it off the stalk, and throwing it into heaps. Then it is carted home, and thrown into heaps sixty or seventy yards long, seven or eight feet high, and about six or seven feet wide. Some of the masters make their slaves shuck the corn. All the slaves stand on one side of the heap, and throw the ears over, which /begin p 48/ are then cribbed. This is the time when the whole country far and wide resounds with the corn-songs. When they commence shucking the corn, the master will say, 'Ain't you going to sing any to-night?' The slaves say, 'Yes, sir.' One slave will begin:-- 'Fare you well, Miss Lucy. All. John come down de hollow.' The next song will be:-- 'Fare you well, fare you well. All. Weell ho. Weell ho. Captain. Fare you well, young ladies all. All Weell ho. Weell ho. Captain. Fare you well, I'm going away. All. Weell ho. Weell ho. Captain. I'm going away to Canada. All. Weell ho. Weell ho.'

FRANCIS FEDRIC DESCRIBES SHUCKING BEE (CORN) OF A VERY LARGE PLANTER 2180-A

fran fedric, slave life in va and ky, 1863

/p 49 cont'd/ Taylor?' all the men answering, 'Oh, oh, oh!' + /begin p 50/

"Mr. Taylor walked, with all his family, on the verandah; and the Captain sang, 'I've just come to let you know. / Men. Oh, oh, oh!' Captain. The upper end has beat / Men. Oh, oh, oh!' Captain. But isn't they sorry fellows? / Men. Oh, oh, oh!' Captain. But isn't they sorry fellows? / Men. Oh, oh, oh!' Captain. But I'm going back again, / Men. Oh, oh, oh!' Captain. And where's Mr. Taylor? / Men. Oh, oh, oh!' Captain. And where's Mr. Taylor? / Men. Oh, oh, oh!' Captain. I'll bid you, fare you well, / Men. Oh, oh, oh!' Captain. For I'm going back again. / Men. Oh, oh, oh!' Captain. I'll bid you, fare you well, M Men. Oh, oh, oh!' And a long fare you well. "They marched back, and finished the pile. All then went to enjoy a good supper, provided by Mr. Taylor; it being usual to kill an ox, on such an
FRANCIS FEDRIC DESCRIBES SHUCKING BEE OF A VERY LARGE PLANTER

fran fedric, slave life in va and ky, 1863

p 48/ Says: "Mr. Taylor, a large planter, had a corn shucking, a Bee it is called. The corn pile was 180 yards long. He sent his slaves on horseback with letters to the other planters around to ask them to allow their slaves to come and help. On a Thursday night, about 8 o'clock, the slaves were heard coming, the corn-songs ringing through the plantations. 'Oh, they are coming, they are coming!' exclaimed Mr. Taylor, who had been anxiously listening some time for the songs. The slaves marched up in companies, headed by captains, who had in the crowns of their hats a short stick, /begin p 49/ with feathers tied to it, like a cockade. I myself was in one of the companies. Mr. Taylor shook hands with each captain as the companies arrived, and said the men were to have some brandy if they wished, a large jug of which was ready for them. Mr. Taylor ordered the corn-pile to be divided into two by a large pole laid across. Two men were chosen as captains; and the men, to the number of 300 or 400, were told off to each captain. One of the captains got Mr. Taylor on his side, who said he should not like his party to be beaten. 'Don't throw the corn too far. Let some of it drop just over, and we'll shingle some, and get done first. I can make my slaves shuck what we shingle tomorrow,' said Mr. Taylor, 'for I hate to be beaten.'

"The corn-songs now rang out merrily; all working willingly and gaily. Just before they had finished the heaps, Mr. Taylor went away into the house; then the slaves, on Mr. Taylor's side, by singing, beat the other side; and his Captain, and all his men, rallied around the others, and took their hats in their hands, and cried out, 'Oh, oh! fie! for shame!'"+

"It was two o'clock in the morning now, and they marched to Mr. Taylor's house; the Captain hollowing out, 'Oh, where's Mr. Taylor? Oh, where's Mr. Taylor, waiting upon the slaves, at supper. What I have written cannot convey a tenth part of the spirit, humour, and mirth of the company; all joyous--singing, coming and going. But, within one short fortnight, at least thirty of this happy band were sold, many of them down South, to utterable horrors, soon to be used up. Reuben, the merry Captain of the band, a fine, spirited fellow, who sang, 'Where's Mr. Taylor? was one of those dragged from his family. My heart is full when I think of his sad lot."
FRANCIS FEDRIC TELLS OF LONGING TO BE FREE (HIS CONDITION, ETC)
fran fedric, slave life in va and ky, 1863

p 75/ "Work, work, work, one day like another, only I had now been to several prayer-meetings, and had got a knowledge of religion, which comforted me. I thought about the future, when I should be free from my master, when I could join in psalms and hymns and prayers without being afraid of the lash. Such consolation and joy did I receive from these meetings, that I have run the risk over and over again of being flogged for attending them. Thus one weary day, and week, and month, and year passed on with me, being turned out of the kitchen sometimes, when my master was in his drunken fits, to work in the fields. I had been flogged for going to a prayer-meeting, and, before my back was well, my master was going to whip me again. I determined, therefore, to run away." Said as his master threatened to whip him, he ran toward the "swamp."

FRAN FEDRIC TELLS OF FIRST ATTEMPT TO RUN AWAY (gone 9 weeks) 1849
fran fedric, slave life in va and ky, 1863

p 76/ When his master threatened to whip him for going to prayer meetings, Fedric ran toward "Bear's Wallow, a dismal Swamp." His master pursued him with dogs, but the dogs, which Fedric had been feeding, approached Fedric in a friendly manner when he clapped his hands. "No doubt, he perceived it was useless to pursue me, with dogs which knew me so well." Fedric sat down at the foot of a tree and prayed. /p 77/ After traveling further, Fedric hid in a cave, "footsore, and torn by the thorns, and parched with thirst." /p 78/ Fedric decided to attempt to make it the 20 miles to the Ohio R, though he knew they would be on the watch for him, and he could not swim. /p 79/ Fedric left the swamp, saw a woman he knew plowing. She said there was a $500 reward for Fedric and the river was being watched. The girl brought him some bread. /p 80/ Fedric stumbled on a cabin with 2 white people in it, sleeping. He stole a little ham bone and made it back to his cave. /p 81/ Ventured out again and was shot at after he tried to catch a dog in the dark that he mistook for a goose. /p 82/ Went out again and found a loaf of bread at a log cabin in the woods (a woman baking bread had gone into the house when he took the bread). /p 83/ Driven by hunger, Fedric decided to get the Methodist minister to intercede for him to return to his master. /p 84/ The Methodist minister, one Mr. Brush, took him to his master. "Mr. Brush entered, and I heard him say, 'I have brought your slave Francis.' My master exclaimed, 'What! you have! Well, I will do for him' I heard his footsteps, he came and looked at me, but said nothing. My mistress cam, and said, 'Francis! is that you?' I said, 'Yes, missis, I have been longing to see you.' "Come in," she said, 'you are very bad for running away; now you must promise me only to eat just what I shall give you.' I was weak, and sat down in the
FRAN FEDRIC TELLS OF FIRST ATTEMPT TO RUN AWAY (gone 9 weeks) (1849)

Fran Fedric, slave life in Va and Ky, 1863

/p 84 cont'd/ kitchen. A black woman was doing my work. Small portions of food were given me at a time each day. A little tea and dry toast, then a little milk, then a little bread and butter. I remained in the kitchen assisting, as my strength returned, the black woman. In about three weeks I found my former strength returning. During the three weeks, I had from time to time begged of my mistress not to have me whipped. She said she would do all she could if I would be a good slave in future. She spoke and treated me kindly." /begin p 85/ Fedric says that "At the end of about a month my master, one morning, came into the kitchen; he had a rope and a cow-hide whip in his hands. 'Francis!' he said, 'Yers, massa,' I answered. 'Come this way, I will now settle with you; you have been away nine weeks, and I will now reckon with you.' I dropped on my knees, and begged hard for mercy. But all in vain." Fedric was forced to strip his clothes off. His master "...fastened me to an apple-tree behind the house, and flogged me until he was tired. I could not cry any more. The slaves who were watching me told me afterwards that I had received 107 lashes." /p 86/ Later the mistress told Fedric she had tried to prevent the whipping, but couldn't. Fedric said that 14 years later (when writing this book) he could still feel the bad effects of the whipping. Fedric continued working in the kitchen.

W M MITCHELL ON ORIGIN OF TERM "UNDERGROUND RAILROAD"

W M Mitchell, the underground railroad, 1860

p 3/ The term "had its origin from the inventive powers of a Slaveholder, as will appear from the following very obvious, yet natural circumstance. +

/begin p 4/

"A Slave, in the State of Kentucky, came to the conclusion that he was not a mere thing, as the law termed him, but a man with immortal destinies in common with other men: he walked upright as a man, he reasoned as a man, (if not as logically as some men), therefore he saw no just cause why his master should claim a Divine right to him, his wife and children, and their labour. This claim gave his master another right, that is, to flog him when he felt disposed. At all events, he would try the strength of his reasoning powers, as to whether they were sufficient to guide him safe to Canada; if not, he could only return to slavery. He however eloped, and his master followed in hot pursuit, to the Ohio river, which divides the Slave from the Free States; here he lost the track of his escaped chattel, not knowing, or having the least idea as to the direction the Slave had probably taken; he therefore, lost all hope of his recovery. Being disappointed, and the loser of a thousand dollars, and having no object on which to vent his dirty spleen, he turned upon the poor Abolitionists, and said--'The d----d Abolitionists must have a Rail-road under the ground by which they run off Niggers.' The significant term under-ground emanated from this circumstance. This Slaveholder at that time was, as the Slaveholders are at the present time, unable to locate this useful road; it is therefore as much concealed from them as though /p 5/ it was literally under the ground, consequently it is dominated 'underground.' This Slave was, as Slaves are now, taken beyond the probability of recovery. So quick, and with such accelerating velocity, that we very appropriately call it Rail-road! This is the derivation of the term Under-ground Rail-road."
W M MITCHELL TELLS OF AIDING KY RUNAWAY IN OHIO 2184

w m mitchell, the underground railroad, 1860

W M MITCHELL TELLS OF AIDING KY RUNAWAY IN OHIO 2184

w m mitchell, the underground railroad, 1860

W M MITCHELL TELLS OF AIDING KY RUNAWAY IN OHIO 2184

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w m mitchell, the underground railroad, 1860

W M MITCHELL TELLS OF AIDING KY RUNAWAY IN OHIO 2184

w m mitchell, the underground railroad, 1860
w m mitchell, the underground rr, 1860

p 95/ "Mr. H. B. left his master in Kentucky, and found a recognition of human rights in Canada, leaving a wife and one child in slavery. Though free he was still unhappy; the remembrance of his dear wife and child would always interrupt the pleasant and smooth stream of existence. They would stand by his bedside in his nocturnal dreams; and would awake pressing his dear little one to his bosom. He went back after them a distance of four hundred miles. They met one moonshiny night, in the shade of a spacious oak, arranged as to the time of leaving, and the place to meet. On the selected night, which she was to bid adieu to slavery, her mistress had a party of friends; it was therefore impossible for her to get away. A disappointed husband went to the place determined upon. No wife. The next evening he went to learn the cause of the delay, but poor fellow, he was betrayed by innocent little negro children, to whom no blame can be attached, exclaiming 'Younder is uncle H--.' He was sold at New Orleans, one thousand miles away again from his dear wife and child. In New Orleans he escaped, and eventually made his way back to Kentucky. "This Slave came back to his old master, who owned his wife and child, intending to get them, and pass into Canada. Again he was betrayed, and delivered to his late master, who bought his wife and child. They were taken to New Orleans, and all sold to one man, Deacon Whitfield, a professed Christian and a deacon of a church." The slave ran away again. /p 96/ His wife and children were forced to view his punishment for running away. /p 98/ He ran away and made it to Canada again, without family, and devoted himself to helping fugitives.

w m mitchell, the underground rr, 1860

p 109/ "The Under-ground Railroad is doing good business as the following will evidently show /:/: "Yesterday a Slave man from Kentucky swam the Ohio River, opposite Fulton; he reached the Ohio side nearly exhausted with cold and fatigue; as he lay resting on the shore he observed his pursuers on horseback, with rifles, on the opposite bank. They discovered their victim and crossed in a ferryboat at Pendleton, but the sight of these human tigers revived the almost drowned man, and like a deer he scaled the precipitous hills at the back of Fulton and disappeared. God speed the Fugitive--and I have liked to have said, 'crush the black hearts of his pursuers.' This was from quite a respectable clergyman who saw the Slave and his pursuers, but whose name I do not deem it prudent to give."
An account from the Aurora Banner. "'Twenty five Negroes ran away from their masters in Boone County, Kentucky, on the 2nd instant, among those who lost their servants are two Ministers of the Gospel.' The Banner says further, that 'some weeks before their departure one of the Slaves procured and read to his comrades Uncle Tom's Cabin, and it is supposed that the beauties of Canadian freedom, as pictured by Mrs. Stowe, were the means of inducing them to run away.'"

"'The Under-ground Railroad would seem to be in excellent order; a company of 29 Slaves from Kentucky reached here on Monday evening last, and were safely conveyed to the Canada side the next morning; they were all hale young men and women, none of them over thirty-five years of age, for whom capture we hear liberal offers proclaimed. They travelled by wagons through Indiana (a Free State), and reached here in good condition.'" Apparently from the Aurora Banner, no date.
LEWIS CLARK, ESCAPED KY SLAVE, MAIL CARRIER IN CANADA

W. M. Mitchell, The Underground RR, 1860

p 143/ "Mr. Lewis Clark, who was her Majesty's Mail Carrier from Windsor, across the river to Detroit, in the State of Michigan, is a Fugitive Slave, from the State of Kentucky, but to the disappointment of his employers in the Post Office, he was necessitated to give up that useful and respectable occupation. His former master having been informed of his locality and avocation, notwithstanding it had been several years since he left Kentucky, pursued him to the very borders of Canada, watching his return with the Mail in the city of Detroit, on the States side, anxious to lay violent hands on the poor man, to bind him in chains, and take him into Slavery again. Fortunately some friends informed him that his late master was waiting on the other side for his return." Clark checked out the information and found it to be true, and was forced to quit his job as mail carrier, but Mitchell said he had been quite successful in accumulating property in Canada.

WM HAYDEN TELLS OF SOUL'S LONGING FOR FREEDOM

Wm Hayden, Narrative of Wm Hayden & Faithful acct of travels, 1846

unnumbered preface/

"I have said that I was forty years a slave. Yes, forty of the best years of my life, were passed in servile bondage to my fellow men. Yet, during that time, the body alone was prostrated in that degraded situation—the mind—the image and the best gift of God to man, was always elevated—it spurned the shackles, and soared to Heaven, where it revelled in Wlysium; in blissful concert with its Creator."
EARLY LIFE, BACKGROUND OF WILLIAM HAYDEN, FORMER SLAVE

WM HAYDEN, TELL OF LEARNING TO READ (1846) (b. 1785)

Born in Bell-plains, Stafford co., Va., in 1785. Lived with his mother until he was age 5. His mother was owned by one Mr. Ware. At age 5 William was sold to one John Ware who resided in Swan's Point on the Potomac R. Ran away to see his mother. Remained with her a week. William was pledged as payment for a debt of his masters' and eventually sold to a master in Lincoln, Ky. His Ky owner was Frederick Burdet of near Georgetown, Ky. Says the wife of his owner, his new mistress "... loved me for her dear husband's sake, and not all the wealth of Mexico could have then induced her to part with me." After the death of his master, the mistress took him into the house as a house servant. He was told that if he took good care of the Mistress's daughter, an infant, he could have his freedom at the marriage of the daughter. Hire out for years. For six years with Mr. Elijah Craig of Georgetown, a rope maker. He learned to rope making business, ran errands, etc. While working for Mr. Davis his children "... taught me to spell...." "Unlike a majority of slaveholder's children, they were not above teaching the poor colored boy to spell and read, but seemed to pride in my rapid progress...."

While hired out to a Mr. Davis, Hayden was taught to read and spell by his hirer's children. "... I became a favorite with Mr. Davis's children, who taught me to spell, and .... Unlike a majority of slaveholder's children, they were not above teaching the poor colored boy to spell and read, but seemed to pride in my rapid progress...."

While in Frankfort, hired to Mr. Craig, Hayden completed his "limited education" while fishing and working in the inn. He was aided in this education by Miss Martha Johnson. While in Lexington in 1804 while working for a wagon-maker, Edward Howe, he got some education, and says it was at this time he met Miss Johnson, his "former instructress," who taught him to read and write at night and on the Sabbaths, in exchange for cutting wood and other chores, etc. She was a foreigner and a teacher. "The only book which I could command, was composed of the leaves of an old Spelling Book, which I had picked up, and sewed together, and from this I gleaned such instruction, that I was soon enabled to read the Testament with ease." From that--I attempted writing; which at first, was a difficult task for my friends to persuade me to undertake, as I was then under the impression that it was without the pale of a colored man's nature, to ever be able to write. The substance of this I remarked, to a friend who worked with me in the rope walk, and who after calling me a fool, informed me that he would guaranty to teach me how to write in a short time. He then got a small stick and pointing it, stooped down and wrote 'W. Hayden,' in the sand. After a long time, I was persuaded to make the attempt of copying it. The trial proved successful, and so great was my joy, that tears of pleasure trickled down.


WM HAYDEN TELLS OF LEARNING TO READ (1802-1849, etc.) (b. 1785)

wm hayden, narrative of wm hayden & faithful acct of travels, 1846

/p 31 cont'd/ my face. After this, I would go round the Court House, and picking up all the fragments of paper, I could find, would bring them home. I was afraid however, to attempt reading them, as my playmates informed me that if the white people, caught me reading or writing they would hang me." But Hayden did get some of his friends to read them and he also copied them. "My ink, I made by boiling walnut bark and coperas, and having obtained some paper, abandoned my copies in the sand, and took to pen, ink and paper. In this manner, I succeeded in writing a tolerably legible hand, of which I was extremely proud, and would often ...."

SCHOOL FOR BLACKS IN LEXINGTON IN 1807 (c. 22)

wm hayden, narrative of wm hayden & faithful acct of travels, 1846

p 32/

"In the year 1807, there was a school started for some colored children, whose fate it had been to be bound out; and as their masters did not want them taught by a white man, they engaged a colored one, belonging to Dr. Downey, to instruct them in spelling and reading. This man was known among us as 'Ned,'--what his surname was, I never ascertained. As there were not enough free children to make up the school, notice was given, that any one wishing their servants taught, (if they were willing to entrust them with Ned,) should be permitted to send them to school. On hearing this, I applied to Mr. Ware, and having obtained his consent, started, with three others, from the same factory.+

"The school was composed of about thirty scholars, and considering myself and my companions, as nought but rope hands, we were for a time reckoned as fit butts for all jeering and jesting. This, however, we heeded not, but attended to our books, and by close attention, I /p 33/ was soon at the head of the first spelling class in the school, /sic/ They were not aware that I had been to school before, and remembering their former conduct, I cared not to inform them of the fact. Ned, too, raised upon my shoulders, for it was generally considered that it was by his exertions that I made such rapid progress; and as a reward for my diligence he made me sub-teacher, and gave to me the charge of the younger children. Previous to this, however, Ned, rather offended not only myself, but all who were connected with the affairs of the school. Being 'Principal,' and striving to gain favor with some, he paid strict attention to the free children and would sometimes neglect hearing us our lessons, for upwards of
wm hayden, narrative of wm hayden & faithful acct of travels, 1846

/p 33 cont'd/ a day, in order to facilitate them. To this I objected, backed by Mr. Duke, and others. At last broaching the subject, (and merely because I spoke my mind freely,) I was deserted by my backing, and was finally expelled from the school. Sore as this occurrence was to me, the Spirit upheld me, and I was finally rewarded for my obedience to its dictates." (a short poem left out here)

"The Trustees of this School, allowed the citizens to have a Night session, if they could procure a teacher. After looking around, they procured not only a teacher, but a room from Mr. Benj. Duke, or, as many called him Mr. Benjamin Almond; an individual of high standing, having a house of his own, in which he, every Sabbath, and often during the week, held Divine service. At a meeting of the Trustees, he and his brother, who were, /begin p 34/ great friends of mine, recommended me, and agreed to vouch for my abilities and good conduct. This act of kindness they performed, without my knowledge. When, therefore, in a few days, I was called on by Mr. Duke and his lady, and informed of my nomination and election as teacher, I was greatly surprised, and not knowing what answer to return, I informed them of my total incapacity to teach, and of my want of means to rent a room. But Mrs. Duke overruled these objections, informing me that Mr. Duke had prepared his basement story for me, and that she would see I had no difficulty with the children as she would make them behave. Still diffident, to take charge of a school, I told her that I had no place to sleep. This she also overruled, telling me she had a cot at home, and that I might sleep there: so that I was compelled to reward their kindness by an acceptance of their offer. My closet at this time in which I kept my wardrobe was an old flour barrel, and this I conveyed one

SCHOOL FOR BLACKS IN LEXINGTON 1807

wm hayden, narrative of wm hayden & faithful acct of travels, 1846

/p 34 cont'd/ dark night to my school room.+

"Mr. W. W. Watson, and Mr. Henry Blue, who were then youths with myself, will no doubt recollect these occurrences, and testify to their truth. They are both, now, worthy and respectable citizens of Cincinnati.+

"The news of a school being about to commence, spread like wild fire, and when the children came to the house, inquiring for the master, so abashed was I that for a time I hesitated to say I am he. But this bashfulness soon passed away, and I commenced operations by drawing up and laying down a code of rules, by which my school was to be regulated.+

"The principal rule was, That there was to be no talking or whispering in school during school hours, which were from seven to ten o'clock, P. M. That this rule /begin p 35/ applied to both old and young, regardless of merit or standing, and that any disobeying, or knowingly violating the rules laid down should be punished, by being turned out, regardless of the weather--if this appeared too hard, they had better withdraw, as their names should not be enrolled. I informed them, too, that I had been elected their teacher by a board of Trustees, that I knew but little, but what I did know, I was determined to teach to the best of my abilities, and that it was as much to their advantage as it was gain to me, to comply with the rules of the school. This brief code offended many, and the consequence was, that they left the school; but on informing their masters of the cause, so pleased were they, that they induced many gentlemen to send, who would not otherwise have done so, not knowing who or what I was. At length my duties commenced, and I soon gained the respect of my scholars to such a degree, that upon their representations, their masters authorized them to invite me to their houses on the Sabbaths, in order that they might see me.
They did so—and when their masters became acquainted with me, they appeared surprised that a slave negro, should be so superior in learning to the free negroes, and declared that a person of my information should be immediately set free.+

"This was in the latter part of the year 1807, the same in which I had commenced my career as wood-chopper."

He apparently worked here only this period (1807)

p 36/ from 1807-1809, a tanner

WM HAYDEN MAKES EXTRA MONEY FISHING, ODD JOBS, ETC. (c. 1802)

Hayden says as a youth he needed spending money and he fished in the nearby Kentucky River where he did well on his own time, not the least "encroaching on my master's time, as I had in a short time became /sic/ acquainted with /p 26/ all the inn-keepers, wh did not hesitate to purchase my 'finny tribe.'" After getting to know the inn keepers of Frankfort by selling them fish, he got a job with the principal inn keeper "... on holidays and Sundays, cleaning boots, washing dishes, &c.; and in this capacity was my leisure moments employed, during my whole sojourn at Frankfort." About 1802 he left the "rope-walk at Frankfort" and went back to Georgetown, having been gone 6 years. "On arriving there, my mistress did not recognize me, so greatly had I grown, and in fact since I had left Georgetown so great had been the improvement both in growth and mental endowments /p 27/ with young mistress, that I was at a loss to recognize her." He remained in Georgetown for 1 yr, before being hired to Peter January, Sr., in Lexington, " who owned a rope-walk there."
WM HAYDEN IN LEXINGTON IN ROPE, TANNING BUSINESS IN 1809 (AGE 24) | 2196

WM Hayden, narrative of WM Hayden & faithful acct of travels, 1846

p 38/ In rope-walk work "... and notwithstanding there was an experienced white man superintending the business, he could show me nothing that I did not already know; hence I soon became the foreman of the factory.... Whilst I was in Lexington, I had learned to make a good article of blacking, and also a polish for morocco shoes of every color, so that I soon got more work of this kind, than my leisure hours would allow me to perform, from the good citizens of Georgetown." (Lexington or Georgetown?)

WM HAYDEN TOLD HE WOULD BE SET FREE, BUT NOT DONE | 2197

WM Hayden, narrative of WM Hayden & faithful acct of travels, 1846

p 38/ Hayden had been told very early that he would be set free when his mistresses' daughter married. The time came for Polly to be married but Hayden was not set free. /p 40/ Hayden put up for sale. "There were present six gentlemen, who were anxious to purchase me, and I bid fair to command a high price—a price as infamous to the dealer in human flesh, as the thirty pieces of silver, which bought the Son of God, and yielded him up to an ignominious death. Like an ox brought to the shambles for the scrutiny of butchers, I stood before that flesh-buying crowd, awaiting the last stroke of the hammer—the last tone of the crier's voice, which was to consign me to a strange master, and perhaps a stranger land. Can such deeds prosper? Can the Shylock who deals in human flesh, the flesh and blood of his brethren and his sisters, expect to atone for the dark crimes which he is daily committing?"

/p 41/ Hayden says he was bought by Governor Garrard, who had been at his mistresses wedding, who kept him working for Mr. Hawkins, saying "that at the expiration of five years I was to be set free, and furnished as a freedom gift with a horse, saddle and bridle, and a suit of clothes, worth at least $100, to carry me home to Virginia. Here, then was another prospect of freedom, and my mind was filled with naught else than making money to bear my expenses home. / on p 37 Hayden had learned his mother was still alive/. /p 47/ Hayden says purchased by Gov. Garrard in 1810, transferred to Thomas W. Hawkins, "with the proviso of being set free in 1815, and who, by a sham sale, when he became bankrupt, made me over to his brother James, I almost began to despair of ever being set free." /p 50/ When 1815 came Hayden told Hawkins he was free. Hayden looked to Capt Wm Garrard, the governor's son, for support, and to a Mr. Timberlake. /p 51/ Hayden remained unsold until 1817. /p52/ finally purchased freedom in 1824 from Mr. Philips.
WM HAYDEN HIRES TIME FROM OWNER

Wm Hayden, narrative of Wm Hayden & faithful acct of travels, 1846

P 43/ Hayden, with his "mind so fixed on Freedom," began a policy of not working hard for his master in order to get his master to let him hire his own time. He offered to hire his own time for $10 per month. "... I did so badly, that they at last agreed to receive the $10, and permit me to have the use of my time. I had at this time $60 in money, deposited in the store of Mr. McGowan, and a horse worth $60. After I left the rope factory, I commenced cleaning clothes, boots, shoes, &c., for such gentlemen as gave me employment; and at nights I was employed at all the parties to play the tambourine--running errands--carrying messages, &c. My friends now advised me to learn to shave, and I concluded that I had better undertake it." In the spring of 1811 Hayden moved to Frankfort and went to work in the barber"shop of John S. Gowans, who had formed a friendship for me during my boyhood...." /p 45/ Upon learning the barber trade Hayden moved to Georgetown. /p 46/ His master, Mr. Hawkins, built Hayden a shop in Georgetown.

ACCT OF WM S. BAILEY'S FREE SOUTH ANTISLAVERY PAPER IN COVINGTON

Eliza Wigham, the anti-slavery cause in American and its martyrs, 1863

P 46/ William Shreve Bailey of Newport, Kentucky, a machine maker. About 1849 he wrote a newspaper/in Newport to oppose slavery in Ky. It caused pressure on the newspaper owner, and he "...insisted on Bailey's purchasing the press and printing materials; this was accordingly done, and the Newport News was issued from the machine shop in March 1850. The paper succeeded very well for some time, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the neighbouring slaveholders who, finding all their other efforts to suppress it ineffectual, at last, on the 6th of October 1851, set fire to the premises and burned down the press, machine shop, and all. The loss to Mr. Bailey on this occasion amounted to 16,000 dollars. By the assistance of his workmen he succeeded in setting up another press in his own house and procuring a fresh set of types, and the name of the paper was shortly after changed to the more significant one of the Free South. Various expedients were again resorted to to effect his overthrow; his workmen were tampered with to such an extent that they refused to work with him; he then had his own family taught to set types. At first the paper so issued was poor enough, but by degrees his wife and ten children learned to work as well and expeditiously as most of the printers of the town. Thus they laboured on, as reliable witness writes in 1857:--'Father, mother, and children, and even the little ones, toiling, amid obloquy, reproach, and savage foes, to redeem their state from the dreadful sin and curse of slavery! Mortgaging the homestead, working till midnight, /p 48/ practicing the most rigid economy, making their house a citadel where the weapons of truth must be defended by the weapons of death; and that not for the sake of praise, but to honour God, to save slaves and slaveholders, and
ACCT OF WM S. BAILEY'S FREE SOUTH ANTISLAVERY PAPER IN COVINGTON

eliza wigham, the anti-slavey cause in america & its martyrs, 1863

/p 48 cont'd/ wipe from Kentucky its foulest blot and shame." In 1859 a child died; the others had suffered from the abuse. /p 49/ "On the 29th of October, 1859, a last outrage of the kind was perpetrated. The pro-slavery mob--which the night before had forcibly entered the office, carried off the types, and scattered them along the streets,--returned to the assault. Seizing a plank, they battered down the door, entered the house, and took off everything within reach;--amongst other articles, a pocket-book containing nearly all the money poor Bailey had in the world. On this occasion the damage sustained was estimated at 3000 dollars." /p 50/ The "...press was again repaired, the types gathered up from the streets; and, with a little delay, once more the Free South was issued. But scarcely had it appeared, when, in the most unexpected manner, its fearless editor was seized, and committed to prison on the charge of issuing incendiary publications--..." Bailey got out on bail, some New England friends aided. Delays in the trial caused him financial loss. Apparently never tried.

BLACK FAMILY ESCAPES TO OHIO: MOTHER DOWNS CHILD WHEN CAUGHT

p 110/ "The case of the Garner family demonstrated another conflict between pro-slavery United States law and state sovereignty. On the 27th of January 1855, Simon Garner and his wife, with their son Robert and his wife Margaret, and four of their children, attempted to escape from Kentucky. They crossed the Ohio river on the ice, and took refuge at the house of a free coloured man named Kite, near Cincinnati. They were tracked, and with the necessary warrants from the United States' commissioners, the slaveholder came to seize his slaves. Considerable resistance was made ineffectually, and on entering the house the slaveholder proceeded to claim his property; but in one case, at least, another claimant had been before him. Margaret Garner had formed the firm determination to secure her children's freedom. All other means had failed her, so she sought the help of an agent who is no respecter of persons, and with her own hand attempted to release by death the spirits of her four children. She had succeeded in the case of one little girl, whom the hunters found dead. This is a terrible story, and speaks loudly of what the miseries and degradation of slavery must be, when a mother chose the fearful alternative of taking the lives of her children with her own hands rather /begin p 111/ than that they should return to slavery. As this murder took place in Ohio, Margaret Garner and her husband and parents were amenable to the law of that state on the charge of murder, and of being accessory thereto; but though the fugitives were detained at Cincinnati four weeks, they were merely tried as fugitives from labour, and delivered up to be carried south. If Ohio had promptly asserted her rights, these poor people would at least have had a chance for freedom. As it was, when, after much pressure, a writ was issued for their arrest,
eliza wigham, the anti-slavery cause in america & its martyrs, 1863

/p l11 cont'd/ they were already far on their way to slavery, and the demand for their detention was utterly disregarded. To the boat which conveyed them, some little accident occurred, and Margaret either sprang or was thrown into the water, with her infant in her arms. She was taken up, but the child was washed away, and the mother was heard to rejoice, as the waters closed over it, that it also was free. This was the last that was heard of her and her two children, her husband and his parents."

harry smith, fifty years of slavery in us, 1891

p 9/ Harry Smith was born in the village of Fairfield, in Nelson Co, Ky, Oct 1, 1815. He was owned by the Higby family that had come from Va. His father was Ralph Smith, his mother Eliza Smith, both slaves. They were Catholics. /p 10/ Harry said as a child he saw his mother whipped by her then owner, one Mr. Midcalf. /p 167/ Smith left Ky for Indiana in April 1868.
harry smith, fifty years of slavery in the u s, 1891

p 22/ Smith says that "during the time that he was hired out in Jefferson county, Kentucky, patrollers" came to a dance at Fern Creek, 10 mi. south of Louisville, where about 150 blacks were at a dance /no date given/. The patrollers whipped about 50 slaves who did not have a pass, he says./p 23/ One Armstage Brisee, about 225 lbs, was approached and asked for his pass. He replied he had none, and resisted a whipping. /p 24/ Brisee was wounded. Another black named Harrison was also attacked.

harry smith describes master, living conditions

p 26/ "... In all of Smith's experiences in slavery he never found any person who treated him so kindly as Master and Mrs. Jack Salone. He never struck any of his slaves with a cowhide whip, as he did not believe in that kind of business. He was a kind and indulgent master, and his excellent wife had few superiors." /p 34/ In describing master's house and yard, Smith said "Three sides of this yard were negro cabins, none over ten feet high, all joined together. One end of the cabin constituted the fireplace, built of large flat rocks set edgewise to take in a large back log. Nothing but clay floors to sit or dance on, as occasion demanded.
Parker says his regiment was ordered to proceed to Somerset to head off Morgan, and on Monday, May 18, 1863, entered camp as both officers and men enjoyed themselves hugely by playing at base ball in daytime between drill hours and at night by the performance of genuine negro minstrels, who were the field hands belonging to the neighboring plantations. Their mode of performing and style of dress was certainly very interesting. Ten or twelve would form a circle in one of the company streets and the oldest negro of the party would seat himself on a cracker box in the centre of the circle, armed with a violin, banjo, guitar or tambourine, and direct affairs to suit his own original notions, which would generally be of a most ludicrous character. He would compose the greater part of his melodies as he sung them, and accompany himself on whatever instrument he had with him. But his songs were of a childish nonsense, meaningless, and his companions would set up a howl for a chorus that was truly laughable. Sometimes they sang songs of what might be properly called serio-comic-patriotic, of which a verse or two will give an idea: 'Ingin rubber overcoat, Gum elastic shoes, John Morgan on the telegraph, Trying to read the news. Fare you well! fare you well! Hippa loo! hippa loo di doodle doo.' 'Jeff Davis built a breastwork, And built it out of trash, Long come de Lincomnites And knocked it all to smash.'

"The above is a fair sample of their favorite songs. How many verses it contains would be hard to say, for they could sing it for an hour and not repeat a verse; nor would they be done the song then, but would cease..."
E W Green, life of Rev Elisha W Green, 1888

p 1/ Born Bourbon Co., near Paris, on Georgetown Pike, unsure of the date of his birth. At age 10 moved to Mason Co. In 1828 he went to Mayslick, Ky, and lived with J. L. Kirk. Says he "saw rough times" while with Kirk. His work consisted of cooking, washing, spinning flax and yarn, and housework, between 1828-1832. Says his sister and 4 children were sold along with himself in Washington, Mason Co., at a sheriff's sale. Remembers once being at a type of Sabbath School when the Patroll found them; he ran the way home. Says he remembers when slaves would stretch a grape vine across the path to knock a horseback rider to the ground, thus allowing the slaves to escape their camp meeting. Remembers a group of 25 or 30 slaves being brought through his community handcuffed and chained, with women and children in wagons, being taken off by slave traders. On another occasion saw a group of 40 or 50 chained slaves, with 5 or 6 wagons loaded with women and children, moving through his community.

RELIGIOUS CONVERSION OF Elisha W GREEN

p 3/ He was converted while living with Mr. Walter Warder, near Mayslick. "When converted I was plowing. It was one Friday morning, between 9 and 10 o'clock. Shortly after my conversion, I was taken down with scarlet fever. It was about six months after that I was baptized at Nicholas Ford, on the North Fork of Licking river, by the Rev. Walter Warder."
"In 1835 I married Miss Susan Young. In 1838 I left my wife in the neighborhood of Mayslick as a servant of Mrs. Sissen and came to Maysville. They did not get along together very well, and Mrs. Sissen sold her, as she thought, to Mr. Peck, of Washington, Ky., who was trading in colored people, or rather slaves, because in those time we were not known as colored people. She sold my wife with the expectation of sending her south, or 'down the river,' as the expression was. " She was bought by John P. Dobbyns, Elisha's master, but unable to keep her, sold her and her three children to John C. Reid. Reid kept her about 10 years, with the children. Then Elisha's master purchased her and the children again, leaving her with Reid. When Dobbyns failed financially, Susan and the children were put on the market for sale. At this point Elder Elisha Green tried to buy his wife and children, presenting the following paper to show how he did it. "Maysville, Ky., November 1, 1858. "To the Public: "Elder Elisha Green, the bearer hereof, is a minister in good and regular standing, of the Baptist Church, and an acceptable pastor of the African Church (Baptist) of the city of Maysville. By the pecuniary misfortune of the gentleman who owned his wife and children they were thrown upon the market for sale, and Elder Green was induced by the advice of many friends to become the purchaser of his wife and two children, at the price of $850. His means (although he and his wife labor faithfully and live economically) will not enable him to meet the payments as they become due, and he has been counselled to seek assistance to enable him to meet his payment. We commend him to the kind consideration of the Christian public, and particularly to the members of the Baptist Church. signed: H. Ray, Pastor of the Baptist Church, Maysville." and 12 more signers.

These thirteen men, whose names are signed to the paper, were very generous, shown from the fact that when I told them I could not purchase my wife and children, they drew the money from the bank and said it was for me, saying: 'If you never pay it, we will never trouble your family.' I worked and made the money and paid it back in calls in the bank. Mr. Collins, one of the gentlemen on the list, told me to come and take this house in which I am at present. He charged me $4 per month as the rent. He said that when I had paid him $300 in rent, he would give me a deed to the property." It didn't work out for him on the house.

Says the court had appraised his wife and children when he bought them.
"I had not been in Maysville long until I began a prayer meeting in the house of old sister Jennie Marshall, on Short street. A few brethren and sisters and myself continued to hold meetings in sister Marshall's house until the congregation became too large. We rented a house from Aunt Rosy Brannum. We stayed here till it became too small for the congregations. We then got a house for five years from Mr. Spalding, which house now stands by the side of the new church. I suppose you will be pleased to know how and by what movements I became a preacher, and also the incidents that pushed me forward to the occasion. I was sexton of the white Baptist Church for sixteen years, and while associated with them, seeing different displays and other movements in church, hearing various men preach, I, of course, was somewhat struck with the idea of doing something for God. I was not only sexton of the church, but a worshiper in there among the whites. They saw in me the gift to preach, and two or three of the deacons went to John P. Dobbyns, my master, and got the authority to license me. I knew nothing of it. This is the form of the license granted in those days to colored ministers, especially to myself:

"At a regular meeting of the Maysville Baptist Church, May 10, 1845, the following resolution was unanimously adopted: Be it

"Resolved, That Elisha Green, the property of John P. Dobbyns, of this city, has full liberty and permission from this day to exercise his gifts in the public before the colored population of this city or any others before whom in the providence of God he may be cast. E.F. Metcalf, Church Clerk." Says he was ordained 2 years later. (1847)

"About this time one of my members moved to Ripley, O. I do not think she had been there long until she was taken sick and her sickness resulted in death. Whereupon, I was invited to attend her funeral. Upon receiving the invitation, I went down to the river with a pass. They refused to take me across on account of the 'Fugitive Slave Law.' Finding that I could not get across, I came back up town and got Mr. Thomas Matthews to stand responsible for my value should I have escaped, as they anticipated. Finally I got across the river. I said to the Captain of the ferry-boat:

"Weren't it not that I had a funeral to attend at Ripley I would go back home, because,' continued I, 'they are so afraid that I would run off. I have had a dozen chances to run off. I do not want freedom in that way.'"
In 1855 I went to Lexington, Ky., to assist Bishop George W. Dupee. When I had finished my service in Lexington, I went to Georgetown, about twelve miles from Lexington on the Cincinnati Southern Railroad. Bishop Dupee requested me to go and fill an appointment for him, as he was sick. When I arrived the church was crowded, I went into the pulpit, read a chapter, sang and prayed. I was in the act of taking my text when unexpectedly a white man came in with a stick in his hand. Having come about half way up the church, he knocked on the floor and asked if there were any white men there. The answer was 'No.' He then shook his stick at me and said: +

"You come out of that pulpit, then. +

"Said I: 'Very well,' and I came out. I was stopping with Brother Vinson. Early next morning Elder Larue, pastor of the white Baptist Church of Georgetown, who was also at my ordination, came to see me. He asked if I were in the house. Finding that I was there, said he: 'Tell him that I want to see him.' I came out according to request. He asked me when I was going home. I told him that I was going home to-day, for I was satisfied with Georgetown. When I said this to him, he replied, 'You can stay here and preach as long as you wish.' +

"I think I staid there and preached three nights after this. My work in Georgetown being finished for the present, I returned to Lexington from whence I had gone. Having an appointment to fill in Paris, I, in company with Bishop Dupee, went to the ticket office to obtain a ticket for Paris. I went to the office, called for a ticket, but failed to get it.

The ticket agent said that he did not know me and therefore could sell me no ticket. He asked if there was any one near by that knew me and could be responsible to him for my purchasing a ticket. I told him that 'Here is General Shafer, who lives in Maysville; he knows me.' The ticket agent said that he did not know Shafer. Well, I got no ticket at last. Bishop Dupee told me to stand by the train till it started and then get on, 'for,' continued he, 'you will get half way to Paris before the conductor gets to you, and should he put you off, you can walk the balance of the way.' +

"When the train came up I got on, as I had been advised, without a ticket. Sure enough when the train got about half way to Paris, the conductor comes walking down the aisle very pleasingly. Holding out /begin p 7/ his hand, said he: 'Give me your ticket.' I told him that the ticket agent would give me none and therefore I had none. Upon this, he inquired where I was going. I told him 'to Paris.' In order to cut off the conversation, I asked him what the price was. He told me that it was eighty-five cents and passed on. I never saw him any more till about two years afterward, when going to Lexington again. He was sitting in the same car, not far from me. I told him that I had been wanting to see him since 1855.'
When I came to Maysville in February of 1838, I was hired to Leach & Dobbyns. While here sometimes I would be called upon to weigh salt and sugar, and in this way I learned the figures. I would weigh hemp and many articles about the house. As I thought that I had been called to preach I desired to read the word of God. I spent all the time that I could spare from my work at night and the time I had during the day at reading. I kept my book in the third story. In the summer season, when work was slack, I would go up there endeavoring to study and read the Bible." (He still has the first Bible he read through 40 years ago.) He said he was "...frequently called from my studies, they not knowing what I was doing, my boss would say to me, 'What in the h--l are you doing up there?' Well, I went on after this for some years, having been much benefited."

Began preaching in Flemingsburg, 1853, "I was compelled to preach wherever I could get a chance. While at Flemingsburg, there being quite an extensive movement to get a colored Baptist Church, I went into the Methodist Church and preached in there, having been granted the use of their house of worship. While preaching in this church I did very well for some time until they (the Methodists) saw that the influence of the Baptists, through my instrumentality, was becoming strong." The Methodists put shall impediments in his way. He also borrowed the Presbyterian church on occasion; then the Christian Church. "By this time the white Baptists saw that I was in the act of doing good, when they favored me with the use of their church regularly. I continued preaching here till 1855, at which time I was called to the church at Paris." Says he also preached in Bracken, Lewis, and Fleming counties.
"The next thing was to witness the selling of my son John. After Dobbyns' misfortune, he kept John for his own use, and failed to pay for him. Therefore he was sold to Roe Pearce. Pearce in turn sold him south. As it happened, my wife and I were going to Paris and when we got to the 'Blue Lick Hills,' in the month of December, we met our son John. He was tied, being in his shirt sleeves. Mr. Jack Hook, who kept a livery stable in Paris some years and who is well-known there, was stage driver. Seeing him get on the stage in a tied condition, after riding about two miles, Mr. Hook urged them to untie him, saying that he would go his security. When we had eaten dinner at 'The Lick' XXXX and started, he urged them that as John had on no coat to let him get inside of the stage. When we got to the Paris jail, the stage stopped and our son John was put in jail. I then telegraphed to Mr. Pearce's father to keep him till I could get him a home. But instead of this they sold him to Wilby Scott, who took him south, and he was again sold in Memphis, Tenn., to a man that kept a livery stable. He staid with this man till the outbreak of the war. The man then sold out and went to Texas. All that I could hear was that war broke out in Texas, and many colored people were sent to Cuba. I heard nothing more of John. I suppose that he was in the crowd that was sold. The sight of this act I thought would break the heart of my wife. When the stage drove up to the steps, the proprietor came and opened the stage door. My wife was crying. He told her to hush. I said to him that that woman was my wife and that we had seen our son tied in ropes going south. Then he said: 'Old lady get out.' It was my son that Isaw tied, sold and taken from me. Now as to the manner in which I considered the act, I considered it wicked and mean, not having the power to assist him in the least whatever. You can judge of my feelings at this time."

"People may look at me now and say that I see an easy time and everything seems to be going well with me. If it is so, I can say that I have come through 'floods and flames' to enjoy them. I have often been in a condition that I knew not what to do. It seemed sometimes that circumstances would overcome me, but I am thankful that Providence has always provided a way by which I could come out of those unhappy moments of discontent."

Exasperation of a father
ELISHA GREEN LEARNS TO WRITE

p 11/ Green said he had rheumatism. "While I was sick, my young mistress, Alice Dobbyns, who was between eight and nine years old, would come up into my room to see me every evening when she had come home from school. One day she said to me: 'Uncle Elisha, you must learn to write.' I told her that I could not. Said she: 'Yes you can, and I am going to set a copy for you.' She began by setting me the alphabet, then set for me copies inwriting. In a month I wrote a letter to my brother, who was at that time in the State of Missouri. Finding that she had given me much information about writing, I asked my master if I could make her a present. He said that he had no objections. I bought for her a ten-dollar gold pencil."

ELISHA GREEN BEGINS PREACHING, PARIS, 1855; white hostility

p 11/ "I began preaching in Paris, July, 1855. And to begin my ministry at this place was no small task. Indeed, it was, of course, in the midst of that foulest of crimes, 'brutal slavery.' Many of the whites there thought me not capable of managing the ordinances and other pastoral duties of the church more than to preach. I would not submit to their opinions and said before I would be found so doing I would go home, or rather I would 'get on the stage and go to Maysville.' They seeing in my actions that I possessed some quality of manhood, and that if I could not rule I would not be ruled, yielded to my purpose. I think of this act as one of the lowest ever committed under the sun. It was mean, treacherous, cowardly and unmanly in every form of perpetration. It was on the order of master and slave in the church of God. / p 12/ When a few of the colored people of Paris, members of the white church, came out to be organized into a separate church, the pastor of the white church, Rev. Mr. Link, drew up the following styled rules for the African Baptist Church:

I. "We, as a church, will elect our own officers; call and maintain our own pastor; administer the ordinances to the church; receive, discipline, dismiss or exclude members only with the advice and approval of the church from which we are separated; provided, she will, at the proper time, by committee or otherwise, advise with us on any of these matters. If she does not, at our request, present to her pastor or deacons we will proceed in the fear of God to attend to these duties according to our own judgment."

II. Name: "The First African Baptist Church in Paris."

IV. To be a member of the "association."

V. To report to the Baptist Church (white) "a strict account of our business..."
If the African Bap Ch should break these rules and regulations, it will cease to exist, and its members will once again become members of the white church.

"Vii. On motion it was voted that Elder Green, the pastor of the colored church referred to above, be authorized to receive members and attend to the discipline of the church in the absence of the white members of the church." "If you will read carefully the rules you will find that the colored church was a slave to the white Baptist Church. So long as we complied with their ideas and judgments in matters of worship, we could remain a separate and distinct church, but when we failed in their judgment to comply, the act must be rescinded and then all the members of the African church were back in the white church. It was not even in our power to select delegates from our church; this the whites did. After the organization, the City Council held a meeting in which it was proposed to limit our meetings to 9 o'clock--that is, night meetings. Major Williams told the Council that proposition would not suit and that we should have until 10 o'clock, 'because,' he said, 'the servants will be at work in their homes until late and if they have any time for meeting they should have more time.'"
ELISHA GREEN TELLS DIFFICULTY IN TRAVELING TO PARIS TO PREACH

1855-60 PERIOD

E w green, life, 1888

p 13/ "Frequently I would be riding among slaves that were hand-cuffed going south. The 'negro traders' and other persons would ask me: 'What for?' continued they. Said I: 'To preach.' 'Does your master allow you to go from Maysville to Paris to preach?' 'Yes, sir.' 'To whom do you belong?' 'I belong to Mr. Green.' 'He must be a very good man.' Said I: 'He is sir; a very good man.' Mr. Green was of course himself. Green frequently ran into trouble on the stage. On one occasion he was suspected of not paying for his dinner at the Blue Lick. On another he was collared by a drunk. 'He came up to me and collared me. With an oath said he: 'Where are you going?' I said nothing as yet. The other man said: 'Let him alone, for he is a preacher.' But, with another oath, he said that he would make me speak. I told him to take his hand out of my collar. He did not. I then knocked him about twenty feet backward. This was shortly after I bought myself.

p 14/ "I will say that I was more of a slave after I bought myself than before. Before this I could go many places without interruption, but when I became a freeman I could not cross the Ohio river." Said he would go out to visit his wife at Mayslick. "I used to go out Saturdays on the stage and as the stage would never get down till Monday night I had to walk back. In coming through Washington, on several occasions, I was stopped for a runaway. I always carried with me a pair of saddle pockets in which I would carry things from Maysville to my wife and children. Mr. Payton, who was then a negro trader, Hallooed at me, telling me to stop. I stopped. He asked me where I was going. I told him that I was going home. 'Where do you live?' I told him that I lived at Mr. John P. Dobbins'. He said that he thought that I was a runaway. I told him that I was just from my wife. He then asked to whom did my wife belong. I told him that she belonged to Mrs. Sissen. He said he had a great mind to put me in jail. +

"For," said he, "there was a negro that came along the other day and told such a tale as yours, and behold, he was a runaway." + "I told him I did not care if he did put me in jail, 'because,' said I, 'I am tired anyhow and if you can put me in jail I can get a rest.' I was tired because I had come a distance of eight miles. + On another occasion, when coming through Washington, Conk Owens stopped me. He said that he believed that I was a runaway also. I told him that I wished John P. Dobbins would publish me in Washington so that they all would know me. Saying this I walked on. One night I had been

ELISHA GREEN SAYS HE HAD LESS FREEDOM AFTER PURCHASING HIS FREEDOM

harassment

E w green, life, 1888

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ELISHA GREEN TELLS OF HARASSMENT AFTER ACHIEVING FREEDOM

E w green, life, 1888

/p 16 cont'd/ out to prayer meeting. At that time there were night watches and they were empowered with the authority to whip any negro they might catch out after 9 o'clock. Stephen Lee was captain of the watch, and him, I knew. I think it was a little after 9, that I was coming up the street and they stopped me, asking if I knew that it was too late for me to be out. I told them that I knew them and would not run, because they would think that I was guilty of some act. With this explanation they let me go with threatenings of what they would do should they catch me again. I had been up to Sister Jennie Marshall's to prayer meeting, as I was carrying on meeting at her house once or twice a week."

ELISHA GREEN CONFRONTS PRES MINISTER GRUNDY OVER CRITICISM OF BLACK MINISTERS

E w green, life, 1888

p 18/ Rev. R. C. Grundy indicated that "...he was authorized by the Synod of Kentucky to open his church once a month for the purpose of preaching to the colored people of Maysville. This course would prevent us from having meeting. One of the white churches would be opened each Sabbath for the express purpose of preaching to the colored people. Henry Johnson, a colored Methodist preacher, had gone to Cincinnati on account of the 'Fugitive Slave Law,' and had returned to Maysville again on a visit to see his father, who lived in the town of Washington. Mr. Grundy, the Presbyterian preacher, said this way of suffering preachers to come from Cincinnati and to go up on that hill and preach to the colored people would not do, 'for,' continued he, 'who knows what they are preaching into them?' Andrew Thomas, another Methodist, Harry Smith and myself were sitting in the gallery of the church listening to Mr. Grundy's remarks. At the close of the meeting, when we had come out, I said to Thomas and Smith: 'We ought not to stand such expressions as Mr. Grundy made this morning. We should meet and write him a letter and let him know that what he said is not true.' So they agreed to my proposition to write him a letter contradicting what he (Mr. Grundy) had said in the pulpit concerning our people. We agreed to do so the next week. When the time came both of them back down. I then told them that I would write to him, if I lost all my reputation afterward. I went to Mr. J. M. Stockton, who was our Commission Clerk, and who also did all of my writing. Stockton had reservations, but wrote it. Green sought out Grundy, gave him the letter, and asked for a reply. Grundy never replied, but never brought up the subject again.
ELISHA GREEN'S DAUGHTER GETS PALMER PASS, FLEES TO FATHER, COURT CASE

ELISHA GREEN'S DAUGHTER GETS PALMER PASS, GOES TO FATHER, COURT CASE

p 19/

"When Palmer, of Louisville, was giving out passes, he sent an agent here with the authority to give passes to any that desired. My daughter, Amanda, who was owned by Mr. John C. Reid, went to the agent, got a pass and came home to me. A day or two afterwards Mr. Reid came to my house. He told me that I must send Amanda home, and that I was harboring slaves. I told him that I would not do any such thing. He then turned and went out. The next morning he came again with his son and asked me the same questions as before. I still contended that I would not send her back. He said no more but went and got out a warrant for me for 'harboring slaves.' I employed Mr. Sulser as the lawyer for me. At the appointed day for trial I came in. When the examination of witnesses was finished Mr. Reid's lawyer made a speech. When he got through the judge told my lawyer that it was useless for him to speak, for his mind was already made up that I should pay the damages, which were $30. The Sheriff came to me and asked whether I had any money which to pay my fine. I told him that I had none. He then asked who I would get to go my security. I told him 'Nobody.' He then told me that I must go to jail. I told him very well that I would go and tell Mr. Grant to put me in and he needed not to go with me. I left the Sheriff by the Courthouse, and when I got a little beyond the Presbyterian Church he said '0 d--n it, come back.'+

"I came back and we went up into the Courthouse together. When we had been there a little time, he went to some one and whispered, I told them that the whole thing was rascality, a cheat and fraud. They then told me that I might go home. I went to Mr. Larrell, the head of the Bureau, and told to him the whole case. He told me to go back and get

p 20, cont'd/ my lawyer to write the proceedings of the trial. I asked Mr. Sulser, the lawyer, what he would charge to write out the proceedings of the trial. He told me $5. I told him to go ahead and write them. I took them to Captain Larrell and he sent them to Louisville to General Palmer. I do not think they were gone over two days before they came back forbidding them to touch anything that I owned. Captain Larrell told me to stand on the street that I might see the Sheriff and he said anything to me, that I must send him to him. I went to the place designated. The Sheriff saw me and called me to him. I went to him. He asked me if I had that money yet. I told him 'No sir, I have not.' I told him that Captain Larrell desired to see him. He asked me what Captain Larrell knew about it. I told him that I did not know, but he told me to tell you. He went and Captain Larrell forbid him touching anything of mine. He told him to go and see Reid and try and get him to compromise with me. He went and saw Reid and came back. I was still on the street, for I knew what was going to be done. The Sheriff seeing me, told me I had better go around and see Reid. I got Brother William Rudd, who is a consistent member of my church in Maysville at present, and went out. When I got there Mr. Reid spoke very politely. I returned to him the compliment. I told him that I had come to see about my daughter, Amanda. He said that he thought that it was settled, but that he concluded to relinquish the principal providing that I would pay the cost. /p 21/ I told him that I would have to go to the Courthouse and find what the cost was. The cost was $7. Before I paid I went to see Captain Larrell. He told me that if I were to carry it to the United States Court I might get justice done me there. But the prejudice was so great here against people that if he were I, he would pay the cost and have nothing more to do with it." He did case drop-
ELISHA GREEN'S DAUGHTER MARIA RUNS AWAY TO FATHER (AFTER C.W.)

(BEFORE END OF SLAVERY IN KY)

E W Green, Life, 1888

p 21/ "One morning very early I heard a noise at the door, and upon hearing, I went to the door. I opened the door, and behold: there stood my daughter Maria with a bundle of clothes lying near here. I asked her what was the matter. She said that she had left home and was not going back any more. I told her to come in. Mrs. Dobbins, finding that she had gone, sent for me to come down there. I went down according to request. When I got there she told me that I must send Maria home. I told her I would do no such thing, but if Maria wanted to come she could do so. Then said they if she does not she will have to leave the state. I told them very well; I would never send her back. George Ore, her son-in-law, went down to the boat with us. When we got to the river the Captain of the ferry-boat would not permit her to cross because Ore did not own her. Mr. Ore had been instructed by Mrs. Dobbins to take Maria and send her across the river. The captain told him if he would go back and get permission from the city Mayor that he would take her over. In coming from the river he was so angry that he replied that he wished every negro was in hell. When we had gotten over the river, in passing by a warehouse, Dr. Moore, of Aberdeen, who was a Republican and a good man, saw us and came out from the warehouse and asked what was the matter. I told him that my daughter Maria got her clothes and came home and they told her that if she did not come back she would have to leave the state. The doctor told us to wait. He went down to Mrs. Dennis, his daughter, and told her to keep Maria until I could get a place for her."

ELISHA GREEN'S DAUGHTER CAROLINE FREED FROM OWNER BY SOLDIERS

E W Green, Life, 1888

p 21/ "Caroline, another of my daughters, belonged to Robert Andrews. She wanted to leave but was afraid. A squad of soldiers went there and got her. I went down and took her to Portsmouth, O. From there I took the train and went up to Jackson, about twenty miles above Portsmouth. I left Caroline with her sister Charlotte."
"By this time the emancipation of the colored people by President Lincoln had added to my family three more of my children. My wife had lost an eye from a spell of sickness that she had when a slave. She could only use one hand. In order to pay for my house and clothe my family I must, of necessity, get to some trade. By some chance did some work for Mrs. Arthur Berry. When I was through she told me that I must whitewash her kitchen, yard fences and outhouses. I told her that I knew nothing about whitewashing. She told me to get the lime and she would show me. I did so and she showed me as she said. When I was through she paid me just as if I had been an old whitewasher. By this I saw I could make money." He did whitewashing in the area, learned to make different colors. Learned to cain chairs at 50¢ each, and by putting his children to work caining chairs, could make $3 per day. He bought shoemaker tools to repair children's shoes /p 25/ bought carpenter's tools, trying to be "jack of all trades."

Green said Mr. Samuel H. Clay had a field he wanted to make into a shipping pen. The city of Maysville would not let him do so. He then cut the property into 75 lots. "Mr. Clay finding that the city objected to him making of it a shipping pen, determined to sell the lots to the colored people." He suggested to the black Methodist minister, Mr. Lighter, aid him, but Lightner refused. When Green got to Paris next, Clay asked him if he were interested. "He said he had some lots to sell and the terms of the sale are these: That the lots were seventy-five by sixty feet and that he would build upon that a cottage, with one door and chimney, for $500 cash, or $100 down with 6 per cent. interest, and when paid for would give the deed." Green liked the idea. "I told him that his proposition was a good one and it would suit the necessities of my people at present. And furthermore, I told him that I thought it as much my duty to look after the interests of my people as to preach the gospel, for that to some extent is a part of the gospel." Green told his congregation, and Mr. Clay sold 50 to 60 lots to blacks.
p 26/ He had visited Henry Adams in Louisville in 1864 for 1 week.

"In 1865 I was called to Louisville again by Rev. H. Adams for the purpose of organizing a convention to take in consideration the propriety of fixing some plan for the education of the rising generation. The majority of those I have just mentioned /a long list of black ministers/ were there for the same purpose. When we had gotten there the body was organized into a Convention of Colored Baptist Ministers of the State of Kentucky, being also the first body of colored Baptist ministers ever assembled in the state. The Rev. Henry Adams, pastor of the Fifth-street Church, and who was the prime mover in the matter, was made President. Brothers Peter Smith, John Thomas and Tabb Smith, of Frankfort, took an active part in the proceedings of the convention. In this convention we agreed to purchase the 'Hill property,' at Frankfort, for the purpose of erecting therean a college in order to educate our people and get a competent and well educated ministry. We saw from our own ability, and looking at the condition of our people just from slavery, that our effort to do this was a good mone. Brother Adams, possessing a more competent education than many of us, was recognized as a kind of leader in the matter. When the question of educating the coming generation was proposed the convention seemed to have caught a new spirit of enthusiasm. We old brethren just out of slavery, many of us not having had the privilege to learn, thought it a grand thing to build an educational structure upon which, when we were dead, our children /p 27/ would look with pride and call us 'blessed.'" Says most of those prime movers are dead now (1888).

p 27/ "What a change in the last twenty years! No body of men were more anxious or assembled more interested in what was before them. I sometimes get vexed at our young brethren now in the associations. They will meet at a place on Wednesday and stay all week and nothing done--so many points of order and other technical things that might be let alone. The convention of that date was not possessed of the amount of brain and education as the associations of to-day, but they did business in a more intelligent and systematic style than our present associations. I speak more exclusively of the General Association. The convention knew what it came there to do and the time in which it was to be done. They knew that opportunities misused could not be had again. These things pushed us to the mark of our great work. There is indeed a great change in our delegation of to-day from what there was then. In this age there is entirely too much levity among the ministers--too much of those things practiced which, when viewed from a Christian standpoint, tend to bring about what I call a 'false ministry.' In those times, when the delegates would become somewhat unconcerned in the work of the convention, Elder Adams would tell them to finish business and then play. 'Let us do our work first, and if there be any spare time afterwards, we will use it in play.' It was a pleasure to me then to visit and meet my brethren. They seemed to be in union about the work they had come to perform. Where the spirit of God is there is peace and harmony, both of purpose and action. If in those days of illiteracy and limited education it took the spirit of God to bless our work, it takes the same now.... But now the preachers do so much rascality the people are glad when the Association adjourns."
p. 28/ "In 1855 I visited the Rev. Henry Adams again. I staid with him three weeks. The meeting resulted in many converts. The Sunday night he baptized I concluded to leave for home. Monday morning I came down from my room with the intention of leaving for home. Elder Adams met me at the steps and asked if I were crazy. I told him that I was going home. He told me that I was not going, for he wanted me to preach at night for him again. He had given me $30. I considered the matter and concluded to stay and preach. I preached for him at night as requested. After preaching he told me to come down on the platform, that he wanted them to understand that he had labored with me in more satisfaction than any other minister he ever did labor with. He told the congregation that he had kept me from going home and all that wished to give me anything for staying to come forward and put it into my hands. I think they gave me $6 and over." Says he also visited Green St Bap Ch.

p 29/ Green said that he was frequently visited by whites who wanted him to preach the funeral of their slaves. Said the law required that whites be present during the funeral sermon.
ELISHA GREEN HELPS ORGANIZE, BUILD CHURCHES

When the church at Washington, Ky, got into debt, Green helped raise money to pay the debt. He helped raise money for the black Lewisburg Baptist Church. He "induced the Rev. L. C. Natas to go out in the region of Mayslick," where he is now successful. He was instrumental in organizing a church at Mt. Sterling where Rev. G. W. Canada is pastor. He assisted Rev. Thomas Taylor of Clintonville in starting the Centerville Baptist Church.

ELISHA GREEN SPEECH, 1ST ELECTION IN WHICH BLACKS COULD VOTE (1870)

Green said in the court house, just before the first election in which blacks could vote, he hear a Democrat denounce blacks scathingly. "In the course of his speech he said that he did not believe the negro was human; that he was of a species between the baboon and the monkey; that God had foreordained that he should be a slave. He tried to substantiate his pernicious, cowardly and mean statements. He asked what the negro had invented. He said nothing but an old banjo. Who wishes the negro sitting in their parlor beside their daughters? or, to use the express words of the speaker: "How would it look for a great, big, black negro buck sitting beside your daughter?" Shortly after this the Republicans met and Green was asked to speak. Reluctantly, he agreed, and denounced the Democrats. He told the audience what the Democratic speaker had said about baboons and monkeys and said "Had I a tail next Monday I would quirl it upon my back and go to the polls and vote the Republican ticket."
Green was a delegate to the 1866 convention in Lexington and reproduced some of the decisions:

"Resolved, That we appoint the Hon. M. C. Johnson, Willard Davis and William Brown to represent us at Frankfort and lay before the General Assembly of Kentucky the necessities and requirements of the colored people."

A later resolution added Willard Davis, Dr. A. M. Davidson and W. J. Butler to push their claims before Congress.
BLACKS AT 1866 LEXINGTON CONVENTION THANK NEWSPAPERS THAT SUPPORTED
RIGHT OF BLACK TESTIMONY IN COURTS; ENFRANCHISEMENT

E. W. Green, life, 1888

p 33/ Green a delegate to 1866 convention reproduces resolution:
"Whereas, Several of the journal opposed to the enfranchise of
the colored man have, from patriotic motives, boldly come forward and
advocated their rights of testimony in the courts, therefore, +
"Resolved, That we tender them our thanks in this matter of
advocating the cause of justice. Also be it +
"Resolved, That the Louisville Courier, Lexington Observer,
Lexington Statesman, Frankfort Commonwealth and all
the Republican journals that have so nobly stood up for the
right have our respect and warmest thanks."

MEMORIAL OF 1866 BLACK LEXINGTON CONVENTION TO CONGRESS

E. W. Green, life, 1888

p 34/ Green, a delegate, reproduced the memorial to Congress they adopted:
"To the Honorable House of Representatives and the Senate of the
United States in Congress Assembled: The colored people of Kentucky,
through their delegates in convention assembled, most respectfully
petition your honorable body to grant us the right of suffrage. Your
petitioners beg leave to call your attention to the fact that they are
not allowed to testify in the courts of the commonwealth against white
persons, and that, in consequence, many persons who commit murder, rape,
arson and all manner of outrages upon the colored people are permitted
to go unpunished. Your petitioners would further say that they are now
and ever have been loyal to the Government of the United States; more than
30,000 of their brothers and sons enlisted in the late war; that they are
peaceable, law-abiding citizens, who pay taxes as other people, but on the
account of the color of their skins, are denied political rights in the
government which they support. Your petitioners would further say that
inasmuch as the constitution of the United States has abolished slavery
everywhere within its jurisdiction, so that all constitutions, laws or
regulations growing out of the same are null and void; and inasmuch as the
same constitution in another provision declares that no state shall make
or enforce any laws which shall abridge the privilege or immunities of
citizens of the United States; and inasmuch as Congress is empowered by
appropriate legislation to enforce these several provisions, which we
believe cannot be done without securing the elective franchise to citizens
of color; and inasmuch as the color of our skin did not in the time of war
prevent the government from claiming our allegiance and
causing us to bear arms in its defense, and it is a well established
principle of just government that allegiance and protection go together.
..."
e w green, life, 1888

/p 35 cont'd/ the one being the consideration of the other, and inasmuch as the Declaration of Independence promises the equality of the people; and it is the express duty of Congress under the constitution to guarantee to every state in the Union a republican form of government; and inasmuch as many white persons of no greater degree of intelligence than we are allowed to vote in this commonwealth, and thousands of them fought against the government in the late war; and inasmuch as we desire to assist the Unionists of the state in electing loyal men to office, now, therefore, we do earnestly pray your honorable body, in such way and manner as it may legally and properly be done, to enact such laws or amend the constitution so as to secure to every citizen in this commonwealth who may have been a slave, or is the descendant of a slave, or by reason of race or color is deprived of equal rights to vote at all elections for members of Congress, for Presidential electors, for Representatives and Senators of the Legislature of the State, for all State, city, town and officers of all kinds, upon the same terms and considerations as white citizens, and we pray the blessings of God upon your deliberations.

MEMORIAL OF 1869 BLACK CONVENTION IN LEX. TO STATE LEGIS.

e w green, life, 1888

p 35/

"To the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky: The colored people of the commonwealth of Kentucky, through their delegates in convention assembled, most respectfully petition your honorable body to so alter and amend the clause of the statutes as to permit no person to be disqualified from giving his testimony in any of the courts of the commonwealth, in actions both civil and criminal by reason of birth, color or previous condition. We also most respectfully state that any and all obligations to this much needed reform are based upon the theory that our juries are honest enough to render their verdict to and in accordance with the law and the evidence, and that they have intelligence enough to discriminate between conflicting statements, to detect falsehood, to arrive at the truth of every case and render impartial justice between man and man. Unless this theory is true--and no one asserts to the contrary--the judiciary system of the state is a failure. If true, when applied to white people, it must, by every sound system of reasoning, be true when applied to us. To say that a jury of white men, upon their oaths are honest enough to do justice between white men and intelligent enough to decide upon truthfulness of statements made to it by such evidence, and, at the same time too dishonest to do justice between a white man and black one and has not intelligence to decide upon their truthfulness, is an assertion too absurd for utterance, and is an insult to every right minded man; that this is the logical argument to be deduced from this our present system. If your juries are competent to make their verdicts under the law from the evidence of white persons, they are equally competent to do so from the evidence of black persons. Some may say that we are incompetent to serve as witnesses in cases where a white person is an interested party, by reason..."
MEMORIAL OF 1866: LEXINGTON BLACK CONVENTION TO KY LEGIS

E. W. Green, Life, 1888

/p 36 cont'd/ of our want of intelligence or our disregard of truth. We deny this most emphatically. The same objection may extend to thousands of white persons in this state. Juries almost daily render verdicts directly opposite the statement of some witnesses in whose testimony they have no confidence, and many a white man is a witness whose intelligence is no greater than a black man. These are matters that should not be urged against a class of witnesses white or black. It surely occurs that false testimony escapes alike the attention of the court, the jury, the clients and attorneys engaged in trial and a rigid enforcement of the law, punishing perjury, will protect society from all this of character. Under our law we are competent clients and witnesses against each other. In action, both civil and criminal, when our own people are interested, in property or life, we are citizens of the same common country. Much of the property now constituting the aggregate wealth of Kentucky has been acquired or improved by our labor. None know better than the citizens of this State how we have protected and cared for both the property and lives of those of our former owners. Suddenly freed by act of war we were mostly thrown upon our own resources, without property or means of protecting what little we now have, which is the product of our own toil and care. It is larceny to steal it from us; it is murder to feloniously deprive one of our people of his life. Is there a member of your honorable body who would offer inducement to crime, outrage and lawlessness by saying that the white man's property and the white man's life are protected under our law, but the property and life of a blackman /sic/ is unworthy of protection and beyond the pale of our law? We hope not; but this is what the law now says. We can be despoiled of our property, our females may be outraged, our...
Elisha Green Looks for Son "Elisha" After Civil War

Elisha Green, life, 1888

Page 37/ says his son Elisha disappeared from the home of his mean owner during the Civil War while soldiers were in the area. "When the war closed I began to make inquiry for him. After many days and nights of sorrow for my boy I opened correspondence with Elder Ward Clay, of Xenia, O. Mr. Clay searched until he found him." Clay wrote to Elder Green on May 19, 1866. "By having notices read in the churches and schools I have succeeded in finding him. He is six miles from Columbus, O. His fare from there to Cincinnati will be $4. If he is under twelve years of age it will be $3.50. As to my services in finding him, whatever you think is right will be satisfactory to me over and above my traveling expenses, which are $3.40. The boy will take the first train that is convenient for him, and at Cincinnati the boat Magnolia."

Elisha Green: A Member of State Republican Convention May 1875

Elisha Green, life, 1888

Page 43/ "In May at 1875 I went to Louisville as a delegate from here to the State Republican Convention. The object of the convention was to nominate state officers."
DEATH OF ELISHA GREEN'S WIFE (Sept 1880)  

e w green, life, 1888

p 50/

"In September of 1880 I received a dispatch from Maysville to come at once, that my wife was 'spitting blood' and was not expected to live. I left Paris at once for home. It was the Lord's will and I got there a short time before she died. I conversed with her concerning her prospects for heaven and speaking of the goodness of God. She said she, in substance: 'My time is at hand, and all is well.' While it was upon me a heavy stroke of sorrow, yet I bowed in humble submission to the will of God that in His providence He was doing all things well in separating us. Finally she fell asleep in Christ."

NEWSPAPER ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF SUSAN GREEN, ELISHA'S WIFE  

e w green, life, 1888

p 50/

"Sister Susan Green, wife of our venerable father in the gospel, Elder E. W. Green, of Maysville, departed this life September 13, 1880. She professed religion fifty years ago and received the ordinance of baptism at the hands of the Rev. Walter Warder. Thirty-five years ago she was married to Elder Green and together they lived happily for that long space of time. Sister Green's life was not an uneventful one. She suffered much, both physically and mentally. She was born a slave, and after marrying was at one time compelled to witness that most dreadful of all sights—the carrying away of her own child (a son) to the slave markets of the south. The little fellow was tied to a stake barefooted and almost naked in winter. She bade him a tearful adieu, her heart bleeding and yearning for her child which the accursed yoke of slavery prevented her from claiming as her own and whom she never saw again. Surely the Lord loved her for He has christened her. She meekly said 'Thy will be done.' Some two years ago the Lord laid his hand upon her again. This time she received a paralytic stroke, which disabled her for awhile. A few weeks ago she was able to stand alone, for the first time since she was stricken. A few days ago she was confined to her bed by her last illness. Every possible remedy was used and all were unremitting in their attentions to her wants, but in spite of all that was done she continued to sink. Shortly before her death, feeling the hour was nigh, when her desire to be with Christ would be gratified, she called her niece, Sister Nelson, to her side and told her the hymns which she desired to be sung at her funeral, viz: 'On Jordan's stormy banks I stand,' 'Come brothers and sisters that love another.' She bade all farewell and sank to sleep in the arms of the Lord."

p 51/

"She will be greatly missed in these circles and her passing will be a great loss to her children, especially the two youngest, who are very young. The body was taken to Maysville, where it was laid to rest in the grave near to his father, Elder E. W. Green. May the Lord comfort the family in their bereavement."

p 52/

"Elder E. W. Green, the venerable father in the gospel, who reposessed the remains of his beloved wife, in a letter written at Maysville, in answer to a dispatch from Paris, says: 'I am in good health and expect to be here in a short time. The end is near and I am ready to go. May the Lord bless and comfort all who mourn her loss. Amen.'"
NEWSPAPER ACCT OF LIFE, DEATH OF SUSAN GREEN, ELISHA'S WIFE

e w green, life, 1888

p 51 cont'd/ Jesus and awoke in that happy place 'where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.' Her funeral services were conducted by Elders John Johnson, of Cynthiana; James Thomas, of Paris, and J. W. Calamese, of Washington. Elder Johnson's text was First Corinthians, xv:55--'0 death, where is thy sting? 0 grave, where is thy victory?' It was an able discourse. He was followed by Elders Thomas and Calamese with very appropriate remarks. At the conclusion of the services the remains were carried to their last resting place, followed by a large concourse of people. Surely a mother in Israel has gone and we can only wait for our time to cross to meet her where parting is no more. She has left a husband and children to mourn her loss, but that dear husband is not as one without hope, for he looks forward to the time when he can meet her on the banks of sweet deliverance. We who knew her but a short while can add our testimony and say with the inspired writer; 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, yet from henceforth saith the spirit for they may rest from their labors and their works do follow them.'

''The writer of this article was D.L.V. Moffett, to whom I give due credit for the manner and spirit thereof.' Says that ''Not long after the death of his wife'' his daughter Maria was ''stricken'' and lost her mind, while in the asylum in Lexington. His son ''Thomas was killed by some misfortune'', in the Cincinnati riot of April 1884.

ELISHA GREEN ATTACKED ON TRAIN, 1883, BY WHITE MAN WHO WANTED HIS SEAT

e w green, life, 1888

p 51/ On June 8, 1883, Green was traveling from Maysville to Paris. When the train got to Millersburg, Rev. G. T. Gould, President of the Millersburg Female College, Professors Bristow and Carrington, of the school, and a number of lady students boarded. ''Colonel Morrow, an intimate friend of mine, rose up politely and said to Gould; 'You may have my seat.' 'No,' said he, 'I'll make this nigger get up.' When he said this he and Professor /begin p 52/ Bristow took hold of me with the expression: 'Come out of here.'

''I said to them: 'I paid for this seat in Maysville. I will hold it to Paris or die in my tracks.' ''Then you won't come out?'' ''I told him 'No; that if he had asked me like a gentleman I would have come out, but before I would be pulled out like a dog I would die.' He then asked: +

''Did you call me no gentleman?' ''Said I: 'No sir, had you asked me like a gentleman I would have got up.'

''The Rev. John Barbour, who is a gentleman and Christian, when I got to Paris came to me and asked if I were going to let that ghost off. I told him that I was not. 'Well,' said he, 'if you want my testimony you can get it, for I saw it all.' Bristow came up to Mr. Barbour and said to him: +

''Do you take this old scoundrel's part? If you do, I will give you what the nigger got.' ''Mr. Barbour told him that he was traveling, and desired to keep out
ELISHA GREEN ATTACKED ON TRAIN, 1883, BY WHITE MAN WHO WANTED HIS SEAT

E. W. Green, Life, 1888

/p 52 cont'd/ When he got off the train at Paris Mr. Charlton Alexander hunted him up. Alexander urged him to sue Gould.

GOULD EXPLAINS HIS SIDE OF TRAIN ALTERCATION WITH E. GREEN (1883)

E. W. Green, Life, 1888


"Mr. Editor: Commencement duties have prevented me heretofore from noticing the many misrepresentations of my encounter with Rev. /begin p 53/ Elisha Green, a man of color, upon the Maysville and Lexington train, June 8, 1883. At the time referred to I had twenty-eight young ladies under my care. Attention to the baggage detained me so that I was very last to board the train, doing so only after it was pretty well under headway. As soon as I entered the ladies' coach I noticed considerable excitement and heard such exclamations as 'It is a shame!' 'He ought to be put out!' 'If he does not get up he ought to be made to.' The matter was explained when I saw from the rear door two of my young ladies standing in the aisle and a big black negro man complacently occupying a seat to himself. I looked and there was not a vacant seat in the car except the one beside the negro. In many places the young ladies were standing three upon a seat and several gentlemen were standing in the passway, having given up their places. Among them standing were Professors Bristow, Carrington, Payne, McClintock, Waddel and Piper and my own son. As the two young ladies had already been standing some moments directly at the end of the seat on which the negro sat it was evident that he had no intention of offering them the place. I therefore walked back to him and said to him: 'I wish you would give your seat to these young ladies, because if you do not there will be a disturbance.' He promptly replied that he would not. 'Very well,' said I, 'when the conductor comes we will see whether you do not.' I then sent for Captain Martin, who was in the front coach, and waited no little time for his coming, since he did not come directly, but stopped to take up all the tickets by the way. While he was in this position, Mr. Charlton Alexander appeared and hunted me up, urging me to sue Gould.
GOULD EXPLAINS HIS SIDE OF TRAIN ALTERCATION WITH E. GREEN (1883) 2242-A

e w green, life, 1888

/p 53 cont'd/ me that if the conductor compelled him to give them his seat he would make the railroad company suffer for it. When Conductor Martin at last reached us I appealed to him whether the young ladies must stand and let the negro sit. His reply was that he could do nothing. 'All right,' said I, 'then I will see what I can do.' Leaning over the back of the seat I took the negro by the arm, saying: 'Come, get out of here.' At once, and with considerable violence, he struck me and loosened my grasp. Then it was that Professor Bristow, who was sitting on the arm of the second seat in front of us, and who had neither spoken to the darkey nor been at any time near him, seeing him viciously strike me, rose up and struck the fellow over the head with a small hand bag. Professor Bristow hit him but once and Mr. Carrington never touched him at all in any way, manner, shape or form. Nor did I touch his person other than to take him by the arm as already described. I did not know who the fellow was I did know, however, that he was a big black negro and that two young ladies were standing while he sat. Having never been accustomed to see such an indignity as that put upon a lady, that she must stand through a ride of eight miles while a negro man lolls at his ease, I could not bring myself tamely to submit to it. I do not believe that there is a gentleman in Kentucky who would stand idly by and see his wife and daughters thus insulted. These young ladies came from the extreme south, hundreds of miles from their homes, with neither father nor mother near, but depending upon me for protection from insult and injury. I had been recreant to my trust and unworthy the position which I occupy had I not after exhausting appeal to the negro and conductor, myself attempted his ejection from the seat. If any man has fallen so low as to think white women should stand while negro men keep their seats then him I have insulted, and really I do not care if I have." Geo. T. Gould. 6-19-1883 Date at end.

E. GREEN DECLARES STATEMENT OF GEO T GOULD ON ALTERCATION ON TRAIN A LIE

e w green, life, 1888

p 54/ "I take the liberty to say that there is not an once of truth" to Gould's statement, except that "I am a negro." Green goes on to say: "There is an expression which says: 'A lie can go a mile while truth is putting his boots on.'"
PROFESSOR BRISTOW'S STATEMENT TO THE PRESS ON THE GREEN-GOULD TRAIN ALTERCATION (1883)

E. GREEN'S LETTER TO NEWSPAPER ON ALTERCATION WITH GOULD (1883)

The Daily Bulletin, Thursday, June 21, 1883, printed Bristow's account (a Maysville paper) taken from the Paris Kentuckian: "'As we went into the car,' said he, 'several persons made way to let the young ladies have seats and we expected the darkey to do likewise, and after waiting sometime asked him if he did not intend to take another seat and let the ladies have his. He was positive that he would not do so. We waited for the conductor to make Green act the part of a gentleman, but the conductor did not feel authorized to interfere with him, and we said that we would force him to act the part of a gentleman. Mr. Gould attempted to draw him out of the seat when Green struck at him, and I tapped the darkey with this light satchel. I knew nothing of his being a preacher or crippled, as he is a very large, robust-looking darkey, and I notice gets about very well. I think any man, white or black, that won't readily accommodate ladies, ought be made to do so. I knocked a darkey down once in Little Rock, Ark., who would not give way to ladies in the street.'" Professor E. L. Bristow was from Tuscaloosa, Ala.

"I wrote the Bulletin of our city, by request, as follows: 'On Friday, the 8th day of June, having occasion to go to Paris, where I have charge in connection with the Maysville church, I bought a ticket to that place and occupied a seat on one of the cars of the 12:30 p.m. train until I got to Millersburg. At that place a man, whom I afterwards learned was Dr. G. T. Gould, of the Female Institute at Millersburg, with several other men and a number of young ladies, came into the car and for several minutes were busy seating seating/sic/ themselves. I paid no particular attention to them as there were vacant enough seats for all, and presently all were seated except two ladies. Colonel Robert Morrow, who occupied the seat immediately behind me, arose and offered it to them. But one of the teachers, Professor Bristow, said: 'No, I don't want your seat; I'll make this nigger get up.' And with that he seized me suddenly by the collar and said: 'Come out of here,' and at the same time Dr. Gould caught me by the arm. I told them I had paid for that seat from Maysville and did not intend to be driven out like a dog. I had no notice that it was wanted, and would have given it up if I had been asked politely, and if there had been no other seats in the car I should have offered it to them. I try to be polite on all occasions, and I do not think any person in this city who knows me will ever say that I have been intentionally impolite to any one. When I told Professor Bristow that I did not intend to be driven out of my seat he stepped into the aisle and into the second seat ahead of me and struck me three or four times over the head with a valise while Dr. Gould and some other person held me. At this point Colonel Morrow and some other gentlemen, among them Conductor John Martin, interfered and saved me from further injury. There was one cut on the top of my head..."
E. GREEN'S LETTER TO NEWSPAPER ON ALTERCATION WITH GOULD ON TRAIN (1883)

E W Green, life, 1888

And cuts on two of my fingers. At Paris, on the following Monday, I procured warrants against the men who assailed me on the charge of 'assault and battery,' and I shall be present at the proper time to present my case against them in court." Under his letter the editor of the Bulletin (Maysville) wrote: "Rev. Elisha Green is sixty-five years of age and has been a minister of the gospel for thirty-nine years, all of that time pastor of the Maysville Colored Baptist Church, and since 1855 has also had charge of the church at Paris. He is a quiet and unobtrusive man and is esteemed and respected not only by his own race, but also by the white population of Maysville. He was injured several years ago in a railroad accident and has since been a cripple."

ACCOUNT OF THE E. GREEN-GOULD TRAIN ALTERCATION IN LEX NEWSPAPER

E W Green, life, 1888

The Lexington Transcript, June 19, 1883, wrote: "Northern papers to the contrary, there is a deep-seated sense of justice to the black man in the breast of our best white men that arouses their indignation in this community upon a broad and catholic principle of right in which color and social condition do not at all enter. The Reverend President, G. T. Gould, of Millersburg, who struck the old black preacher, Elisha Green, has in the public estimation so proclaimed himself a bad citizen that any college or church that carries him will have to do it as Sinbad did the old man of the sea. That institution cannot flourish until that man and the other two associated with him are dismissed from its employ. Such men are not proper characters to entrust with young girls. This man Gould is the same party that Mrs. Tarrant, of our city, and other lady teachers in his school declined to be associated with, on the ground of ungentlemanly conduct in him."
Called the attack on Green: "A most cowardly and brutal assault...."

Conductor John Martin, in an interview with the reporter of the New Republican, says he was approached by Rev. Gould, who demanded of him the removal of Rev. Green from the car. He refused to do so, stating that he was an old colored preacher who had always acted gentlemanly during the frequent trips he had made on his train, and that he was entitled to one-half the seat he was occupying; that he would see that they secured the other half should they desire it. Rev. Gould responded: 'If you can't put him out we will' and commences drawing off his gloves. Conductor Martin states that he passed on collecting tickets, never thinking there would be any trouble, as all the parties were preachers, but was immediately recalled by a scuffle and loud words. When he reached the spot Professor Carrington was mounted on the seat holding Rev. Green, Rev. Gould pinioning him from behind and Professor Bristow raining blows with a brass-bound valise upon his head. He commanded Bristow to desist, who rather reluctantly consented when informed by Conductor Martin that if he did not he would compel him to do so. Conductor Martin says utmost confusion prevailed, the passengers rushing out into other cars. Colonel Robert Morrow, of Paris, in an interview with the Bourbon News reporter, substantially confirms Conductor Martin, and further states that he tendered his seat to Rev. Gould, who replied: 'No, I thank you; I don't want that seat. I am going to have that one and he has got to get out of here.' Colonel Morrow and others also state to the News that Professor Carrigton attempted to draw a pistol, but on being admonished not to attempt it he did not do so. Another eye-witness is authority for the statement that Professor Bristow attempted to open his valise as if to get a pistol. It is further stated that on the arrival of the train at Paris Rev. John Barbour, who had witnessed the difficulty, told Green he would give his testimony if called on, whereupon Bristow, who overheard him, stepped up and informed him if he desired to have a 'finger in the pie' he could be accommodated.

"We have given a statement of the affair at length that the facts might be fully understood. It is apparent that it makes a strong case of double-distilled cowardly ruffianism that we would not have believed any Kentuckian would have been guilty of. The case is more brutal when it is taken in consideration that Rev. Elisha Green is advanced in years and enfeebled by an injury received on the road near the place of his assault several years ago, whilst his assailants were three strong, vigorous, able-bodied men, and one of whom could have handled him. It is a shocking and disgusting outrage when we consider that the attack was made upon a colored man, and we are of the firm belief that it never would have been attempted if he (Green) had been white. It evinces base, brutal and degraded minds which assaulted and would perhaps have gone further if they had not been restrained. It proclaims to the world that they are totally unfit for the positions they hold as educators of the morals of young ladies. It is a disgrace they have brought upon the ministry for which they should be fittingly rebuked by the church to which they belong. Finally, it betrays the wolf in sheep's clothing--the most vicious and despicable of characters."
ELISHA GREEN'S SUIT AGAINST GOULD FOR 1883 ASSAULT ON TRAIN  

p 58/ The case came up in the Paris Court House in March 1884. Mr. G. C. Lockhart was the attorney for Green; Mr. Harry Ward, of Cynthiana was attorney for Gould. Green sued for $300 damages--was awarded $24 damages. Green summarized some of the arguments in his book. Mr. Ward's statement:

"Judge, Your Honor, Gentlemen of the Jury: Here is Bishop Green, Elder Green, Rev. Green, and I believe the conductor calls him 'Uncle 'Lisha.' Don't you know that it is wrong for you to go to law? And here you sit in the Courthouse attending a law suit and I look up to you for instruction. Brother 'Lisha, you don't like to be called a negro.' +

"Said I: 'So far as nigger is concerned I do not like that; but negro, I am proud of it.' +

"This is merely the beginning of Mr. Ward's speech. Mr. Lockhart followed. + /begin p 59/

"Judge, Your Honor, Gentlemen of the Jury: I am a lawyer and sworn to enforce the law. I intend to do it irrespective of race, color or previous condition of servitude. My opponent, all he has done is to make fun of Uncle Elisha, but he can't laugh this thing out of court.'"

WEBB' EARLY HATRED OF SLAVERY

p 3/ Says that when he was young in Georgia, about 9 or 10, he would go off in the fields by himself, wondering how men could treat other men as slaves. "I looked to the heavens and cried out Lord if you rule this earth, why do not you deliver us from this cruel bondage. I heard a voice say, I will be with you and your race of people; so when I heard that voice, I remained silent. I went and told my mother what I had heard, and my mother said, 'my son, that was God who spoke to you, that time will come, though I may not live to see it.'" His mother taught him to believe in a Supreme Being.
"Old master's son married a girl from Kentucky, and he took me with him to Kentucky. We moved with an ox team. We were five weeks on the road, from Mississippi to Kentucky, Warren County, between Bowling Green and Shaker Town." It was a difficult move. "We reached out journey's end quite safe. His father-in-law was a tobacco dealer, and he went to Bowling Green, and took possession of his plantation, and raised a tobacco crop that season."

"I saw something different here, than I had ever seen before. The speculators went round buying colored people—even little children. They had large plantations of them and when they got a large drove of them together, they shipped them down South. "I had a very good time myself, while I was in Kentucky. It was better than any State I had lived in yet. It was a sea-port, where they raised colored people and shipped them to other States."
WM WEBB'S MASTER MOVED BACK TO MISSISSIPPI

wm webb, hist of wm webb, 1873

p 8/ His master decided to return to Mississippi. No date given.

WILLIAM WEBB COMPARES LIFE IN KY WITH LIFE IN MISS.

wm webb, hist of william webb, 1873

p 7/ "I had a very good time myself, while I was in Kentucky. It was better than any State I had lived in yet." (Had lived in Ga., Miss) /p 8/ Tells of harsh life in Miss. "Then I began to thing /sic/ how much better /begin p 9/ the State of Kentucky was than Mississippi. It seemed as though people were free in Kentucky, when compared with Mississippi."
WM WEBB' MASTER RETURNS TO KY; began making plans

WM WEBB, hist of WM Webb, 1873

p 19/ "He made preparations to start to Grey's County Kentucky." (This is about the time Fremont was running for President). He began to meet blacks in the area. "I went nine and ten miles out, and I found plenty of them, whole plantations. I began to introduce myself around among them, but as I came from Mississippi, they looked down on me. Then I thought I would tell them what we were trying to do in Mississippi. They were planning some kind of escape. I commenced telling them, but I saw it would not pay at that time. Then I thought I would drop that subject. I saw that they looked down on me more than ever." The next Sunday he went into the woods to dig a den. /p 20/ After some delay he dug a den, covered it with leaves, etc. "When Sunday came, I thought I would try my friends again, so I asked them if they ever heard any talk about getting free. They told me it was death to talk about freedom in this country."

WM WEBB TELLS KY SLAVES OF SLEIGHT OF HAND TO MAKE MASTERS BETTER

WM WEBB, hist of WM Webb, 1873

p 20/ Upon not making much impression on Ky blacks, Webb said: "Then I began to tell them about people having a sleight of hand in making people good. They asked me what kind of sleight of hand. I told them sleight of hand to make our masters good, and they said there had been men through the country, giving sleight of hand, but it never done any good, so I told them I thought with other strength, I could give them sleight of hand that would cause them to live more happy than they had been living. I inquired of them where the meanest plantation was that they knew of, so then they told me about the meanest plantation they ever heard of, they said there was cruel whipping carried on, and all other kinds of cruel treatment till that plantation was not respected at all, even the colored people that live there, were not respected because they belonged to that plantation."
"Aunt Fanny Canady was a colored woman of Louisville, Ky., who bought herself and several members of her family. She also owned her husband, named Jim, a little drunken cobbler. One day Fanny went into her husband's shop with fire in her eyes and finger pointed at her husband. She said, 'Jim, if you don't have yourself, I'm gwine sell you down river.' Jim sat mute and trembling, as to send down the river meant to sell to a negro trader and to be taken to the cotton fields of the far south.'

1808 RUNAWAY BLACK, HIRED OUT BY SHERIFF, HARDIN CO

Hardin Circuit Court, Order Book A, p 433, from Univ of Chicago microfilm of Wm. E. Barton Collection

Nov 22 (?), 1808.

"The Sheriff, being agreeable to the direction of the court hired negro emberton, a negro fellow wh was committed to the jail of this county, as a runaway /sic/ and whose time was expired with Christopher Bush, to whom he was last hired to by order of the court returned that he had cried off said negro to James Percifull for the term of twelve months for the sum of forty eight dollars and twenty five cents." That is, the slave was put up for bid (auction) for 1 years' service, and went for $48.25.
William Webb Meets Ky Blacks, Tells of Sleight of Hand, Plans, Etc

WM WEBB TELLS OF SLEIGHT OF HAND, MEETING KY SLAVES, PLANS, ETC
(Mid 1850s)

WM Webb, Hist of WM Webb, 1873

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I spared the tools with me and dug my den, so if anything happened I would have a place to drop back on. It was on the side-hill, and if it rained the water would run down. After I had dug the den, I packed leaves, brush and logs over the dirt so that it would not be noticed. When everything was completed, I returned home again. The next Sunday I thought I would go out and try my friends again. I passed off the time first rate, but not as well as I would have liked. When night came on, I returned home again, and studied all that week what I would put before my friends next Sunday. My master asked me how I liked the people out this way. I told him I liked the people pretty well, but not as well as I would like to. I told him my friends looked down upon me because I came from Mississippi. He asked me what was the reason they looked down upon me. I told him I did not know, but I thought it was because Mississippi had a hard name. When Sunday came, I thought I would try my friends again, so I asked them if they ever heard any talk about getting free. They told me it was death to talk about freedom in this country. Then I began to tell them about people having a sleight of hand in making people good. They asked me what kind of sleight of hand. I told them sleight of hand to make our masters good, and they said there had been men through the county, giving sleight of hand, but it never done any good, so I told them I thought with other strength, I could give them sleight of hand that would cause them to live more happy than they had been living. I inquired of them where the meanest plantation was that they knew of, so then they told me about the meanest plantation they ever heard of, they said there was cruel whipping carried on, and all other kinds of cruel treatment till that plantation was not respected at all, even the colored people that lived there, were not respected because they belonged to that plantation. I told them where I came from, all plantations were treated cruel, but as there was only one plantation in Kentucky where the slaves were treated cruel, I thought I could remedy that. They asked me how I told them that something always followed me, and if I could use that, I thought I could make that plantation good. They said, to-night we will carry you down and make you acquainted with that plantation. I told them I would be most happy to go so, when night came they took me to that plantation and introduced me to the people, and I sat down and enjoyed myself. I saw there was great anger among them about the way they were treated. I felt then that I was at home, and I visited from one house to another. I found some old people praying that did me good, I saw they had a knowledge of what was following me, so the friend told them I was a peace maker, that I came on purpose to make peace on that plantation.

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and the news went out from one cabin to another, that the peace maker had come, so in less time than an half an hour I was surrounded with the friends telling their cause, so many old men and women said we have been praying for you many days, to come and move our masters, as they were so overjoyed they killed a lamb that we might enjoy ourselves, and the lamb was put in a dirt oven and baked. While it was baking, we talked about their cruel treatment and what they had went through. I felt as if I were at home, I thought I had come across a streak of luck. Then old Aunt Mary called out that supper was ready, which was about twelve o'clock at night, so three ladies dressed in white came to take me to supper. They asked me to say the blessing, but not being accustomed to ask a blessing, I did not know what to say. I thought I was trapped, but the words entered into my mind to say, Lord this night we eat this lamb, restore peace on this plantation, so we eat and made merry and enjoyed ourselves over the table, and then I returned home. Some of the friends went home with me, I thought if I could gain the good will of that plantation, I would gain the rest of the people, so I went to work in earnest, and I sent up many prayers to God through the week, to deliver that plantation from its cruel treatment. The head binder of the colored people on that plantation came to see me about the middle of the week, he told me he had lived on that plantation for fifteen years, and he said he had never seen such a change as had been there that week, and that lifted me up then, and I saw that it was good to have faith in God, so I told him to go back and tell all the people on the plantation to go down on their knees every morning, and ask God to deliver that plantation from the evil that was in it, and he said he would. Then I saw there was something else I must do to gather their attention, so I got a parcel of roots and put them in a small bag about as big as my thumb and sewed them up. Saturday night came, and I was proud of it. I went back to the plantation to see how times were, and they were all glad to see me. They met me by scores, and I was glad to see them, for I thought I had hit the right place, so they talked and told me about what times they had that week; they said that was the best week they had for many a day. Then I trusted in God more than ever, and they had a fine supper prepared, so I ate and enjoyed myself. Then I turned into a room in company with a good many ladies, and we talked and had a sociable time, till it began to be late in the night. I then told them I had an object I wanted to act before I went to bed, so I called twelve of them together and I had twelve of those little bugs of roots, and I gave them to the twelve persons and placed them in their hands, and told them...
we would march around the house seven times, and I told them to shake those bags each time they marched around the house, and say peace be with us. They did so, and returned back in the house. I told them every morning when they got up, to shake those bags in the direction of their master's house and say, Lord peace be with us this day, and I told them not to tell the rest, but the bags of roots they had, but to carry them in their pockets all the time, and I told them to tell all the rest.

breakfast prepared for me, and all things were peaceful on the plantation, and they had great faith, so the day was passing off and I had a very pleasant time. The old master of the plantation saw me around the cabins and he made it his business to come down to see who I was. I began to think some of the people must have betrayed me, for the colored people said he was not in the habit of coming down to the cabins on Sunday. He said he saw a strange man there that he had never saw before, and he wanted to see him. I came forth, and he said to me, how are you boy. He said he never came around his cabins, but he saw a man there a stranger, and I drew his attention, and he had come down to have a chat with me, and he asked me what county I was from, and I told him I was from Mississippi, and he asked me how I came up here. I told him my master moved up here. Then he asked me how I liked Kentucky. I told him I liked it tolerably well so far. He asked me how I liked the colored people beside those of Mississippi. I told him I liked them first rate. He asked me if the people in Kentucky were as cruel to their slaves as they were in Mississippi. I told him no, but I had heard around he was the meanest man there was. He said,

asked them what they thought the bags of roots were for. One said it was to conjure old master; another said he thought it was to draw master down. I could talk with him then. I told them those roots were to make them faithful when they were calling on the Supreme Being, and to keep your mind at work all the time. We parted after that. By that time, the ladies had everything fixed for another sociable talk. Then I enjoyed myself the rest of the evening. I had traveled a good deal, and could pass off time very well. We enjoyed dinner, and after that we took a walk out. They showed me the fields and the little patches they had, and enjoyed myself that evening. When night came, I called twelve men together to give them advice before I left. I told them that through faith, you have got your master moved; by faith he will continue on. I told them to say every morning, peace be with us to day, Oh! Lord. Then I saw they had great faith. I was much rejoiced, for I thought I would have a good foothold to carry out my other points. I told them I must go home, but I would come back next Saturday night, if the Lord was willing; to be of good cheer. Then I returned back home again. My master asked me how I was getting along in enjoying myself now. I told him I enjoyed myself first rate.
that the master at the plantation where I went, said I could come and see the girls. I was very much pleased, I was overjoyed at my trip, for I was gaining ground. I kept my faith stronger than ever. My heart was so much overjoyed. I was wishing Saturday would make haste and come, but it came at last, and I started for the plantation. They met me with gladness. I told the head man to call the twelve men together for business. He called them together. I asked them how things had passed off that week. They said all things had passed off good, that they had enjoyed themselves better than they thought they ever could with that master. They told me their master had questioned them very closely about me. He asked them what I talked about the most. They told him the most I was talking about was of God. Then he told them he thought from the appearance of my face, I was a good man. I told them to be truthful and keep up the good work they had begun, and they need never fear death. We parted then for pastime. I had a good time with the ladies. I had a very pleasant time that evening, and all day Sunday.

I returned home. I told my master I had a much better time out here, than I expected, among the colored friends. About the middle of the week, that gentleman came down to see my master.

He told him his boy was coming to his house to see his girls, and if my master had no objection, he would like to have him come. My master told him that his boy and himself were raised up playfellows together, and he thought a great deal of me. He told my master that was the brightest looking boy he had ever seen. He said he thought I was an educated man.

The week passed away, and Saturday night came, and I was anxious to return again. I called my men together once more, and asked them how they were getting along, and they said all things were well. I asked them then, if they ever thought any thing about getting free. They said they had been thinking they would be free, for a long time, and praying that they would live to see it. I asked them how they expected they would ever get it. When it was over, I went into another room to have a sociable chat with the ladies. They wanted me to talk about the free life that was coming. I told them I did not know that I could talk to them as I would wish to, but I was acquainted with them enough to tell them what I thought. I was sure all the colored people would be free in a very short time. Down in Mississippi, where I came from, we understand things pretty well, we see how things are going on. Slaveholders down in Mississippi are very uneasy, and by what I saw, I think there is a great light coming, and it will be here sooner than we expect.

Old Aunt Mary said she had been praying many days for deliverance. She said, in her dreams she saw great hosts of men drawn up together. She said she heard a voice say, "this is to free you." I told old Aunt Mary I had been hearing that voice from my youth up, and I was sure I would live to see it. Keep your faith, and it will surely come. I find faith the best after all it is by faith that I am here now, trying to build up. Never forget to pray and trust in the Supreme Being, who stands in the midst of heaven. I hope you will not betray me, for you know that if anybody was going to burn your house down, you would want to know it, so that you could get away in time. This is given to us, to know that free life is coming. This is not purpose to warn you all to be ready to receive your prize that is coming. I would tell you more, but I can not at the present time. We dropped that subject, and the ladies passed the refreshments around, and I enjoyed myself and had a good time. The evening passed away pleasantly, and I went to bed.

Next morning every thing looked lovely, and I thought I was progressing in strength. The day passed away first rate. When night came, I called my twelve men together for business. They sent me word they were all ready. I asked them if they knew of any other plantation that was as bad as this one. They said they knew of another one that was very bad. I told them I would like to get another place as mean as this plantation, for I wanted to spread the faith farther on, for faith never stops in one place. I would like them to pick out the worst place they could find and carry me to it the next week. Then I told them I was glad to think I had met that I could put faith in, because I was very much worried when I first came here. But now I am highly lifted up; and having heard that this place was the worst place there was, I came here to show people that by faith, many things can be moved. I would like you all to testify how different things are now, to what they were before I came. John
WM WEBB TELLS OF MEETINGS WITH KY BLACKS; SLAVE LIFE IN KY (mid-1850s) 2258-F

WM WEBB TELLS OF MEETINGS WITH KY BLACKS; SLAVE LIFE IN KY (mid-1850s) 2258-G
The Yankee soldiers landed at Paducah, Kentucky. I went down to see them once in a while. My master thought I was going to run away and stay with the Yankee soldiers. A crowd of the shareholders

WM WEBB: OUTBREAK OF C W; FIGHTING; ESCAPE NORTH

WM WEBB ACCT OF OUTBREAK OF C W; FIGHTING; ESCAPE NORTH

was afraid they would arrest me and carry me back, but Captain Lyman promised me, that they should never get me. In about three days my master came there after me. General Wallace had a guard around his house, and he had to go through the guard before he could get to General Wallace. The guard told General Wallace that a gentleman wanted to speak to him. The General told him to come in. When he came in, the General asked him his business. He said, you have a boy in here I want.

The General questioned him very close. The General asked him what I had done to have such iron shackles on my leg. He told him I had not done anything. General Wallace told him he guessed he would keep me, and told him never to come back after me any more, for if he did he would arrest him. Then I had a good time. I enjoyed myself better than I had ever done before in my life. I went out word to different points, that I was at the headquarters of the Abolitionists. I told them that Fremont was in Missouri, freeing all the colored people. They sent back a message expressing the good news, and wishing me much enjoyment that I was free. General Wallace said he was looking for his wife, and when she went back home, I could go with her. He told me I must be a good fellow, and learn to read, for his wife would let me go to school, and I must take care of things around the house. His wife came. He told her about my going home with her, and she was much pleased to have me go with her. Soon after, the order came for us to march around Mayfield in the direction of Fort Henry. General Wallace told me to pack up everything in marching order. I got them packed up, and the wagon came to carry them down to the boat.
WM WEBB ACCT OF C W FIGHTING, ESCAPE NORTH

wm webb, hist of wm webb, 1873

move out, as he wanted to occupy it for a week or two. Before we got the house fitted up, the orders came about midnight for us to march to Fort Henry. General Wallace told me to pack up the things and be ready to march. General Wallace gave orders to all the troops in Smithlin to march down to the boat, and start for Fort Henry. We landed five miles below Fort Henry. General Wallace marched up on the right of the river, and General Smith marched up on the the left side of the river up to Fort Henry, and they left me on the boat out in the river, and told me to take care of everything. I had a fair sight of all the gunboats on the river and the fight. They commenced fighting with the gunboats. I could see the shells strike the gunboats and dash over them. General Grant came dashing back to the boat I was on, and told the officers that the victory was theirs, that the camp was on fire, and a great many of the rebel batteries were disabled, and they could not stand much longer. The Rebels threw a shell through the port hole and it struck the boiler of the gunboat Merrimac and exploded it. General Grant dashed up and examined the boat and told the officers on the boat where I was, that there was not much damage done. The shell struck the boiler and went up through the pilot house and killed the pilot and scalped a few men.

About that time, the Fort surrendered. They said the fight lasted one hour and ten minutes. They took the Rebel General Pendleton prisoner. We landed at Fort Henry, and I went over the ground, and the first thing I saw was one of the Rebel cannon bursted and four men lying dead beside it. I went on farther, and saw all the salines they had been burning and, some of them knocked to pieces, and a great many dead people scattered around in the Fort. I stood looking on and enjoying our victory. General Wallace took up his headquarters on the same side as he went up on, opposite the Fort. We went into camp. In about eight days the order came for us to march again to Fort Donaldson. General Wallace commanded me to pack up the things and be ready to march. We marched to Fort Donaldson, and at that place we had a very hard fight. I went up close to the place where they were fighting, and I saw one regiment cut all to pieces. I went with sorrow to see that Union regiment cut up so. The balls kept whistling around me till I dropped back for fear one them would hit me. I went up on the hill. I could see the Rebel cannon firing, and the sharp-shooters would pick them off every time they undertook to load their cannon, till they did not make much headway. I thought I had better drop back to my tent.

On Saturday they began to fight again. General Grant came to the tent where I was, on Saturday evening, and commanded General Wallace to take the left wing immediately and make a

charge on the Fort. General Wallace took the left wing and took the Fort on Saturday evening. I stood on the side of the hill and saw the battle. A great many men fell and the troops fell back and rested Saturday evening. The colored people came to General Wallace's tent that night and said that the Fort had surrendered and a great many of the people were leaving. The next morning a gunboat sent two shells into the Fort, and it did not receive any answer. It dropped back for further orders. One of General Wallace's staff, with a detachment of soldiers went into the Fort to see whether they had surrendered or not. He brought back the news that the Fort had surrendered, and we rejoiced over the fall of the Fort. Generals Pillow and Floyd escaped that night under the banks of the river. The guard did not see them. That night when I was getting supper, I heard them talking among themselves, saying that they were going to take the prisoners to Indianapolis, Indiana. I listened very carefully, for I had heard General Wallace talking about it being a free country. That night after I had got through with supper, I sat down and studied how I could escape along with them. I fixed a plan, that when the prisoners went on board the boat, I would go with them, and pass off for a prisoner.

Monday morning General Wallace ordered me to pack up all

the things and start for Fort Henry, where his wife was. I packed every thing up and was ready for them to start about twelve o'clock. When the wagon started for Fort Henry, I started for the boat the prisoners were going away on, and

passed myself off for a prisoner. We stood on the boat till we got down to Cairo. When we got down there, the other prisoners had occupied the cars. We had to lay on the boat a day and a night, till a train of cars came from Terre Haute. I saw a man on the boat that lived with me on one of the plantations. He was with one of my old masters. I asked him if his master was living or did he get killed. He said he was down in the hall, and I went down to see him, and he was pleased to see me, and wanted to know how I came to be a prisoner. I told him my other master was going to take me off to some other place, and I got away from him and went to the Union army, and now I was going North. He told me I was going to a free country, and to be industrious and not to claim more than my labor came to. He told me I was a great deal better off than he was. The news came about two o'clock that the cars had come. They marched us off the boat into the cars. Before we started, a file of hay came for us to lie on. The officers called the prisoners to come out and tear the hay to
ACCT OF C W FIGHTING; ESCAPE NORTH

Wm Webb, Hist of Wm Webb, 1873

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Pieces. There was seven colored men on the car, and the prisoners told us to go out and tear the bale of hay to pieces, but the officers told us to go back in the car, and ordered the prisoners to come out and get the bale of hay. We started about four o'clock in the morning for Indianapolis, Indiana. All the way along the prisoners quarreled with us, and said they had to break up hay for negroes to be upon. We got to Terre Haute and stopped there a few minutes. They got a newspaper, and it passed around to nearly every man on the car, before they could find one able to read it, which was a great astonishment to me. Then we landed in Indianapolis, Indiana, where the prisoners were going to, and every thing was prepared for us to take breakfast. We arrived there about seven o'clock in the morning. We all took breakfast and then prepared to march to camp Moulton. All the prisoners marched out, and the colored men along with them, but I remained in the depot. Then I walked out and said to myself, "thank God, I am free. I heard a voice in my ear, say, not free yet; when you depart from sin, then you are free indeed. I was astonished at that voice, and I wondered what it meant. The next thing I began to wonder where I could get a place to stop, as I was a stranger in the city, having no person to tell me anything. I strayed around until I came to a place I thought would suit me, and they let me stop there. After I had been there a week, the cold had taken broke out on me, and I was very sick. I stopped there about a month, but I got worse instead of better. I went from there to another friend, where I thought they could take better care of me. I was sick there about three months, and received the best of care, and I soon got well and went to work. The first work I began was chopping wood, but I had so far to walk that I did not make much headway at that and I left it. Sabin Fletcher was graving a road to make a turnpike, and I went to work for him. He told me he had been a friend to the colored people, and had had many a one to send them to Canada by the underground railroad. He gave me work, and I worked for him some time. The Southern people were coming to Indianapolis and carrying some of the colored people back again. I thought I had better be traveling. Sabin Fletcher told me there was no danger, that the treaty was broken since the war. But they were taking the colored people and carrying them off without any lawsuit. They took a friend of mine, and I thought it was time for me to go away for fear they might take me the same way. I left the city and went to a place called Cisero, where there was a great many colored people. I remained there about a week. I went from there to New London. It was about harvest time, and I stopped and worked in the harvest fields about a week. I went from there to Peru. I worked around the city for a few days, until I got a chance to work in a wheat field. I got a place, and I

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I was working about ten days in a side line, half from here. A country mail came and arrested me, and carried me about five miles from the city to a Squire. When I got there, the Squire lived in an old log house, and he took his book down and read the law to me. He read that it was against the law for a white man to give work to a colored man that came from the South, and twelve dollars to five hundred dollars fine or State prison. The man who had hired me paid twelve dollars, and they made me to Peru to put me in jail, to stand my trial. The man reached the city before I got there, and all the people were prepared to deliver me from this man. When be got to the city, the people said he could not put me in prison, that he must turn me loose, for the Government brought me there, and that he or they could do nothing with me. Then I was free from them. The next morning I went harvesting for another man, and I worked for him about two weeks. Then I went to a hotel to work, and I stayed there till fall, and I left there and came to Detroit, and I went out Fort street west, five miles, and chopped wood all winter. The cemetery is on the spot where I chopped wood. While I was out there I noticed a man in the city, and a great many colored people were flocking out in the country where I was, and some came to the house where I was stopping to get shelter, both men and women. They said there was a great many bad feeling white people in the neighborhood, and they did
Some regulators in Davies Co. "who go from place to place in the night posting notices that all property rented or leased to Freedmen will be burned... This organization was brought into existence by a report being circulated that the Supreme Court of the United States decided that the 'Civil Rights Bill, Freedmen's Bureau Bill', and in fact all other bills looking to the interest and protection of the colored people as unconstitutional and that hereafter all crimes committed against Freedmen should be tried before the Civil Courts or County Courts..." which, according to the Regulators, endorses their actions.

"These men are truly the pulse of the Country and one who is a close observer may tell what is going on at the seat of Government at Washington let the least act of favor the executive or Congress look to favoring the returned 'Rebel' soldier or citizen... and these men become overbearing and at once commence their outrages on white and black Unionists."

NOTE LEFT THREATENING TO BURN HOUSES OF BLACKS; DAVIES CO (1867)

"Lawwill's "Gem of Southern Literature."
"January the 31, 1867"

"This certify that this house was burnt on the negro cause and we will give you until the first of February to get rid of those negroes that you have on your farm. If you dont we will burn ever house that you have got on your farm."
THREATS TO BURN HOUSES OF BLACK TENANTS (1867) DAVIES CO

"Almost every union man and many R-bels have received notices that their property would be burned without they moved their colored tenants within a given number of days."
"I do not think one can attack much importance to these notices but one house has been burned so far."
"I could do nothing but tell the colored people to arm themselves and fire on persons who may undertake to burn their property."
"I think and would suggest that ammunition and arms be furnished for the unalienable right of self-protection."

KKK ACTIVE IN LINCOLN, JESSAMINE COS, 1868

"there is an organization known as the Ku Klux Klan which is giving the Union men, and the colored people much annoyance. At a place called Crab Orchard in the County of Lincoln . . . [and] at a place called Keene in Jessamine County . . . ."
The freedmen of Henderson County have been bothered by the KKK. "They made an example by whipping a 'Negro' some miles off who they alleged had insulted a white person. No complaint has been made by the Negro ... I have decided that if they enter the premises [of my office] I will fire upon them."

"This morning a negro man came to me complaining that five white men came to his house last night and robbed him of everything he had. He had rented a piece of land of Mr. Hamilton bought his meat and hired another black man to work with him ... they shot in his head the ball lodging round his forehead cutting a wound about three inches long ... robbed him of his meat, clothes, and money to the amount of thirteen dollars in silver ... I told him I had no authority to arrest him but concluded to address you on the subject as the agent in our county appears indifferent to the Negroes interest or protection."

This is in Owingsville.
MOB OF "NEGRO REGULATORS" IN WARSAW, KY (Aug 1866) (Gallatin Co.)

J. J. Landram to Ely, Aug 13, 1866, Lraco, Box 5, RG 105, E. 1065

"Mob law is supreme here (Warsaw, Ky) at the present time. There is a mob in the County calling themselves negro regulators . . . their band is composed of some five hundred (500) persons. They . . . are ordering all the negroes out of the county. Some two hundred negroes, I am informed crossed the Ohio above this place today."

"Violet threats are made against Union men, and if something is not done to swell the mob this will be a good time for Union men to emigrate (as Dr. Burcham has notified us). I know of nothing that will remedy this evil as readily as 'bluecoats'."

BLACKS IN MEADE CO THREATENED, INTIMIDATED (Aug 1867)

A. W. Lawwill to Ely, Aug 9, 1867, Lraco, Box 12, E. 1068, RG 105

Inspection of Meade Co.: "the colored people in different localities of Meade County to be in a thorough state of terror, almost afraid to leave home. They are halted on the roads and have pistols presented at their heads and made to call 'Guerillas' and 'Cutthroats', 'Master' and in fact the Freedmen in some portions of the Country are kept in such a constant state of fear that they cannot earn sufficient money to take themselves out of the Country."

"I called the Freedmen together and asked them to point out the men who they thought would molest them. An old man answered 'Tell me Dear Sir who there is in this locality that wouldn't kick a nigger if he had a chance'"
The KKK still rages, "their object to be to drive the freedmen from their farms and force them to leave the country forever."

"A communication has been furnished this office signed black Injun notifying John Abraham and William Perry, blackmen, and Samuel Forque Esq. white citizen of Henry County KY, on whose premises the above-named black men live, & for whom they work, to leave said county and 'immigrate north of the Chio river' without delay on penalty of being driven away with fire-arms and their houses and effects burned."

This is to notify anyone who performs such an action in KY that troops will be sent to arrest them "on their being identified as engaged in such wicked and illegal crimes" and they will be forwarded to Louisville and confined in the Military Prison until tried by the U. S. District Court."
MASON CO BLACKS AFRAID TO SIGN PETITION REQUESTING FRANCHISE

C J True to Johnston, July 2, 1867, Ir-lex, box 48, rg 105

"Immediatly after receiving the petitions memorializing Congress to enfranchise the Freedmen, I distributed them to the County Agents and among the most influential colored persons residing in this county [Mason]. A number of the Freedmen refused to sign them, giving us a reason, that they feared their churches and property would be destroyed by men who are opposed to their exercising the right of suffrage or even the right to petition Congress. I managed in convincing most of them that they would be protected by the U. S. Govt. and they are now at work procuring signatures."

True to Johnston, July 12, 1867, Ir-lex, box 49.

Forwards enfranchisement petitions with 500 signatures.

VIOLENCE AGAINST FREEDMEN: WASHINGTON, TAYLOR, MARION, BOYLE, CASEY (1867)

Jas M Fidler to Ely, July 1, 1867, Iraco, box 8, e 1068, rg 105

Washington, Taylor, Marion.

"Undoubtedly a good many outrages have not come to my attention. Freedmen living in the county and distances from Lebanon are afdaid to report outrages to me. They prefer to suffer known evils, to the unknown."

"Judge Lynch has on occasion here, in Marion, k Washington, Boyle, Casey, Taylor Counties, absolutely superceeding civil courts. Anti-Lynch organizations are now being formed--composed of in most desperate characters unless these organizations are broken up, we can expect a reign of horror--in fact already have it. Civil officers neither can or will suffer complacency."
ELY ORDERS THOSE ARRESTED FOR BURNING SCHOOLS, ETC, BROUGHT TO LOUISVILLE (?)

ely to lewis landram, sept 9, 1867, entry 1065, endorsements sent,
End. 1209, box 32, rg 105, e. 1065

"All persons who can be identified as engaged in burning schoolhouses for Freedmen, threatening the lives of Freedmen, or the lives and property of white persons who are selling land to Freedmen will be arrested by the Military authorities on such oaths of identification and forwarded to the military prison in this City together with the charges against them."

REGULATORS ENCOURAGED BY WITHDRAWAL OF BUREAU

benj runkle to sidney burbank, aug 11, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e. 1063

"The withdrawal of the local agencies of the Bureau has encouraged the Regulating Rowdies to renew their energy in persecuting and outraging Freedmen. The question of whether the Bureau can be safely discontinued "will be decided in the month of November. At present the leaders of the Anti-Negro element council moderation for fear that their acts will injure their cause North."

"If Grant is elected President of the United States the negro will be safe without a Bureau and I would recommend its discontinuance in the 1st day of December...but if the seem converse is true I would recommend it strengthened a hundred fold and even then I doubt if it were would suffice."
There is one thing which alone will give the freedmen this power. There is
one solution of this problem of the relation of the race in this State and
County. Education won't do it ... Wealth may gain for him friends so far
as the immediate influence of the power of money may go, but it will not pro-
tect him from the breaking out of the old feeling against the 'Nigger.' Nothin
g on earth will give him any protection, any power or respect except the right
to speak at the ballot box and say who shall be the representatives of the
State and the United States Government."

"... every proper and constitutional means should be resorted to to give freedmen the right of franchise. It is their only safe guard—their only
weapon of self-defense or elevation."

"In the counties of Owen, Carroll, Trimble and several other Counties in my
Sub-District negroes are kept in a state of vassalage tantamount to the old
system of slavery. In these Counties Negroes are not permitted to live in
homes or houses of their own; are not permitted to live apart from the white
owners of the soil . . . ."

"In concluding this report I would say that the LBureau must be succeeded by
the Ballot. Arm the colored man with the Ballot, and then the education of
the African race will follow the path of tender spirit of every Kentuckian
will be touched and he will discover that's in the character of the African . .
" of progress.
in a recent tour made by Capt. Graham through Kenton, Boone and Grant counties he found the blacks very much excited, and in many instances they have left their homes in the Country, and came to Covington. They allege that since the election they have been told that they are all going to be re-enslaved again. The union men also complain bitterly and represent that they are living in a regular reign of terror.

The second dist. Lem. : Mr. Narme agent "informs me that by ... hard coaxing ... he has succeeded in getting the Jessaming County Courts to grant the Freedmen a hearing in all cases, and to protect them in their rights."
NEWPORT MAYOR ACCEPTS CIVIL RIGHTS BILL; ACCEPTS BLACK TESTIMONY IN COURTS (Mar 1867)

morrell to ely, march 4, 1867, lraco, box 13, e.1068, rg 105

BLACKS AFRAID TO GIVE TESTIMONY IN COURT IN DANVILLE (mar 1868)

genl h.g.thomas to benj runkle, lraco, march 31, 1868, box 20, e.1068, rg 105

"There are two Union lawyers in this place [Danville]. Maj. Goodloe, the U. Comr., & Mr. Quisenbery. I asked Mr. Quisenbery to act as council for the Negroes." He refused. "I then undertook the cases myself & had great difficulty to get getting them to come to town & testify & when they finally settled on taking their affidavits . . . ."
ELY: IF NO NEGRO TESTIMONY ALLOWED IN SAM ORR CASE; REARREST AND
BRING ORR TO LOUISVILLE (Graves Co.)

ely to donovan, nov 9, 1866, lsaco, vol 15, rg 105, e. 1063

You are directed to attend the Graves St. Proceeding. If the defendant is
convicted on the basis of no negro testimony or by reason of the prejudices
of that community you will rearrest Samuel Orr and confine him to the military
prison in Louisville for trial before the U. S. Dist. Court.

PRISONER NOT CONVICTED BECAUSE OF REJECTION OF BLACK TESTIMONY;
REARREST AND BRING TO LOUISVILLE

eely to donovan, nov 1, 1866, lsaco, vol 15, rg 105 (Sub comm of Pedreek)
e. 1063

Gen. Davis "directs that you appear before the court that issued the writ
with the prisoner who committed the assault if the witness and request the
court to try the case. If it refuses and the plaintiff cannot obtain justice
in the civil court on account of being black and the court discharges the
prisoner, you will immediately rearrest him and forward him under guard to
Louisville with the witness for trial before the U. S. District Court."

"You will not allow yourself or your subordinates in any event to be
arrested by the civil authorities in executing your duty."
Affidavit of D.T. Bligh, May 24, 1866, 1r-lou, box 53, rg 105, e 1248

"on the night of the 8th day of May 1866 Thomas Vickers alias Texas, John Rhodes and John Stewart, alias Gerrard (who are now in the jail of Jefferson County Ky.) were guilty of the crime of robbery at Nelson Furnace in Nelson County Ky. by the robbing of Stephen Scott and four other negroes, boarders at the same house, and the hanging of one of said parties until he was nearly dead. Also with assaulting a negro woman at the same time and place and attempting to commit rape on her."

End, 239 ky., 1866, Burnett to Frederick, May 21, 1866.
Col. Frederick is hereby directed to arrest the persons named Thomas Vickers alias Texas, John Rhodes, and John Steward alias Gerrard and confine them in the military prison at this post.

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"I think the detective police of this city and other parts of the State are now willing to aid us in arresting violators of the law, there together with the United States Civil Marshals and what troops we can get will eventually trap most of these accoutrments."
Some presumable white men killed Henry Nelson (black). "It is suggested by a number of citizens that you have an interview with Gov. Bramlette that some plan may be adopted by which these persons may be caught. If 2 detectives were sent to the neighborhood under pretense of hunting work & stay 10 days or two weeks they would succeed no doubt in ferreting this thing out. I think our citizens will call the attention of the Governor to this, in the form of a petition..."
ATTEMPT TO ARREST WHITES WHO WHIPPED BLACK (aug 1866) (Jeff Co) 2285

bvt. capt. w.p.hogart to c h frederick, aug 15, 1866, lraco, box 1, rg 105

Hogart was sent to Middletown (Jeff Co) to arrest William Vechte and Taylor McGuin for whipping Allen. Hogart went via the L and N RR station and two miles on foot. He was unable to get to the town: "I would respectfully call your attention to the fact that every expedition which I have taken, whether I have had horses to assist me or not, preceded by my desires, while upon the other hand when I have not had them, I have failed." "Gen. Davis gave Gen. Frederick, on Aug. 12th, personal instructions that this case was trivial and that no man was at work, and not injured, it was hardly worth the while."

PRESENCE OF TROOPS (aug 1866) BRINGS BETTER TREATMENT OF BLACKS 2286

Paducah

J.H. donovan to ely, aug 3, 1866, lraco, box 1, rg 105 (Donovan sub-1st Correspondence)

"The arrival of the Detachment of troops at this place has had a most excellent effect... the really guilty had believed indeed that their hour of retribution had arrived... there have been fewer complaints made within the last fifteen days of ill treatment to Negroes than at any other similar period of time within the past three months." The general impression among blacks "had been to look upon the "Bureau" or of "No Account" and to consider that they had a perfect right to violate their contracts with impunity and be as impudent as they pleased. Any of their difficulties grew out of their stubborn reluctance on part of due respect to their employers and superiors."
J. H. DONOVAN, Sub-Asst Comm at Paducah, Comments on Condition in Western Ky (1866)

1. D to Fy, June 30, 1866, Irac, box 1. Proposed to place the Jackson Purchase and adjoining counties under Marshall Law "as the only means of bringing the people to a proper sense of their duties as citizens."

2. D to Fy, Oct. 9, 1866, Irac, box 1. Requested two or more commissioned officers because "A complication of difficulties, will in all probability arise between whites and blacks during the next three or four months, in relation to compensation for labor, &c., performed under contract."

3. D to Fy, Oct. 9, 1866, Irac, box 1. Civilian agents are "troublesome and profitless encumbrants."

4. D to Fy, Aug. 3, 1866, Irac, box 1. In favor of using corporal punishment to induce blacks to obey the contract system - they have no money and it is therefore farcical to fines them and they do not care about being put into jail.

5. GE, "IR, Jan. 30, 1866, Sl & Tin th, vol. 2", A major in the 72nd was president of KY....

6. D to Fy, Nov. 12, 1866, Irac, box 1. On Monday Nov. 12 at 8:45 a.m. a shot was fired through Donovan's window at D and it went through his hat (which he was wearing at the time).

BLACKS, ESPECIALLY FORMER SOLDIERS, MOVING TO OTHER COUNTIES, TO NORTH OF OHIO R.

Burbank to OOH, Oct 14, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e. 1067

Large numbers of freedmen are on the move either by force or desire and go to counties where they are unknown. "I doubt if 20 percent of this class /the soldiers/ are at their places where they resided before the war."

Due to persecution, pol, and now excitement there is an exodus into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and numbers in the cities and villages of these states along the river. Society will be "calmed down after the election" and thus the freedmen will be in a more settled condition.
"The complaints of the white persons who served in the United States army are numerous. They say that they received anonymous letters bidding them leave the country and that their fellow soldiers are murdered for the slightest provocation... I have labored to show them that the Great Jehovah is able and willing to protect her soldiers but I have at length concluded that precocious and demonstrations of this fact would be productive of great good."

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Oldham Co. The negroes all over the Co. were preparing to leave in compliance with regulator orders "for fear that the threats of the 'Champions of America' would be carried out." Some 30 or 40 whites have also received notices to leave.
HARASSED BLACKS FLEEING MEADE CO (dec 1866) Farm Hands

J a woodward to ely, dec 31, 1866, lraco, box 14, rg 105, e.1068

"Good hands for the farm are getting scarce . . . for this reason: the colored people are being so harassed by the moving desperadoes who infect the Country, that every family that can get enough cash to enable them to move is leaving the country and going some place where they can receive protection of their lives and property . . . ."

WHITE ORGANIZATION THREATENS THOSE SELLING LAND TO BLACKS (sept 1867)

J j landram to A. R. brown, sept 1, 1867, lraco, box 11, e.1068, rg 105

? Where is Halle Gap?

Enclosure: "Notice to Whom it may Concern. Persons who are selling land to Negroes in the neighborhood of Halls Gap thereby collecting and settling among us a nuisance we cannot endure are requested to not sell anymore to them or it will be a fair notice for us to make a general cleaning up in this county."

"Yours &c"
"Branches of the Old Tree."

"Niggers take care of your wool."
"You, who are running around drawing hand axes on white men, cursing and cavorting up and down the pike, are hereby notified that there is hickories on Heills and grapevines in the hollows and we know how to use them."

"Yours without defalcation,"
"Twigg of the Shame Branch."

See End. 1209 67
"There is no concealing the fact that it is owing to the bad treatment the freedmen receive from the citizens of this sub dist that causes so many of them to flock to this City and although the outrages and maltreatment in most cases are the work of the ignorant lawless and irresponsible / sic/. Still you would find but few of the better class of citizens to condemn their acts of violence and can scarcely find one that is not opposed to these lawless persons being brought to justice."

"In Logan Col. there is still a reign of terror, and in Russellville many union men have been ordered to leave the town on penalty of their lives. prominent citizens of that place are prepared to prove that a reward has been offered for their lives. The Civil Authorities of the county will not afford the least protection... Leading union men of Russellville informed me that they have sent their families out of the State, and that they had armed themselves and banned together for mutual protection. Matters here have become worse since my last tour through that part of the State."

"There is no doubt that the approaching election with its political hostility has much to do with the present very unsettled state of society..."

"Many white men would be glad of the same protection that is afforded by the Bureau to the freedmen... and from this investigation I am led to apprehend that serious difficulties will grow out of the present political contest resulting, I fear, in blood shed."

"Maj. Lawrence needs some troops-10 to 15 men. "These troops would afford protection alike to the union people and freedmen."
HOSTILITY TO BLACKS IN UNION CO (Oct 1866)

J W Finnie to Ely, Oct 1, 1866, IraCO, Box 2, RG 105, E 1866

"There is a set of men Guerrillas [sic] and Robes [sic] now in this county. Robing [sic] by night principally the returned cold soldiers of their arms. These men tell the blacks they have authority from Louisville and from me to take all their arms. These men are dressed in Federal uniforms..." "The Guerrillas & some returned rebel soldiers often declare publically that no Yankee negro shall stay long in this county."

The grammar and spelling above is as in the original. Finnie was the Supt. of Union Co.

BLACKS ROBBED AND SHOT IN RUSSELLVILLE (July 1866)

J W Finnie to Ely, July 28, 1866, IraCO, Box 3, RG 105, E 1866

"We find that in this country, any man who has acted as an officer in the Federal army, is not safe in life or property. I'm common with a number of officers, have received notice to leave the country and the State..." Russell county is no better. "Negroes are robbed and shot almost daily... there is a reign of terror from all parts of the county, such has never been before... Will the court leave us in this extremity...?... Rebel flags are displayed at their public gatherings. We are hourly looking for such demonstrations of violence as was exhibited in sixty two when union men and federal officers were assinated in the streets, nor the murderers of these men are here now, to renew their deeds of blood at their appointed time which time it is believed will be about the approaching election."
"I am sorry that the General did not give me the names of those, if any, who witnessed with him, the number of injured blacks at Lexington."

"I have not yet succeeded in finding the thirteen injured union soldiers that you saw here in Jan'y. . . . I have mustered about three or four,n."

"It is becoming more and more difficult to obtain information. The N Egores are afraid & the white man are week/ sic kneed."

On Bonesteel's INvesigation: "The colored man Lee has been found, but nothing but the most positive assurance from Mr. Bonesteel that his name should not be made known --------could induce him to disclose anything (he being afraid of personal violence, in the absence of troops here to prevent it)."

"Lee is now taking up the case and is to see Mr. Bonesteel this Evening, there seems to be in this one instance to have been a misunderstanding, the 13 men turning out to be only 3 men."
233 freedmen were badly maltreated in addition to those killed on the 1st of Oct. last. "In none of these cases was any action reported by the State Civil authorities to punish the offenders."

COURIER ARTICLE SAYS FB CHARGES BLACKS $5 TO MARRY THEM; TRUE?

wm p thomasson to fisk, mar 13, 1866, lraco-tn, box 9, rg 105

Envelopes a cut out from the Courier stating that the Bureau charges blacks $5.00 for matrimonial fees. Thomasson states this is completely false and wants to know if he should be punished for punishing the Courier for slander and contempt of the FB.
James M. Fidler to Benj Runkle, Nov 10, 1867, LRACO, Box 8, E1068, RG 105

"I have been frequently called upon by colored persons to prevent white men from swindle them in the division of crops for the year. So far I have had but little difficulty in making amicable settlements. The proximity of soldiers, never used in such cases, undoubtedly influences a certain class of men—the lower class—to give the justice in these cases."

James M. Fidler to Ely, Aug 31, 1867, LRACO, Box 8, E1068, RG 105

"I am called on daily to adjust claims between white and colored persons. A note from me generally settles all disputed points. I may say in this connection that there will be an effort by many persons during the fall and winter months to deprive their servants of their wages and of their part of the crops... The Regulators are & will be called in frequently to drive the freed men off and thus deprive them of the legitimate fruits of their labor. Of course I shall attempt to prevent such things of this kind."
OPERATION OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU COURTS IN KY

Bureau courts (1) shall be composed of three members, one officer or agent of the bureau and one selected by each of the parties enjoined in the case. "Should one or both of the parties interested refuse to choose a member of the court, the Asst. Corr. shall himself make such selection."

(2) Jurisdiction to all cases relating to compensation of refugees or freedmen and may hear and determine all other civil cases between refugees, freedmen and others not involving more than the sum of $300. Punishment cannot exceed a fine of $100 or imprisonment at hard labor for 30 days. Judgement may be enforced by military authority "and shall not be obstructed by the stay laws of any State."

(3) Members of Bureau Courts excluding agents shall receive compensation not exceeding the rate of $5 per day.

(4) "Cases adjudicated by Freedmen Courts will not be subject to review before State Courts, or magistrates, but will be treated precisely according to the usage of military tribunals."

(5) All cases of capital crimes, felonies or questions relating to titles of real estate will be referred to military commissions, the court of the U. S. or of the State.

OUTRAGES AGAINST BLACKS (Jan 1867)

ely to davis, jan 20, 1867, lsaco, vol 15, rg 105, e.1063

37 outrages with 2 arrests
OUTRAGES

Runkle to Burbank, Mar. 13, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19, RG 105, e. 1063
Outrages: 2 shootings and 12 otherwise maltreated.

OUTRAGES AGAINST BLACKS

Runkle to Burbank, Apr. 10, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19, RG 105, e. 1063
Outrages - 19: 3 murders, 1 shooting, and 15 otherwise.

Runkle to Burbank, June 16, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19.
Outrages: 2 murders, 1 shot, 13 otherwise. 16 total.

Runkle to Burbank, Aug. 11, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19.
Outrages: 7, 1 murder and 6 otherwise.

Outrages: 35: 3 murders, 3 shot, 29 to others.

Runkle to Burbank, Oct. 20, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19, RG 105, e. 1063
Outrages - 11 in Sept.
In May there were two blacks murdered, 1 wounded, and 28 otherwise maltreated. There was one arrest and orders were given for the arrest of several others not yet found, "there being no mounted troops on duty in this State is the main reason so few arrests are made in proportion to the crimes committed as the guilty parties are generally mounted and being notified by their friends flees the neighborhood as soon as Infantry soldiers appear ... ."
HOSTILITY OF PEOPLE OF FULTON, GRAVES, LYON COUNTIES AGAINST FB

Donovan to Ely, April 7, 1866. LRACO, Box 1, RG 105, E.1068

"Great prejudice and hostility on the part of the people against the Bureau... thus no citizens can be found in any of these counties who would be willing to accept of an appointment as Superintendent in the absence of a force requisite to inspire respect and obedience to the laws of the United States." Fulton, Graves, and Lyon counties.

OUTRAGES AGAINST BLACKS (GENERAL) (1867)

Benj Runkle to Burbank, Dec 12, 1867. LRACO, Vol. 18, E.1063, RG 105

"Outrages-1 murder, 4 wounded, 24 otherwise maltreated- Total 29. "In nearly every case where the Civil Authorities of the State have refused to act, the U. S. Authorities have acted...""


Outrages for Dec.-6 murders; 1 rape; 5 shootings; 56 otherwise maltreated. An increase of 39 from the last report.
18 outrages in Feb., and 4 arrests. One was released in Adashe and the other three were arrested in Lebanon and are now confined in the military prison.

DIFFICULT TO GET ACCURATE INFO ABOUT OUTRAGES AGAINST BLACKS
(5th Dist, Lex)(1868)

Because of the absence of local agents it is impossible to get "reliable or truthful information" concerning outrages.
66 outrages reported during the month and only 8 arrests. Outrages generally were robbing and whipping committed at night by regulators. Reasons for small number of arrests: (1) inability of sufferers to identify criminals by name (2) the want of cavalry troops.

Outrages for Sept. - 36 and 10 arrests.

Outrages from June to 31 Oct. - 237 arrests - 82. Small number of arrests for two reasons - inability of sufferers to positively identify assailants and the want of cavalry troops.

Outrages for Oct. - 42 arrests - 21 were in the central sub district including tearing down the houses of 9 negro families on the night of Oct 19th near Lopper by the Skaggs men. In the western sub dist the civil authorities are quick to throw the shield of their authority around the offenders and to obstruct the subordinates of the bureau. As seen by the case of Amanda Henderson v. Samuel Orr in Graves county.

Outrages for month of Nov. - 38 and 20 arrests - 10 tried before the U.S. Dist. Court.
Outrages Against Blacks (1867)

Ely to Davis, Feb. 13, 1867, Isaco, vol. 16, RG 105, e 1065

Outrages—3 murders, 1 rape, 1 shot wounds, 10 otherwise. Total 25 arrests 2.

Ely to Burbank, Apr. 13, 1867, Isaco, vol. 16.

Outrages—1 shot and wounded and 17 otherwise maltreated in Feb.

Ely to Burbank, Apr. 20, 1867, Isaco, vol. 16.

Outrages in March—4 shot and wounded; 12 otherwise molested. 5 of arrests 5 "all of which were released by the Sub Asst Cmrs making the arrests after an examination and amicable settlement of the cases."


In April there were 3 murders, 3 blacks wounded, and 13 otherwise maltreated.


Capt. R. F. Johnston in the first district sub dist and Lt. A. B. Brown sub asst comr reported fewer outrages upon blacks and whites than ever before.

Increased Opposition to Freedmen (1867)

Re. Johnstone to Ely, July 4, 1867, Isaco, box 11, e 1068, Rg 105

In Lincoln Co.

Tenth District—"there has been more difficulties between the Freedmen and whites than has occurred previously in the year." This has been caused by the existence of the Regulators who reside principally along the line of the Louisville and Crab Orchard Rail Road." The civil authorities do not attempt to suppress outrages.
J. W. Read Agrt. 2d Dist and 25 men 2d USCI ordered to catch the three men who murdered two blacks and shot Col. Rice. By the time the 25 reached Tapp's Plantation (where Fitzgeralt &c were) the three had fled.

Enclosure: Rice to Johnston, Apr. 27, 1867: "You are aware of the shooting and killing of a white man by a colored boy of this county. At the time of the shooting there was another colored boy with him who was accidentally shot. The boy Adam who did the shooting was arrested and lodged in our county jail / Jessamine, Nicholasville/. Last night a mob of white men came into town and after taking the keys from the jailor entered the jail and shot the colored boy Adam."

"They went from there to the place in the country where the other boy was laying wounded, and took him out and hung / sic / him to a tree, where he was found this morning. The Boy Adam is not yet dead, but will not live through the day, so say the physicians... Two thirds of the country are rebels and would do every thing in their power to shield a man that would kill a colored man."

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"On the 17th inst Lewis Landram agent, filed a warrent of arrest against Alexander Frazier and Joshua Frazier for maltreating and threatening to kill Albert Bailey and Thales Garvin (col'd) ... and placed it in the hands of Srrt. Robbins 2nd Infantry who failed to arrest them, as they have absconded and concealed themselves. On the same day Agent Landram arrested Horace Stackman for maltreating David Calhoun (col'd) and assessed a fine of the tenn (10) dollars against him, which was paid to the injured freedman."

"The 'Regulators' who have of late, have so frequently taken the law in their own hands in the Counties of Boyle, Linclon, Mercer &c have quieted down."
Received letter acknowledging that you have without success attempted to arrest the people who shot Rice and killed the blacks in Nicholasville. and that J. H. Bridgewater can locate Crawl, W. Davis, and Wm. Fitzgerald. You are authorized to employ Bridgewater as a Special Agent at $3.00 per day.

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"to instruct you to arrest the five persons mentioned in the letter of G. S. Main of April 29, 1867, as having taken part in the shooting of Samuel Smith (colored) while a prisoner in the jail at Nicholasville Ky., and forward them to the military prison in this City."
Investigation of murder of black prisoner and hanging of another black at Nicholasville on Friday Apr. 25, 1867. About 3 a.m., a party numbering about 30 obtained the key of the jail from the jailer. Perhaps 5 persons went to the cell where the boy Adam Smith charged with the murder of a white man was confined, and fired upon him five times, two of the shots taking effect, resulting in the death of the boy about 9 o'clock that evening. The mob then proceeded to the residence of Mr. Price Penniston where they took a black man 'Boz' from his bed and hanged him.

The boy on his death bed (Smith) recognized Thomas Crawl (?), William Davis, William Fitzgerald, George Kenyon, and Otto Kenyon. This was under oath. Rice is not too well satisfied that the Kenyons took part in the affair. In a conversation with Mr. J. C. Randolph, Crawl (?) and Davis should be arrested though I entertain serious doubts as to sufficient legal evidence being obtained to convict them. The negro boy Smith was the only one who would testify. Of the opinion that most of the men involved in the affair are from Fayette County. The two blacks had a difficulty with a white named Crawl (Carroll) which resulted in the wounding of Boz and death of Carroll. The affair is upheld by the sentiment of the community.

KY LEGIS FAILS TO PASS LEGIS GIVING BLACKS EQUAL RIGHTS

ely to fisk, apr 9, 1866, louisville daily democrat, may 2, 1866

"The failure of the Legislature of Kentucky to pass the necessary laws giving the freedmen the right of testifying in the courts is working very unjustly to their interests, and has intensified the efforts of rebel sympathizers and timid Unionists in this State to have the bureau removed."
"The Freedmen held an election at their schoolhouse on Monday last and elected one board of education consisting of one President, one Treasurer, one clerk, and four members of the board as trustees."

"very many of the citizens believe and publically proclaim that a reaction has commenced and that the negro will be again enslaved."
MURDER OF BLACK IN NICHOLASVILLE JAIL (1867)

Referring to your endorsement of June 10, 1867, on the letter of J. H. Bridgewater and your letter of the 11th on the same letter: the object of appointing him Special Agent of the Bureau was for the purpose of ascertaining the whereabouts of Thomas Cravell, Wm. Fitzgerald and Wm. Davis who murdered the negro in the jail at Nicholasville and you said Lt. Rice (J. E.)."

"These parties having left the State it is no longer necessary to employ Mr. Bridgewater as Special Agent. You are therefore directed to issue an order forable immediately to the officer of the county in this State."

"The 'Regulators' only came under the notice of this office when they attack or injure Bureau employees or Free men."

REGULATORS, HARASSMENT, ATTEMPTED ABDUCTIONS: MARION, BOYLE, WASHINGTON COS; PERRYVILLE, ETC.

"In Marion county there is a band that acts sometimes jointly and sometimes separately with other bands. In Boyle & Washington counties there are a great many but Perryville seems to be the main point of concentration. The students of a little one House college are probably the worst characters in the concern. They meet at least twice a week and plan their Hellish designs... They take possession of hand cars and go up and down the railroad with as much impunity as the Louisville & Nashville R. R. ... Directory- On Monday night May 13th a Band of 50 or 60 came to Stanford with as much assurance as if they owned the road—had their ropes and enquiries for me and had 4 negro men under guard for some 2 hours considering whether they would hang them or not... and still the Stan spangled Banner waves over the courthouse at Louisville and Andrew Johnson's the president of the United States... "etc—a long involved patriotic ramble—see folder for Burbank.

On Sunday at 1 a. m. a party of 20 to 35 came after Bridgewater but he was warrened. Bridgewater had 6 men with him and they gave the regulators a few shots driving the regulators off. The negroes are in terror "for the same party who waylaid me while in the discharge of official duties on the 6 inst at Crab Orchard took a rope and would have hanged a black man because he suspected him of having given me information of their designs." Ex-Union soldiers are also threatened. "They also some time ago hanged a man by the name of Carrier, who had been an unflinching union man. They dragged him from his wife and children & hanged him where he carrier had killed one of Morgan's chivalry in 1862."
Bailey was in the Henderson, Union, Webster, Hopkins area.

"but little suffering & that among the aged and helpless & a disposition among the part of the civil authorities to aid in punishing outrages against freedmen. I have several cases of non payment of wages for 1866 but Lawyers have taken them up & with the evidence furnished by retained copies of contracts in this office I think can be collected."

"I have yet to see a white man punished in a state court for maltreating a negro, and a negro acquitted of any crime however small!"
"There exists no trouble in obtaining redress for grievances before the courts where white evidence in favor of the Negro can be obtained...."
COVINGTON FREEDMEN ARRESTED TRIVIAL OFFENSES (1867)  

re johnston to runkle, nov 1, 1867, lraco, box 11, e. 1068, rg 105

"In Covington freedmen are arrested and finded for the most trivial offences, and frequent complaints are made that the Police arrest colored men on the streets and search them for concealed weapons."

MAN CHARGED WITH MISTREATING BLACK FREED BY CIVIL COURT (1866)  
donovan to ely, oct 31, 1866, lraco, box 1, rg 105, e.1046$  

"Samuel Orr charged with maltreatment of Amanda Henderson colored is a prisoner in my possession. He is advised by his counsel Mr. Moss to ignore the legality of the Bureau Court & refuses to choose a member to sit in the court. Also refuses to give bonds on his recognizance . . . A writ of habeas corpus had been issued by the Civil Court. Shall I obey he writ or send him a prisoner to Louisville."
Forward the "affidavits & wills" of Logan & Davis Smith who were outraged by a gang whose headquarters were in Lancaster. "It is very certain that there are not less than 150 active members in the gang. A detachment of not less than 25 has been out every pleasant night lately. Some of them get their horses at the Livery Stable of Blenkinsop & Dan Lancaster. French Smith, a renegade negro, attends them & acts as a spy on the negroes for them." Two special bailiffs or Marshalls should be sent with the troops from Louisville. "I think perhaps it will be well for the warrants to be issued by Judge Ballard & we can fill in the name of the Deputy or Special Bailiff here. We should aim to make all the arrests possible in one night." One deputy to go to Stanford and the other to Lancaster, each with 12 to 15 men making the arrests outside of town.

APPRENTICESHIPS, WAGES, CONTRACTS, 1866

Fly to Davis, Oct. 15, 1866, lsaco, vol. 15. Rq 105, c 1463
24 minors apprenticed-12 males and 12 females.

Fly to Davis, Oct. 15, 1866, lsaco, vol. 15.
"Wages in Aug." 13.75 per month with rations.

Fly to Davis, Oct. 15, 1866, lsaco, vol. 15.
Sept report.
Contracts-80.
"the case of John Tanner (old) against John Stephens for a debt of $25.00 returned to you yesterday by endorsement from this office. I am directed by him (the asst Comr) to instruct you to submit the case to a good attorney practicing in the County where the parties reside for collection:"

"It is the desire of the Asst. Comr to avoid in all cases possible a collision with the Civil Courts in this State, and he thinks that no obstructions will be placed by the legal tribunals of Kentucky in the way of colored people collecting debts that are so plainly due to them."

"all contracts whether approved by the Officers of the Bureau or not if they are fair and just and secure to the Freedmen fair wages, constant employment and good treatment are to be regarded as valid and are to be enforced by the Agents of this Bureau."

"Freedmen and their employers are not compelled to submit contracts to the Bureau.

"Should the employer violate without just cause or in part the conditions of the contract he can be arrested and be brought to trial and judgment found against him in favor of his employees for the whole amount of the contract for the year from the date of his violation of the same. He cannot however be imprisoned by reason of not having means to satisfy the judgment for violation of the contract, there is no imprisonment for debt in this State."

"All contracts submitted for the approval of the Sufts of the Bureau if considered just and equitable will be enforced by arresting the Freedman /sic/ who violate their contracts and compelling them to perform their part of the same."
The rate of wages for women should average $8 per mo; for men $15.

"In the city of Louisville only is there provisions [sic] made for destitute sick freedmen to wit the hospital which Dr. Peterly is in charge. The funds for carrying this on I understand are all supplied by voluntary contributions from the Freedmen of Louisville and their friends in the vicinity." The Freedmen's Sanitary Commission if broke, it will take a year to make the pauper law effective.
FREEDMEN'S SANITARY COMM. COLLECTORS PAID 10% OF WHAT THEY COLLECT

levi f burnett to rice, lsaco, vol 14, rg 105, April 11, 1866,
Rice in Lex, burnett in lou

"The collectors (for the Freedmen's Sanitary Commission) are appointed by officers of the Commission approved by this office and are paid 10% of the amount they collect."

see note 5490

HOSPITAL NEEDED BY FREED. SANI. COMM. (cholo. epidemic)

eoly to dr. e o brown, apr 9, 1866, lsaco, vol 14, rg 105 (Dr. Brown?), e. 1043

In the light of the impending colohersa (Bowling's note spelling) epidemic I request a hospital for the use of the Freedmen's Sanitary Commission of Louisville.
WAGES FOR JAN 1867

"Wages for jan._males $11.83, f-6.60. "This low wage average is caused by the very small rate of wages paid in the Southern and North "western Sub. "districts of the State." In the Iex sub-dist the average per month is-
$13.56, f-7.66. Central--$15.00, f-68.33."

WAGES, CONTRACTS, APPRENTICESHIPS, ETC (1867)

"Fly to Burbank, Mar. 13, 1867, Isaco, vol. 16. RG 105, e 1063
"mores in feb.-77 apprenticed-2; males and 3 females.

"Fly to Burbank, Mar. 13, 1867, Isaco, vol. 16.
Average wage for feb.-$11.99 for males and $6.33 for females.

"Fly to Burbank, Mar. 13, 1867, Isaco, vol. 16.
159 contracts approved by bureau for 115 males and 40 females.

"Fly to Davis, Feb. 13, 1867, Isaco, vol. 16.
"mores apprenticed-29, 23 m and 6 f.

WAGES FOR JAN 1867

"Wages for jan._males $11.83, f-6.60. "This low wage average is caused by the very small rate of wages paid in the Southern and North "western Sub. "districts of the State." In the Iex sub-dist the average per month is-
$13.56, f-7.66. Central--$15.00, f-68.33."
Some freedmen are violating their contracts. 102 contracts approved in the month of May for 82 males and 35 females. Average rate of monthly wage = $15.00 for males and $7.04 for females.

Contracts for Jan. 31 for 270 males and 101 females.

Contracts for Nov. 20 for 13 males and 7 females.

Minors-7 apprenticed-2 males and 5 females.


In the month of Oct. there were 14 minors indentured-6 male and 8 female.
Fly to Davis, Dec. 13, 1866, Isaco, vol. 15, RG 105, e. 1063
18 indentures in Nov. for 9 males and 9 females.

Fly to Davis, Dec. 13, 1866, Isaco, vol. 15.
16 contracts.


The bureau does not recognize any indentures where the apprenticed is not taught to "read, write and cipher."

Contracts, Wages, Indentures (1868)

Fly to Davis, Oct. 8, 1868, Isaco, vol. 15, RG 105, e. 1063

The average rate of wages for freedmen during Aug. was $10.93 per month with rations for the laborers.

Runkle to Burbank, Mar. 13, 1868, Isacc, Vol. 19. c. 1065

Contracts: 111 for 87 males and 31 females.


Contracts for Dec.-50 for 31 males and 20 females. Amt. of wage=$20.30 for males and $6.92 for females.
Ely to Burbank, June 1, 1867, R. G. 105, e. 1063, LSACC, Vol. 16. RG 105, e. 1063

There were 24 males and 16 females apprenticed in May.


In April there were 12 males and 10 females apprenticed.


Monthly report for April.
Labor-132 contracts for 140 persons; 103 males and 37 females. Average rate of pay per month=$14.70 for males and $6.49 for females.

Ely to Burbank, Apr. 20, 1867, lsaco, vol. 16.

Minors in march=23 apprenticed-14 males nd 9 females.

Ely to Burbank, Apr. 20, 1867, lsaco, vol. 16.

Av wage for march=$14.44 fkr males and $5.95 for females.

Ely to Burbank, Apr. 20, 1867, lsaco, vol. 16.

Contracts-128 for mo. of mar. for 128 males and 41 females.

SICK FREEDMEN IN PADUCAH TO BE SENT TO LOUISVILLE F&R HOSP
levi f burnett to w james kay (kay?), June 24, 1867, lsaco, vol 16, rg 105 e 1063

It is not deemed necessary for a hospital to be established in Paducah as Chief Agent Smith suggested:

"In cases of extreme destitution and where the persons will probably be sick for several months they will be admitted into the R and F hospital in this city provide there is room to believe they can recover." If they or their friends cannot pay for transportation to the city we will apply to Gen. Howard for authority to furnish it. Rent a room for a dispensary.
BLACK SCHOOLS IN LOUISVILLE SUPPORTED BY TUITION (1866)

During the year of 1866, approximately 200,000 blacks were living in Louisville. Over a third of these blacks are living in the city. Schools could be opened if means were found to pay the teachers. The support of the schools is provided by the Negroes. Tuition for pupils is about $1.50 per month.

CONTRACTS, WAGES, APPRENTICESHIPS (1866)

Apprentices for Oct-19-17 males and 3 females.

Average rate of pay for Oct was $13.37.

33 contracts.

Ely to Davis, Nov. 5, 1866, Isaco, vol. 15, RG 105, e.1063
R & F HOSP IN LOUISVILLE CLOSED (1868)

burbank to the Judges of the County Courts, aug 3, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, 2351

The R and F Hosp is closed. "It is supposed that under the law of the State some provision is made for the care of colored paupers by each county. If you will care for these parties "they will be sent at the expense of the United States to any place you may designate."

R & F HOSP, LOUISVILLE, ORDERED CLOSED (July 1868)

runkle to burbank, july 10, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, 2352

"an order dated July 7, 1868 has been issued forbidding the admission of any more patients to the Refugees and Freedmen's Hospital in this city except upon the order of the Asst Com'r. This is the first great step toward closing the said institution." None of the civil authorities have acknowledged your last communication trying to turn the Hosp. over to them.
Runkle to Burbank, July 19, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19. \(\text{RG}105, \text{c} 100.3\)

Contracts-43 for 37 males and 6 females. \$25 per month.

Runkle to Burbank, Aug. 11, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19.

Contracts-29 for 24 males and 5 females.

Runkle to Burbank, May 12, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19.

Contracts-55 for 41 males and 21 females.

Runkle to Burbank, Apr. 10, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19.

Contracts-70 for 21 males and 56 males.

Runkle to Burbank, Apr. 10, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19.

Minors-4 apprenticed- 1 male and 3 females.

Runkle to Burbank, July 10, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19. \(\text{RG}105, \text{c} 100.3\)

Wage for June- \(\$25\) per month for males and \(\$11\) for females.

Runkle to Burbank, June 16, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19.

Contracts-49. for 37 males and 12 females.

Runkle to Burbank, June 16, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19.

Wage rate for May 1868- \(\$15.50\) for males and \(\$8.90\) for females.
Lotteries- Some freedmen are reported to "spend all the money they can lay hands on in this way." There must be "some means of putting down this evil."

General Condition of the Freedmen: many fled to the larger towns as a result of their fear that the Bureau would be removed. They will not go back to the country. This is a result of chiefly being "cheated and defrauded out of their portion of the Crops; oftentimes being drove off without receiving renumeration of any kind for their labor. Some claim that they came into the towns and cities for the purpose of educating their children."
"there is a general state of polygamy existing. This is a result of slavery and the lax administration of the law."

The city council turned the Burback offer down and asked the Bureau to transfer the blocks to the U.S. Marine Hosp. in Louisville. Speed replied that in his opinion nothing could be done to secure the pauper fee by going to court. "There is no provision made by statute for the distribution of the pauper fund . . . ." Thus, the city does not have to distribute it. Since no one in L'v will do a y-thing, & "I would induce Congress to legislate for the relief of these people."
A letter was sent to Mayor Tomppert of Louisville offering to turn over the R & F Hospital, but no response.

"Home for the Destitute—these patients must be disposed of by 1 Jan., 1869. The question is how to dispose of them. I propose offering to the city of Louisville, in consideration of the city taking charge of the Home, the Hospital buildings, Medical Stores and Medicine on hand. This proposal will be submitted to the City Council . . . ."
Burbank to OOH, Oct. 14, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19, p. 1419

46 minors were apprenticed between Oct. 1867 and June 30, 1868. 21 males and 25 females.

Burbank to OOH, Oct. 14, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19, p. 1419

Average wage during the 1867-1868 year $17.49 for males and $8.74 for females.

Burbank to OOH, Oct. 14, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19, p. 1419

Contracts approved during the 1867-1868 year 590.

Runkle to Burbank, Sept. 14, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19, p. 1043

Contracts 0

Runkle to Burbank, Aug. 11, 1868, LSACO, Vol. 19, p. 1047

Wage for the month of July: $13 for males and $11 for females.

LOUISVILLE REFUSES TO AID ORPHANS, CRIPPLED, HOMELESS, ETC (1868)

"There are 84 orphans and crippled helpless people in the Assylum and it is impossible to make any provision for them through the City, County or State Authorities." It is "exceedingly difficult" to keep the number down in these homes. "old creatures are sent or brought by their late owners and left in front of the Hospital, or within a square of two and then the question is between admission and death in the streets." If the home is kept it should be replaced in New Albany Ind because (1) the civil authorities will no longer have the excuse that the Bureau provided for the destitute (?) we will prevent further increase (3) water rent for the Crittenden Hospital exceeds the rent asked by New Albany."
An order was issued on July 16 to take effect July 16 to discharge the Hospital employees and to discharge all but the "permanently disabled cases" in the hospital and transfer inmates to the "Home for the Destitute." After ascertaining from where these people came, who their past owner was, age, and condition a letter to the Judges was sent. A list of Paupers was enclosed in each letter. A number of patients were found to be from the southern states and a letter was written to the Assistant Commissioners to get their states to care for the paupers or the U.S.F.B. in that state. Efforts are being made to move the Home for Destitute and Orphan Asylum for the farther from the city where the rent will be less. There are 9 cases of insanity in the Home and Speed is endeavoring to place them in the State Asylum.

CONDITIONS AT CAMP NELSON (March 1866) (Graves)

E. P. Smith to Col. Max Woodhull, March 8, 1866, unreg.-lr-lou, box 54, rg 105

"There are about 1000 colored in and around who have collected here during the war. They are living in abandoned soldiers' huts and in cabins which they have gathered together and in Govt. buildings yet unsold and in buildings sold by the government and rented by the owners to the colored families... Those who have rented buildings pay $5 per mo. for a house and three acres of land. About thirty families have thus rented."

"Those still hanging about in Govt. Buildings number about fifty persons. Among these and among the huts are ten or twelve families that are utterly destitute, living entirely by begging and have nearly used up even that resource. I visited a family yesterday—father a cripple and helpless, mother sick, two small children, nothing to eat and no provisions for such cases."

"The Bureau agent (at Nicholasville) for this county says he has no means of relief, that it is not in his power to help these out cases. There are probably 20 persons who are in present actual destitution without food this morning. 25 or 30 others are begging. There has been between 2500 or 3000 persons gathered here during the existence of the Refugee Camp. There are over 1300 graves—50 percent mortality in 15 months."

Our missionary Rev. Schofield is just closing his labors. His school closes this month, but he will remain to look after the suffering as well as he can for two months. I have instructed him to offer no inducements of any kind to bring or keep
The freedmen are working for good wages, "but there is a disposition on their part to engage on short contracts, and as most of them are verbal... they violate them and leave the employer just at the time when their services are most needed... there are very many who are leading a life of idleness and vagrancy. And as in most cases civil authorities refuse to co-operate with officers of the Bureau in correcting this evil, the remedy for it can only be the presence of troops and the prospect of arrest and confinement by the officers of the Bureau alone."

"I am ordered to break up the Hospital on the 1st of May and ship the patients to Washington. I am satisfied that we will not annoy the military Dept longer than that date."
"I am directed by the Asst Com to instruct you to remove the patients now in the Freedmen's Hospital in this city to Taylor Barracks, without unnecessary delay."

Send the dependants to the county they were formerly domiciled. If there are those who are not residents of the state, send them to D.C. to the hospital there.
The city authorities will do nothing for the sick. "I have held on to my Hd Qtrs building that in case these people are thrown into the streets they can be brought in here, if you authorize the same."

"Unless some action is taken by the Bureau authorities immediately there will be just forty five deaths within 30 days."

The buildings used by this Bureau as a Freedmen's Hospital have been sold and the purchasers are to take hold of them on or vsfore Apr. 10, 1869. "The city authorities have made no provision for these persons nor will they do so. Unless otherwise notified I will close the institution on the 10th of April and leave the inmates to the tender mercies of the people of Kentucky although it will be the hardest thing to do I ever did in my life."
BOWLING GREEN BLACKS GO TO CAMP NELSON (July 1865)

j g fee to fisk, july 17, 1865, lraco, tn, box 2, rg 105

Your letter telling all able bodied men to work created a stir. "Here (Camp Nelson) are 3,000 persons—tho surplus of all parts of the State here 228 came Saturday night from Bowling Green." "If you deplete this camp you will need an employment agent to go over this State and find location for these camp refugees..."

BLACKS GATHER IN CITIES, SOME REFUSE WORK (Dec 1866)

lieut Wells S. Bailey to ely, dec 4, 1866, lraco, box 1, rg 105

"There is a general disposition among freedmen to gather into the villages & living on those that work & refuse to labor themselves..." In such cases the civil authorities have been asked to "carry out the law of the State in..."
donovan to ely, aug 3, 1866, lraco, box 1 (1866), rg 105, c 1861

"Something should be done to make the contract system more binding upon the Freedmen than it is at present. ... There are negroes that violate their contracts, and they are arrested by the officer, examined and fined but it is invariably found that the offender has no means to pay the fine. The whole procedure assumes the shape of a farce. ... The infliction of corporal punishment would seem to be the proper remedy. ... It is useless to think that the Civil Authorities will act in concert with the officers of the Bureau or that they will accord justice to the Negroes. ... in almost every case the Civil Officers overreach the content and spirit of the laws."

COMPLAINTS OF FARMERS & MANUFACTURERS: FREEDMEN VIOLATE CONTRACTS (June 1866)

"Complaints are constantly being made by Farmers and Manufacturers that Freedmen violate their contracts without just cause and greatly to the prejudice of the Farming & Manufacturing interests and that some rule of law ought to be established as guarantee against the evil consequences." (see Ely to Donovan, June 25, 1866)
The Farmers and manufacturers are well disposed towards the Bureau. The "Lawyers, Doctors, Bankers, late Speculators in slaves, retired gentlemen on petty incomes, merchants, Hotel Keepers, newspaper editors, Rum Sellers, Bar Room Loafer, Gamblers, Politicians and the low bred and disaffected Rabble, are with but few exceptions pregnant with hostility to the Freedmen's Bureau and hatred of its Officers."

They counsel the blacks against making contracts through the Bureau by stating "that the contract system of the Bureau was established by the Government to curtail their liberties and that it is worse than the old system of slavery."

"Many of the Negroes believe them and go to work without making any contracts ... ."

The Paducah Freedmen's Sanitary Commission organized on Apr. 12, 1866. "is doing very well." The tax is not being collected. Dances are frequent and "give occasion for a variety of mischiefs and have a demoralizing effect upon the Freedmen and especially upon the females whose habits are of such evil character as will bring on in the course of time a species of moral and physical degeneracy that will compromise the existence of the race." Requests to issue a circular banning these dances.
The Freedmen's Sanitary Commission has collected $204.00 and has a balance of $132.55 in the First National Bank of Paducah. I have consulted the ministers of the churches on the matter of dances, whiskey, and "places of evil resort" and they have succeeded in "abating the evil to a great extent in a Christian like and most proper way."

"There had previously been three (3) halls at the Barracks which were used as a hospital and kept by Adams (col'd) who was hired by the Col'd Church, and Geo. Woodson. Woodson charged $1.00 a head entrance fee also kept a bar on the premises."

Clayborne says that he was about half drunk and when there was a bit of a fight he said 'If anybody hits any of the U.S. Army I'll see him.' Then somebody hit him on the back and he fired twice . . . ."
Get the medical authorities at Louisville to leave the property there. "The hospital will not be continued long at that point." Ther and that point is 3 mk Nelson.

"Doct. Mitchell the surgeon in charge of the hospital here has been ordered to turn over and send to Louisville all government property now in his hands.

"This order will include the stores and bedding now in use at the hospital.

"We have a large number of sick including twenty-five cases of small pox."

HOSPITAL AT CAMP NELSON TO END; EVERYTHING SENT TO LOUISVILLE (1865) 2380

r e farwell to fisk, dec 6, 1865, lraco-tn, box 2, rg 105 (Farwell was the Official Freedmen's Camp Destroyer)
FED GOVT PREPARED TO SEIZE RR TO ASSURE FREEDMEN TRANSPORTATION IN CAMP NELSON AREA (1865)

fisk to r e farwell, oct 23, 1865, lraco-tn, box 2, rg 105 (Farwell (official camp destroyer)

"I have received authority to seize and operate the Railroad myself provided the Railway Officials refused to carry our people on Government transportation."
"see that their baskets are well filled when they leave you."

DIFFICULTIES IN CLOSING CAMP NELSON (Oct 1865)

r e farwell to fisk, oct 18, 1865, lraco-tn, box 2, rg 105

"I refer to the blind, old, crazy and fools. If I send them back to the countie where they belong they will come back."
"If I finish this camp by the first of Dec. I think Congress ought to vote me a sword."
In relation to clearing out Camp Nelson. "The people of Ky have adopted Franklin's maxim as 'Ky no more keep no more cats than will catch mice.'

"Every day I am pressed to take in slaves who have become unprofitable and in such cases the masters insist that there is no such thing as slavery." Thus closing down the camp is very difficult.

"I thank you for the kind but unexpected offer, of the privilege of recruiting theman who shall be a principle colaboror." "Must the superintendent be a military man?"

"I have announced to the schools & camp that 'The able bodied must go & find subsistence as your order-exceptions:

1. 'women with small children'.
2. 'infirm women'.
3. 'such boys & girls & women as desire to learn and are willing to work... work so as to defray all expenses of rations'-no expense to government.

"We have in the school more than four hundred pupils-about 150 more waiting at the dorm for more teachers. Otheree more teachers expended this day—we have also a male principle—sic 7."
Last autumn and winter 400 women and children gathered here. In most instances they were forced to leave their former homes. About Nov. 20, 1864 the offices of the east ordered these people to be expelled. The blacks begged Hall to intercede in their behalf. Hall telegraphed Gen. Burbridge who ordered Hall to be supplied of Camp Nelson and to provide blacks with rations.

"Let me suggest that in some way, an agent be employed whose business it shall be to go from place to place and find employment and locations for these colored refugees—just as agents for white refugee children from New York to other cities go. The men who are now proposing to develop the coal, iron of your state are mostly the northern men, & would encourage such laborers.

"There are mountain regions where timber is abundant & where manufacturers will go for the sake of timber." 

"The slaves of the interior are slow to go to other states—they have had but little contact with the northern mind—know but little of geography—cling to their native regions."

"we need the presence of the colored man to keep down the rebel & the copperhead."

The above are reasons for keeping the black in Ky.
CAMP NELSON HAS 57 COTTAGES IN JAN 1866; BLACKS WON'T LEAVE

re farwell to fisk, jan 26, 1866, lraco-tn, box 6, rg 105

ANNIE HAGER PAYS TRANS. TO OHIO FOR 350 BLACKS FROM C. NELSON TO OHIO

annie hager to fisk, jan 12, 1866, lraco-tn, box 6, rg 105

"I took from Camp Nelson 350 directly from Camp Nelson ... some of them very young others quite old and conducted them to the state of Ohio."
"I paid the expense out of my own purse and after my own means gave out gave my note and became personally responsible ... to the amount of $189 ... The expense paid besides the notes I gave am. to $900."
BLACKS HELP RAISE FUNDS FOR FREED HOSP (where?)

ed foree to fisk, dec 18, 1865, lraco-tn, box 6, rg105

"By private contributions, mainly negro contributions a fund for the supply and support of a hospital for Africans has been raised. We now lack the house. The house used for a refugee home on Broadway opposite the military prison . . . would help. It would provide a good house for taking care of the indigent sick . . ."

CONTRACT TROUBLE (1866): SMALL GROUP OF BLACKS WILL NOT WORK

aw lawwill to ely, oct 1866, lraco, box 5, rg 105 (Maysville area?)

Considerable trouble "existing between the Freedmen and men who they have contracted to (crop on the shares.) We are sorry to say that some (white) persons wish to drive the Freedmen away as the crop matures . . . there is a class of Freedmen who think that the word 'Freedom' means ease and idleness this class however is small . . ."
The refugees and freedmen's camp at Camp Nelson is broken up. Those freedmen who still remain there are capable of supporting themselves.

"there are very many [freedmen] who are leading a life of idleness and varrancy. And in most cases the Civil Authorities refuse to cooperate with officers of the Bureau in correcting this evil, the remedy for it can only be the presence of troops, and the prospect of arrest and confinement by the officers of the Bureau alone."
Labor "there is a disposition among freedmen to engage on short contracts, and as most of them are verbal, and hence not recorded, in many cases they violate them, and leave their employers just as their services are most needed."

"Farmers are now trying to contract for the year 1867 and the price offered won't suit the views of the blks and I find when they can't hire at these terms they get mad and abuse all the bad blks."
"About thirty-five destitute freedmen have been in a building on Broadway near 17th Street who have been provided for by the Louisville Colored Aid Society which society is about $800 in debt and they were obliged to beg for all they got to eat."

"These people would have been turned out in a few days... I therefore made application for and had turned over to me by Order Maj. Genl Palmer the old Rebel Hospital opposite the Nineteenth Prison where they will in a few days be comfortably situated... It will be necessary to have a white Superintendent over them and under the control of Dr. Ceterly..."
Farwell sent some of the Camp Nelson people to work on F. A. Harrow's plantation in Mississippi.

"The great burden of their complaints is that they are defrauded by whites for whom they labor. When the freedman presents his demand for service performed, some trifling picture is urges as a reason for not paying or liquidating the demand, or some trumped up offset such as incompetency, theft or something of the kind, is presented to defraud him of his just dues."
"I am in daily receipt of complaints of Freedmen that are unable to obtain their wages and I am unable as yet to find anyone willing to bring them before the civil courts in the two counties [Webster and Union] in the two counties mentioned."

"In each of the counties visited, I found the Freedmen all employed and not more than one in ten of the contracts . . . recorded & the whites will not consent to have the Contracts made by Bureau officers and agents." Warren, Logan, Barren, and Marion.
DR. J. J. TRIMBLE TO ELY, OCT 15, 1866, LRACO, BOX 6, RG 105, 1866

There are nearly 4,000 in this city. All poor and "will labor when labor can be had," but this city already has a sufficient labor force (Covington). Females are "less disposed to the habits of industry than are the males... they are frivolous and unsteady and consequently not reliable as servants..." The black has to content himself with a lower scale of wages for the same kinds of service." Dishonest traders take advantage of the black and thus they must pay higher prices for goods.

CRITTENDEN BARRACKS TO BE HOSPITAL (May 1866) LOUISVILLE?

ELY TO FISK, MAY 22, 1866, LRACO-TN, BOX 6, RG 105

Jeff. C. Davis informed Ely that Crittenden Barracks would be turned over to the FB for use as a hospital.
Between 500 and 600 freedmen are at Camp Nelson and not more than 1/2 are at work. Schofield has won the entire confidence of the blacks at Camp Nelson and is using it to persuade them to stay there. At present there is an agent of Thos. Y. Brown and Co. there. Schofield tells the blacks that if they go south they will be mistreated. Schofield tells the blacks to "remain where you are. God will provide for you. You are his chosen people his hand is clearly shown in your deliverance and he does not intend that you should go back into the hands of your old masters."

Ordered by Ely to request an Army Hospital for the use as a Hospital by "the Freedmen's Sanitary Commission of Louisville."

"The Freedmen and all colored people of this place appear to have entered upon this matter with a determination that will ensure success, and if they can in a short time have one of the large Gov't Hospitals not at present occupied (to be selected by Dr. Goldsmith) it will add energy to their efforts."
Probably 10,000 blacks in Louisville in 1866. "During the month of Feb. there were reported to this office / the Health office of Louisville / 135 deaths of black persons. This is at the rate of 16 percent per annum instead of 2½ percent the usual rate for our city's population." A large hospital is needed. Bullitt was a professor of theory and practice at the School of Medicine and Health.

Prof. L. J. Frazee, Dean of the Faculty of the Kentucky School of Medicine requests to deliver clinical lectures at the R. & F. Hosp. "The Ky School of Medicine is an offshoot from the Medical Department of the University of Ky so far as I am informed it is proposed to have two schools of medicine in this city / Louisville / during the coming winter, should the privilege of delivering clinical lectures at the Hospital for R. & F. be granted to one school, the other will, I think no doubt apply for the same privilege." The question also centers around allowing clinical lectures in a military hospital. Many of the profs. of this college are Rebels and many of the students were in the Rebel army or have been in sympathy with the rebellion.

Edwards to Dewitt, June 3, 1867 (enclosure): "it is not thought expedient at the present time to grant the request to deliver clinical lectures in the wards of the Hospital."
CASE OF BIGAMY; SIMPSON CO (?) (Jan 1866) Requests whipping-No!

r vance to fisk, Jan 31, 1866, lraco-tn, box 9, rg 105

A case of bigamy! I respectfully request that if you will permit me to punish the bigamist with stripes it will be to the interest of the freedmen. I can not punish the bigamist in this case by fine and imprisonment since the delinquent has no means to pay the fine and we have no prison where in to confine him."

Jacobs replied with a no on Feb. 3, 1866.

FB OFFICIAL URGES BLACKS TO GET MARRIED; PROBLEMS OF NOT MARRYING (Nov 1867)

James M Fidler to Runkle, Nov 10, 1867, lraco, box 8, e 1068, rg 105

Blacks must get married for if they just live together and then split up after becoming property holders "the settlement of these estates will be attended with innumerable difficulties and much litigation... In addition to this, having their marriages thus made legitimate would enable them to enter the courts for divorce and for protection."

"my impression now as that all colored persons, not legally married, who live together as man and wife, are liable to prosecution for adultery and fornication. Let one example be made by a few and this important matter will be attended to by all."
FEW LABOR CONTRACTS IN RICHMOND; LAWYERS OPPOSE THEM (Jan 1866)

thomas rice to fisk, jan 31, 1866, lraco-tn, box 8, rg 105

Rice is the agt. at Richmond.
"Since my appointment I have only recorded two contracts, there is a perfect check to the business—all the lawyers or nearly all of the place have made the people & the negroes believe that any contract made between a white man and a negro, as just as valid, as made & approved by me, besides saving the fee."

KY CENTRAL RR REFUSES TO LET CAMP NELSON BLACKS BOARD AT NICHOLASVILLE (Oct 1865)

re farwell to fisk, oct 25, 1865, lsaco, box 8 (or 3?), (tenn), rg 105

Can not get the people out of Camp Nelson because the Ky Central R. R. people at Nicholasville will not let balcks on the cars. Farwell sent an armed guard, supplied by Palmer, to Nicholasville. "I hope you will arrive come to Camp Nelson. You will not find order & system just now but you will see that there is some hard work to be done here . . . ."
"Complaints of bad faith on the part of Freedmen, who have entered into contracts with whites (through this office) to perform labor are quite frequent."

"The impression in the minds of the Freedmen, that the Bureau will protect them whether right or wrong, is in my opinion the cause of their nonfulfillment of contracts. A distinguished case of this kind came before me a few days ago. Under Mr. Frederick's administration, two colored men entered into a written contract with a Mrs. Drake who lives some distance from this city on a farm, to do work upon her farm. The contract was long & elaborate and contained many specifications on articles, none of which was carried out by the negro—very much to the damage of Mrs. Drake. The Freedmen, however, seemed to be entirely indifferent concerning the breach of their contract, and thought they would be excepted by the Bureau from paying any damage in consequence thereof. The parties met at my office, Mrs. Drake being accompanied by George D. Prentice—where after considerable contention, it was determined & agreed by even these three between them to submit the whole matter of difference to three farmers, living in the vicinity of the same parties."

"This sort of thing has very great influence in intensifying the prejudices against the Bureau and the negro also, and will result in a positive refusal, on the part of many whites, to employ or enter into contracts with Freedmen."

True's district—Mason, Bracken, Nicholas, Harrison, and Pendleton cos. are very satisfactory for the freedmen. The received an average of $12.00 per month but are moving to the other side of the river, "the majority of the employers are disposed to defraud the employee of his just earnings."
The feeling in Boone, Carrol, Grant, Campbell, Kenton and Owen Counties is improving. "This change in feeling can be readily accounted for when the scarcity of farm and labor hands is considered. There is at present a great demand for labor but the freedmen manifest no desire to contract... The latter [freedmen] are disposed to congregate together in towns and to job about in thickly settled localities when demonstrated truth for preferring the towns to the County they frply by detailing their wrongs, and stating the manner in which they have been treated."

"there was a system of credit established here last year which makes it very hard for those to live who depend entirely on their work for a support, consequently they are placed in a very embarrassing condition... Freedmen have shown a great repugnance to hiring by the month and will associate being hired to individuals to work by the month with slavery." 

"Many will crop on the shares and after thorough injudicious management they will find themselves at the end of the year in debt to their landlord who furnished them with provisions in advance."

"I have labored to break up this system but in many cases I find my labor only rewarded by a lack of confidence by the Freedmen another bad practice seems to prevail in this locality amongst a portion of the Freedmen. That is to leave the service of their employer before the expiration of their contracts."
"the demand for laborers is in excess of the supply especially for farm hands and numerous applications are being daily made for help of all descriptions, both male and female. Complaints are still being made of the binding of the offspring of Freedmen . . . " There are few outrages in this sub-dist.

"The number of contracts made this month are but few in comparison to what they should be. Great scarcity of laborers exists in the country and applications are daily made at the different offices for help by respectable planters who express a willingness to do well by Freedmen could they be induced to go to the country and work. The towns throughout this Sub District and especially Paducah are filled with able bodied negro men who subsist by doing small jobs of work and eke out a precarious and scanty support." The Supt. and agents advise against this but it does not work.
"little business has been done by the Local Supts of the Bureau in the way of making contracts for laborers. The reason for this is apparent all who are acquainted with the politics of the people residing in 'Jackson Purchase.' to them the Freedmen's Bureau is an unlawful institution and any all its acts are in law null and void in this they are sustained not only by the Judges of the various courts but by the laws of the State of Ky and I am informed that so great is the antipathy existing that planters require Freedmen to go before an Attorney and make contracts, although at a greater cost than is required at the office of the Local or County Supt. . . ."

There is a "disposition of the part of many of the freedmen to make a number of contracts before settling down to any, and making their choice from the number, fly from all the rest."
"Reduce your hospitals as fast as it can be done, substituting dispensaries, with a view of reducing the number of agents and officers in the medical work."

Owensboro. Freedpeople are suffering from want of medical attention and medicine. These people are crowded into small ill ventilated tenements, in the most unhealthy parts of town, surrounded by stagnant water, the sure propogator of disease, especially in a malarial county. Large #s are suffering from measles and scarlet fever and during the hot weather they suffer terribly from Typho-malarial fever. A dispensary is needed here. The one at Mt. Sterling should be transferred to Owensboro.
"Many of the freedmen still remain with their old masters, almost entirely without wages but manage to get about enough to eke out an existence."

"The freedmen do not yet see all the benefits of free labor there is no competition against their crude system."

"White emigrants would create such a competition as would educate them that they must labor systematically and energetically or starve in the wake of the advancing civilization. The freedmen have yet a bitter experience in store."

"The condition of the tenements occupied by those people in Covington is wretched old dilapidated ware houses, cellars, garrets and miserable shanties...."
Lexington: "many destitute—want of food, clothing & fuel—living in ill ventilated cabins and delaphidated houses, every room of which is occupied by from one to three families."

"These fa habitations are generally located in the most unhealthy parts of the city, surrounded by decaying vegetables and animal matter and a material consequence from this condition of things, the various diseases to which mankinig is heir, prevail largely in excess of what they would under more favorable circumstances."

The Blacks do not avail themselves to its contracts advantages and the Rebel inhabitants seeing that they are not compelled by the Bureau or the Freedmen before they begin their labor, substitute their own plan, which is to take them by themselves and confidentially inform them that they will give them a certain amount and even do better than that—the Negro instead of legally contracting is deluded by the white man's propositions who by this time has him in his power when the work is about finished or crop about gathered some fault is found with the freedmen he is threatened so that he is threatened so that he must leave or be killed and then payment is denied... or a bill is trumped up against him with plenty of white witnesses in evidence... bring the Freedmen largely in debt which he is compelled to work out the next year..."
Confining the issue of govt. rations to those who can not work. "The colored people of have organized in this place [Paducah] a Freedman Aid Society and I think will very nearly support the aged infirm people and the orphan children among them."

MAN VAGRANTS IN PADUCAH (Apr 1867)

1st lt W.H.Merrell to ely, apr 14, 1867, lraco, box 13, e. 1068, rg 105

Paducah Ky "There are a great many idle and vagrant colored people in Paducah" Mr. Smith is attempting to get the Civil Authorities to enforce the vagrant laws.
Northwest Sub-dst Inspection.

Meade, Breckinridge, Grayson-The freedmen are well employed at good wages. "The Employers seem disposed under the pressure of a scarcity of hands to deal justly and in good faith." Up to a few weeks ago the employers were "not so well disposed toward the Colored laborers, and their conduct toward them was such as to cause hundreds of the freedpeople to move across the river."

A large number of freedmen in the cities and towns " and the reason for this is obvious for in more than in half the instances where contracts have been made and the freedmen are faithful- a quarrel is made by the employer and the employee is compelled to leave . . . ."
"There is a prevalent desire manifested among the freedmen to leave the Country, and flee to the Towns and Cities. Their reasons for doing so are numerous. Many allege ill treatment, and others a desire to educate their children, the advantages of which are not afforded in the County."

"I notice in many instances an aversion on the part of the freedmen to making contracts, and am led to believe it arises from the ill usages they have received since their emancipation from their employers in various ways, chiefly by being cheated and defrauded of their portion of crops (when farming on shares), and oftentimes being driven off and not receiving remunerations of any kind for their labor."
HOWARD AUTHORIZES 3 MOS RATIONS, FUEL FOR LOUISVILLE HOSP HELPLESS PATIENTS (Dec 1868)

ooh (by Whit) to burbank, dec 14, 1868, lraco, box 17, e.1068, rg 105

"you are authorized to purchase a supply of rations & fuel sufficient for three months for the helpless patients in the Hospital at Louisville and place the same in charge of a Surgeon who can be retained temporarily as Asst Supt of Schools or as Clerk Additional."

"It will be necessary to issue the supplies and 'expend' them before Jan'y 1, 1869."

LOUISVILLE HOSP MUST BE CLOSED (Nov 1868)

ooh (by F.D.Sewall) to burbank, nov 2, 1868, lraco, box 17, e.1068, rg 105

The Hospital must be closed by the last of Dec. There are no appropriations for it after that time.
Contracts for shares will produce great difficulties for the freedmen especially in counties away from Warren who do not have agents.

"Contracts to cultivate land on shares are discouraged as such agreements open entirely too wide a field for employers to defraud Freedmen . . . ."

Fifth district (true)- the freedmen are adverse to entering in contracts for an extended amount of time "preferring to seek odd jobs." Many have moved to Maysville.
On Dec. 10, 1868, at 10 a. m. the U. S. buildings now occupied by the Hospital will be sold at a Public sale to the highest bidder for cash. "Said buildings to be removed from the ground by Jany 1, 1869, at which time the 'Freedmen's Bureau Hospital' expires by Congress."

FREEDMEN DESTITUTE, BUT LITTLE ILLNESS IN WARSAW, KY (June 1868)

Warsaw KY: Considerable destitution but "comparatively little or no sickness." Only one case of small pox and it was brought to Warsaw from Covington. Bell vaccinated all of the blacks.
REFUGEES NORTH OF THE OHIO R. MUST STAY THERE UNTIL THEY CAN SUPPORT THEMSELVES IN KY (Aug 1865)

fisk to h.a. mc caleb

Aug 14, 1865, lr-lou, box 53, rg 105, e.1208

"you must not feed nor care for Refugees who may come to Louisville in the face of this order without the authority to start from their homes first... Refugees who can live north of the Ohio must stay there until they can furnish good evidence that they can support themselves upon their return to their former homes. Such evidence should be the letters of friends duly endorsed by Officers of the Governor serving nearest their old place of residence. Nashville is now full of Refugees... half of them are swindlers upon the government. You must not feed them at

SOME KY BLACKS GO TO NASHVILLE (Aug 1865)

cochrane to col. h.a. mc caleb

Aug 10, 1865, lr-lou, box 53, rg 105, e.1208

Send no more refugees to Nashville without first obtaining an order from this office authorizing your action. Louisa Ross, Margaret Stinet, Nancy Pennington and Mary Sellars reported this morning that you had given them transportation here, they had nothing from you to show for it nor have we any record here of their names. Their orders from Washington are daily becoming more and more strict respecting transportation..."
MARY BAKER, FREEDMAN, DESIRES TO GO TO NASHVILLE WHERE SHE HAS FRIENDS 2439
(Aug 10, 1865)

MARY BAKER to H.A. McCaleb, Aug 10, 1865, lr-lou, box 53, rg 105, e. 1208

"I am a refugee with one child in a destitute condition. I wish to go to
Nashville Tenn. where I have friends from whom I can receive help could I go to
them, but I have no means to pay expenses."

End, 51, tenn, Aug 11, 1865-"Mrs. Baker cannot be sent here unless she can show
certificates from here that she can be self-sustaining on her arrival."

BLACK REFUGEE STRANDED IN LOUISVILLE, DESIRES TRANS. TO ARK 2440
(Aug 1865)

JOHN W. ADAMS to FISK, Aug 8, 1865, lr-lou, box 53, rg 105, e. 1208

A refugee from the confederate states since the month of March 1864 and has
served in the U.S. Army for 10 months and is now discharged. Has a family of one
wife and five children and can find no employment in Louisville. He has some pro-
erty in Arkansas and his home is in Little Rock but is unable to bear the expense of
going to Little Rock. Requests transportation to Duvall's Bluff Ark. 
The civil authorities will not "cooperate with this office in Sanitary measures; police regulations or anything else."

"Consequently I am unable to enforce any orders from this office. A large class of vilians [sic] negroes are loafing about the streets in daytime and roaming through the country at night. They will not work themselves nor will they permit others to do so if they can help it."

"The city is full of negro prostitutes and negroes who have lived with their wives for ten years or more are forsaking them for these vile creatures, and I have no way of making them behave themselves."

"A work house (with provisions for feeding them) is indispensably necessary to the successful conduct of this Bureau."

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The freedmen are heading back to the Cities and Towns. A great deal of sickness exists among the freedmen in Lexington and "a large proportion of the number are too poor to either purchase medicines, or obtain the medical assistance they require. The County and the City Authorities do little, or nothing . . . ."
"In remote parts of the District dishonest persons frequently take advantage of their ignorance to swindle them out of wages fairly earned. Owing to the expense attending litigation of such cases before the U. S. Courts and the unwillingness of the local Magistrates to execute the Civil Rights Bill, the Freedmen are compelled to submit to these wrongs."

The average wage in this sub dist (Danville) for an able bodied negro is 75¢ and meals a day. "On this pittance he works on contented & happy."
fisk to howard, march 17, 1866, Press copies of letters sent to howard and staff, vol 15, tenn, rg 105

"I have the honor to request that (4) four groups of the buildings known as the 'Crittenden Hospital' at Louisville and the out buildings . . . . be turned over to the Bureau . . . ." For a hospital.

fisk to martin, march 19, 1866, press copies ls-tn, vol 10, rg 105

"the act of the Kentucky Legislature to revoke some of those rights by an unjust and discriminatory apprenticeship system is at war with the Federal government, and must be resisted and defeated."

It is the duty of agents of Ky as guardians of black orphans and abandoned children, to "bind them out in accordance with the provisions of the code of Ky, as applied to white children in like circumstances."
j. e. Jacobs to James M. Fidler, Feb 24, 1866, press copies 1s-tn, vol 10, rg 105

"In cases where the County court refuses to make indentures as stipulated by the regulations of the Bureau, or to recognize you by virtue of your office as guardian of orphan children of freedmen, you will make out the indentures required according to your instructions, have them signed & witnessed and then record them in your own court."

j. e. Jacobs to W.G. Woodruff, Jan 24, 1866, press copies 1s-tn, vol 9, rg 105

"In reply to your letter of the 15th inst, the Asst Commissioner directs me to say that you can regulate the sale of liquor to freedmen as you see fit, and that he would be glad if no liquor existed anywhere."
"You are by virtue of your office a Guardian of all the orphans and abandoned children in your county...."
Camp Nelson: "I have the honor to report the refugee home closed."

LOUISVILLE REFUGEE & FREED ESTABLISHMENT MUST BE CLOSE; NO RATIONS AFTER SEPT 20, 1865

"the Refugee & freedman's establishment at "Louisville must be closed out at once and the issue of all rations to these classes of people to cease on the 20th day instant." (Sec. 1) "No rations will be issued to any parties whatsoever after that date."
"We shall not attempt to furnish any more transportation and every energy of Officers of the Bureau should be exerted to relieve the Government from the expense of transporting and feeding these people."

"Break up your hospital & have the sick provided for in private facilities. I will pay the bills."
STRICTER RULES ON LECTURING, VISITING, ETC LOUISVILLE R & F HOSP
(Apr 1867)

SO # 31 KY, April 15, 1867, 1r-lou, box 53, rg 105, e 1208

Special Order #31

"Until further orders no Surgeon or Physician unless employed by the Government will be permitted to deliver clinical or other lectures at the Hospital for Refugees and Freedmen...

"Visiters will be admitted to the wards of the Hospital between the hours of 1 and 4 p.m. upon application to AA Surg R. A. Bell U. S. A. in charge of Hospital (or in his absence B. N. E. Beesonde U. S. A.) who will detail an Actg Medical Cadet to accompany the Visiters through the Hospital."

"Nothing will be allowed to be carried to Patients in the Hospital without first being inspected by the Surgeon in charge of the Hospital, or someone appointed by him."

DANCES, BALLS TO BE STOPPED (Apr 1866)

levi f burnett to babcock, apr 4,1866, End. 25, vol 30, rg 105, e 1065.

Inspect the premises of the N+ quarters "take possession of the furniture and fixtures of the room used for dancing &c locking the room and give the trustees of the building notice to discharge immediately the man, person or persons who are engaged in getting up the balls and dances alluded to, and to further notify the trustees that if they permit any entertainments of this character to take place in the building or quarters again the property will be taken out of their hands & all the persons implicated ill be arrested, fined and severely punished if found guilty of violating these instructions."
"Close the arrangement with Genl. Burbridge. Will give him transportation for dependants via Cincinnati & the Rivers to Washington County."

"Devote your energies to the breaking up of the Refugees Establishment at Camp Nelson. Refer all outside cases to the civil authorities until further orders."
fisk to howard, nov 3, 1865, Press copies of letters sent to Howard and staff, tn, vol 15, rg 105

"It has been necessary to transport many of the inmates there of Camp Nelson to points in Ohio and Indiana where they can support themselves. Genl. Order No. 138 7th. C. O. current series authorizes me to transport such persons only within the limits of my District. I have the honor to request your approval of issues of transportation to freedmen dependants at Camp Nelson to points opposite Kentucky. Captain Pertain A. G. M. has already issued transportation to some persons going north of the Ohio River."

fisk to howard, oct 17, 1865, press copies of letters sent, tn, to howard and staff, vol 15, rg 105

"At Camp Nelson "There has been created a savings fund of about six thousand dollars which now stands to the credit of the Home on the books of Captian Ransom U. C. S. At the Post."

"I have the honor to request that the Commissary C'n'l direct Captian Ransom U. C. S. to turn the said fund to myself that I may use it in distributing the people in the Home and in purchasing for them necessary comforts. This fund is the only one in Kentucky for which purchases can be made for many aged and infirm colored people as well as orphans of the colored soldier."
TRANSPORTION NEEDED FOR CAMP NELSON REFUGEES BEFORE WINTER

fisk to ooh, press copies of letters sent to howard & staff, tn, sept 18, 1865, vol 15, rg 105

"It is important that transportation be soon provided at the Refugee Home at Camp Nelson Kentucky...." to homes before the winter.

POPULATION OF CAMP NELSON: BEING REDUCED (Sept 1865)

fisk to howard, sept 3, 1865, press copies of letters sent to ooh and staff, tn, vol 15, rg 105

"I am reducing Camp Nelson though not so rapidly as I could wish. It is a difficult matter to conduct a Bureau for Free men in a Slave State. Yet there is no reason for discouragement.... During the last six days I have been able to reduce the number in Camp two hundred and twenty-four (224) and during August, Four hundred and forty two (442)...."

In the Camp Sept 1: Women-1308, children 1369, total 2477.
Requests that the Faculty of Ky. School of Medicine be allowed to deliver clinical lectures at the R & F subject to the supervision of the Medical Officer in charge.

S. A. Edwards to De Witt, June 3, 1867, lr med. dept., box 35.

"It is not thought expedient, at the present time, to grant the request to deliver Clinical lectures in the wards of the Hospital."

W.R. DeWitt to Dr. Fred Hassig, apr 11, 1867, ls-med. dept., vol 55, rg 105,

Hassig was the Actg. Asst. Surg for Paducah. Weekly reports are forwarded singly and monthly in duplicate. Medical and Hospital supply lists are to be made out in triplicate. Make weekly reports every Saturday night. You are to be paid $40 per month.
LOCATION OF R & F HOSP IN LOUISVILLE (Aug 1866)


early in July the Dispensary here was taken out of Dr. Osterloney's hands and he was directed to assist Town in establishing the R. & F. hospital at the corner of 15th and Broadway and also to attend outside patients. The gentlemen who took over the dispensary made no report and finally gave it up.

CASE OF INSANE BLACK IN R & F HOSP; SALE OF BODIES (Aug 1867)

Runkle to Ely, Aug 20, 1867, Inspection Reports, Ky., Vol 37, RG 105, E.1072

The case of Thos. J. Griffity against R. A. Bell.

Charges (1) Neglect of duty in the case of Gustav Mesier a patient in the R & F. Mesier is a partially insane and black indigent. T. J. Griffity took Mesier to the R & F. Runkle found that Griffity made Mesier drunk to procure a statement. (2) That Bell knew of & contended in the sale of bodies of patients who died in the Hosp. Runkle-Between the months of Dec. 1866 and Feb. 1867 dead bodies of patients were sold but no officer of the R & F had knowledge of the fact, but that Stewards Crosbie and Cahill were the guilty parties. This is based upon the testimony of Dr. Poemoun in a previous investigation which was stricken from the record for reason that the activity occurred under the administration of Jeff. C. Davis while Town was in charge of the Hospital.
CAMP NELSON: MANY BLACKS WON'T WORK; SCOFIELD UNCOOPERATIVE (May 1866)

J.R. Lewis to Fisk, May 15, 1866, Inspection Reports, tn, box 23, rg 105

There are about 400 or more colored people collected in and about Camp Nelson, most of whom are working very little. In fact the establishment is but a dirty harem on a large scale. These people will not go to work. This is because Schofield of the AMA who wants to colonize them counsels them not to make contracts or to go out of State.

LOUISVILLE FREEDMEN REFUSE TO PAY ASSESSORS TAX ON FREEDMEN (Apr 1866)

C.H. Frederick to Ely, Apr 16, 1866, Press Copies, Is-lou, vol 139, rg 105

The four assessors appointed by the Freedmen's Sanitary Commission in this City commence their duties on the 10th inst and have collected the tax from some of the Freedmen. Today the assessors reported to me that they find it impossible to collect any more money, on account of a report among them (the Freedmen) that the one dollar tax is illegal and nearly all refuse to pay.
AUTHORIZATION SOUGHT FOR FAMILIES OF DECEASED SOLDIERS TO NASHVILLE (aug 1865)
S.A. Porter to Maj Jno. H. Cochrane, aug 4, 1865, Press copies, ls-lou vol 139, rg 105, e.120


WAGES, CONTRACTS (Feb 1868)

Narrative Report . . . , Feb 15, 1868, # 1071, Bx 36, K4 Hdq, 2 FEA L, NA, RG 105

96 contracts for 119 persons
wages 00$12.50 for males and $6.74 for females.

CITY OF LOUISVILLE REQUESTS THAT R & F PATIENTS BE SENT TO U.S. MARINE HOSP (Dec 1868) (CITY ADDING BLACK SECTION TO HOSP)

R.A. Bell to S.A. Edwards, Dec 10, 1868, Is med dept, vol 55, rg 105, e.1091

"The following is the Report submitted."
"To the General Council of the City of Louisville."
"the value of all things proposed to be turned over to the city with the Freedmen’s Hospital will not exceed as per Report accompanying this 26,703.30."
"They would further report that whereas the city of Louisville has at the present but one Hospital with a capacity of 80 beds, and has now in that Hospital not less than 120 patients, and whereas the city is about to enlargement her Hospital with apartments for colored patients and whereas the United States has a Hospital in our city with ample room for the accommodations of the inmates of the Freedmen’s Hospital and whereas the city does not desire and cannot without great expense conduct a separate Hospital for colored patients, Therefore be it enrolled by the General Council for the City of Louisville that we would ask of the proper authorities of the United States that they transfer the patients of the Freedmen’s Hospital in this city to the U. S. Marine Hospital in this city until such time as will allow the city to complete the addition to her present Hospital."
"The following proposition was made by the Asst. Com. to the Mayor and City Council of Louisville."

"Since the issue of the above I have had repeated interviews with the city officials urging upon them the absolute necessity of prompt and efficient action in as much as under existing orders, we would be compelled to dismiss the inmates of the Home on the first of Jan., 1869, appealing to them in the name of justice, humanity and Christianity not to suffer them to be turned out to die." 

"In my third interview I succeeded in obtaining a promise from the Mayor and a committee of Councilmen to visit the Home at a specified time but to my surprise only two of the committee felt sufficient interest in the matter to make their engagement. The proposed change was again freely dismissed and an inventory for the property proposed to be turned over by the Asst. Com with an estimate of its value furnished them at their own request the two members present promised to bring the subject before the Council at the next meeting and in fulfillment of that promise introduced the following Report, which, after considerable debate was adopted by the lower board but the Board of Aldermen have failed to take any action in the matter whatsoever except to direct the special committee to whom thereport was referred and I am assured after several interviews with members of that Board that no further action will be taken."

PADUCAH CITY AUTHORITIES REFUSE TO COOPERATE WITH FB (Mar 1868)

The Paducah "city authorities concluded to have nothing to do with the Bureau. They would accept any medicine which might be furnished, but would not assume any responsibility...." Therefore Dr. Brown was contracted.
"No body of any patient who had died at the Hospital for Refugees and Freedmen in the city of Louisville, will be permitted to be sold or given to any medical school or college, or any private individual for the purpose of Post Mortem examination or dissection, but in all cases the remains will be entered in the burial ground provided for that purpose, except when transferred to their friends for burial."

Post Mortem may be conducted by the Med. Cadets with approval from the Surg. in charge unless the family objects.

"An unofficial letter has been received by Genl. Ely . . . from Genl. F. D. Sewall . . . in which he says: While at Paducah 'I did not like the appearance of Dr. Hassig. He was not quite sober. I felt obliged to report this as I saw him. The General Howard is not satisfied with him altogether."

"Dr. Pett also called at this office today and reported that Dr. Hassig was in the Rebel service for a short time. General Sewall also says that Dr. Pett comes to Washington well recommended. . . '" and if Ely and Dewitt want to appoint someone new that Howard approves.

"you will make an investigation as to the habits of Dr. Hassig particularly as to the use by him of intoxicating liquor."

"Also please report what you know & find out as to the character, habits, standing and loyalty of Dr. Best."
OPPOSITION TO BLACK SCHOOLS, GLASGOW, BOWLING GREEN, PADUCAH, MT STERLING (Aug 1866)

Large opposition to black schools is found in the following places: Glasgow, Bowling Green, Paducah, and Mt. Sterling.

A school in Glasgow was almost broken up by the regulators until "[name redacted]" in Sept of the bureau at that place admitted each of the scholars on his arms to take them to school with them. "The school at "[name redacted]" was broken up by a gang of "drunken outlaws..." the teachers became frightened and fled from the State." "A school at Bowling Green was broken up by a party of lawless men." No attempt to reopen the school was made until a detachment of troops was sent.

Report on Schools (Aug 1866)

31 schools, with 2828 pupils.
"95 per-cent of the colored people are self-supporting."
The law providing money to Ky. paupers & schools will not go into effect until April of 1867. "the money will not be available before April of 1867."

12 SOLDIERS SENT TO PADUCAH (to protect schools?)

In reply to school telegram "twelve (12) soldiers were sent yesterday to Paducah for duty."
DISTURBANCE IN PADUCAH (Apr 1866)

ely to donovan, may 5, 1866, lsaco, vol 14, rg 105, e.106

In reference to the April 20, letter relative to an attack on Col. Scholl.

If the disturbance was as serious as you thought "you are directed to obtain the names (without their knowledge) of the parties concerned in thereof and forward the same to these HdQrs."

SCHOOLS; DESIRE OF FREEDMEN TO LEARN; REGULATOR OPPOSITION (Aug 1866) 2484

ely to davis, aug 15, 1866, lsaco, vol 14, rg 105 (Ely in louisville), e.106

Schools--31 with 2378 students. "These schools were organized by the colored churches and they are mainly kept in the buildings belonging to the different denominations, the pastors of which in many cases are the teachers. These schools are under the protection of the Bureau. It seems wise to learn an effort on the part of a large majority of the colored people to provide suitable means for the educatin of their children... "Many of these schools have met with a strong and violent opposition from a class of white people who style themselves as Regulators. Aside from the assistance and protection afforded by the Bureau the colored people met with but little encouragement in their efforts to organize schools."
BLACK SCHOOLS; DESIRE FOR BLACK TEACHERS; SUPPORTED BY FREEDMEN
(Aug 1866)

e:ly to H.A. Dike, Aug 11, 1866, lsaco, vol 14, rg 105, e.1013

There are 10 schools for blacks with about 3000 students. "All of these schools are supported by the Freedmen..."

To reply to your request to delay until the next school term, it is doubtful if teachers will be available until April 1867. "And it is doubt if so soon as that date."

"We are told that the Freedmen do not appreciate the support of the Freedmen and will not continue to support a freedman when unable to obtain teachers..."

"Most of the freedmen are not able to support their freedmen school or..."

"The freedmen school is not able to support their freedmen school or..."

"The freedman school is not able to support their freedmen school or..."

"The freedman school is not able to support their freedmen school or..."

"The freedman school is not able to support their freedmen school or..."

KY'S NEED FOR SUPT OF SUPT OF SCHOOLS (Sept 1866)

ely to W.W. Eaton, sept 14, 1866, lsaco, vol 15, rg 105, e.1e43

A Supt of Schools is needed in this State and a person who can obtain the assistance of the various Freedmen's aid societies so that they will aid in employing teachers and providing books is necessary. The salary will be $100 per month.
PADUCAH FREEDMAN SENT TO R & F HOSP LOUISVILLE; INSANE NOT ADMITTED

ey to donovan, sept 10, 1866, lsaco, vol 15, rg 105, e. 1043

Furnish transportation for Martha Dodd from Paducah to Louisville to admit her to the F and F Hospital situated at corner of 15th and Broadway in Louisville. The woman Long and another unnamed cannot be admitted for there is no facility to take care of the insane in the F and F Hospital.

WHITE WOMAN, 5 CHILDREN ADMITTED TO R & F HOSP (Jan 1866)

levi f burnett to f l town, jan 11, 1867, lsaco, vol 15, rg 105, e. 1043

Admitt Mary Jones (white) and five children to the R & F Hospital for temporary shelter until transportation can be obtained for them to Nashville.
Rice's letter relative to a building in Lexington to be used as a school house for black children is accepted. One hundred ten dollars per month for rent of this building shall be paid.

"Were the colored people properly encouraged and protected by the civil authorities throughout the State they would no doubt establish schools in every town in it."
There is a system of terrorism in the following counties: "Boone, Scott, Clay, Harrison, Marion, Simpson, Logan, Warren, Parker, Breathitt, Daviess, Meade, Todd, McCracken, and the whole county west of the Cumberland River."

"I respectfully recommend that the military forces of the District be increased by the addition of a squadron of cavalry . . ." to drive the regulators out of the state.

The law for schools has never been carried into effect. "I cannot learn that a single school has been thus established. I suspect the main obstacle has been the non-payment of taxes. I have had access to the books of the assess or in this city and though the colored population numbers over 15,000 I find that less than $600 has actually been received."

"You will observe that the various benevolent organizations have as yet done comparatively little in this state."
FREEDMEN PAUPERS: ONLY LEX AREA TAKES CARE OF THEM; FEW FROM MT AREA (Aug 1866)

ely to davis, aug 15, 1866, lsaco, vol 14, rg 105, e.1063

"Paupers "From every part of the State except the far Eastern Mountain Counties. The Bureau tries to get the paupers who are too old to labor taken care of by their former owners or their negro friends and relatives. The civil authorities have been asked to provide assistance to the colored paupers "without success in all portions of the State except in the 4th District (Lexington Sub District (H. C. Howard's)."

MONEY NEEDED TO PAY TEACHERS FOR BLACK SCHOOLS (Aug 1867)

ely to H.A. Dickey, aug 11, 1867, vol 14, rg 105 LSACO, e.1063

"Dickey is the sect. of the nat. freedmen's relief assoc.

The Bureau can not pay school teachers. Most freedmen can not spend money for this purpose and therefore most of their children do not go to school. Much good could be done in this State by sending money here to pay teachers as several schools have been closed on that account. .. They prefer colored teachers rather than white."
There is one hospital in Louisville under the direction of Pvt. Maj. F. Town. In July there were 147 patients admitted of that number 8 have died and 15 have been discharged. At the present there are 81 patients under treatment.

ELY: CO. OFFICIALS MUST CARE FOR 'OLD BLACK WOMAN' (Oct 1866)

You want the Bureau to care for an old black woman turned out by her owner and who you are caring for. We can not. It is hoped that the county officials will do so.
All black attended schools in Louisville are taught by black teachers.

Fisher is from Carrollton.

The petition of J. E. Lyons to be relieved of supporting a black blind woman has been received. The U. S. Govt. has made no provisions for the support of paupers. The R. And F. Hospital is only for the sick. "It is hoped that the county Authority will at once make provision for the support of the woman referred to."
Hospitals—of the 108 patients (instead of 131 reported)—79 admitted during Sept; 14 deaths; 59 discharged; 114 on hand as of Sept. 30, 1866. Pensions issued 34, value of rations $490.31.

LEXINGTON SCHOOL FOR BLACKS OCT 1866; BLDG, TEACHERS, BOARD, ETC

Howard School located in building called "Codice Hall."

The Lexington school building costs $110 per month. The freedmen and their white friends at Lexington furnished the house with chalk and accommodations for 100 scholars at a cost of $500. The city council ordered $100 to be paid to the Treasury of the Colored School Board previously collected as school tax for the freedmen. The school is free in under the Gin branch of the A.M.A. F. W. Cravath secretary. The teachers are E. Sarah P. Todd and Mrs. Dora Brooks. Supt. is J. W. Phillips.
35 schools in sepr. with 2451 students. The schools at Lexington and Covington are taught by black teachers and supported by subscriptions of the colored children attending. At Covington there are two free schools under the direction of the Col. Branch of the WPAQ. The Bureau paying $25 per month for school houses. The society paying teachers and furnishing books &c. Teachers are the Ms. Wolfe (two of them).
Ely to Annie Biddle, Sept 29, 1866, Isaco, Vol 15, RG 105, E 1043

**Friends Assoc. of PA.**

"We are now about to establishing free schools for them in Louisville, Lexington, & Covington... the Government... paying the rent of these schoolhouses and the American Missionary Association through its branch office in Cincinnati Ohio supplying & paying the teachers."

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**Need for Clothes for Women as Winter of 1866-67 Approaches**

Ely to Annie Biddle, Sept 29, 1866, Isaco, Vol 15, RG 105, E 1043

Friends assoc. of Pa.

Request for assistance in view of the approaching winter. Some are sending estimates for the amount of clothing they will need for the "helpless case of indigents..." All men's clothing is drawn from the Quartermaster's Dept. U.S. A. and therefore we only need women's clothing and shoes. The Civil Authorities have made no provision for indigents as of yet."
FIND PARENTS OF VAGRANT BOY "ED" OR APPRENTICE HIM (Sept 1866) LOU.

ely to C H Frederick, Sept 26, 1866, Isaco, Vol 15, Rg 105, e. /t. j.

"You to endeavor to learn something in regard to the parents of the Colored boy 'Ed' (vagrant) ... If you cannot obtain such information, you will apprentice him as provided by the regulations of this Bureau. You will request Dr. F. L. Town, A. A. Surgeon F. & F. Hospital to furnish the boy with quarters and rations until his case is disposed of ... ."

BLACKS BEING RECRUITED IN ARMY IN (Dec 1866)

burdett to Samuel Martin, Dec 26, 1866, Isaco, Vol 15, Rg 105, e. /t. j.

Possibly Levi F. Burnett?

Blacks are now being enlisted in this city for cavalry and infantry by Bt. Col. J. S. Brisbin, Supt of the Recruiting Service.
Have the bldg located on the corner of 18th street and Magazine in Louisville and owned by H. S. Cosgrove fitted for a school at a cost not exceeding $150.

Acknowledges the receipt of clothing for women. It is being distributed to our agents and supts.
As of Oct. 31--128 patients in R & F hosp. 69 were admitted in Nov.--59 discharged, 7 died, leaving 131 present the last day of November.

dispensary--# of applications 162. # of prescriptions issued 525.

OCT 1866 REPORT R & F HOSP LOUISVILLE; ALSO NOV.

As of Oct. 31--128 patients in R & F hosp. 69 were admitted in Nov.--59 discharged, 7 died, leaving 131 present the last day of November.
CLOTHES FOR WOMEN IN LOUISVILLE? (Dec 1866)

Ely to Henry M. Baing, dec 5, 1866, lsaco, vol 15, rg 105, e.1063

Received Nov. 30 a letter informing Ely that Friends are willing to give clothes for women.

RATIONS AUTHORIZED FOR LEX SUB DIST (Dec 1866)

Ely to R E Johnston, dec 7, 1866, lsaco, vol 15, rg 105, e.1063

"You are hereby authorized to issue to destitute Refugees and Freedmen in your sub Dist. such rations as you may deem necessary not exceeding five hundred rations per month from this date until March 15, 1867."
Dispensary-- # of applicants for medicine at the R & F dispensary at Louisville: 196 during Oct. 385 prescriptions issued.

Recommends establishing a dispensary at Covington.

Schools--55 in Oct with 3259 scholars
BLACK CHURCH IN LEBANON TO BE USED AS SCHOOL; RENT MONEY PAID BY FB ACTUALLY FOR TEACHER'S SALARY (Dec 1866)

ely to  fisher, dec 14, 1866, lsaco, vol 15, rg 105, e.1063

"$35 per month will be paid from the funds belonging to this Bureau for rent of the church of which Revd. T. Wills (sold) is pastor at Lebanon by to be used for school purposes; provided there is an average attendance of 75 scholars and if there is average attendance of not less than one hundred (100) scholars $35 per month will be paid."

"The money referred to must be used in assisting to pay the salary of a teacher so that the school will be free to all children of Freedmen living in that vicinity."

CASE INVOLVING BLACK TESTIMONY; IF NO BLACK TEST. ALLOWED, REARREST AND TAKE TO LOUISVILLE (Nov 1866)

ely to donovan, nov 9, 1866, lsaco, vol 15, rg 105, e.1063

Attend the case of Amanda Thompson v. Saml. Orr and if the defendant by acquitted by reason of nonadmission of black testimony or the failure to obtain justice because of the prejudices of that community against black people you will rearrest Orr and forward him under guard to the military prison at Louisville for trial before the U. S. Dist. court.
REV T K NOBLE SELECTED AS SCHOOL SUPT (Nov 1866)

The Rev. T. K. Noble was selected as school supt. on the recommendation of the Rev. Edward P. Smith and Rev. E. M. Cravath of the Am. and Howard assigned to Noble on the 22d of Oct. He has not yet appeared.

BARNES TEXTBOOK CO ASKED ABOUT TEXTS FOR KY (Jan 1867)

Are you willing to introduce your series of books into the public schools of this state on the same terms they were introduced in South Carolina? The multiplicity of textbooks in Ky. is embarrassing.
67 schools in November with 3973 pupils.

Increase of 2 schools and a decrease of 201 pupils.

Noble reported for duty on Dec 10, 1866.
Dispensaries were established at the following places in December—Covington, Lexington, Mt. Sterling.
The bureau will pay $35 a month to rent your church. Each pupil should pay a nominal sum, say 20 cents per month. If there are 150 pupils this should take care of the expenses of your school.

I write to you and your church to let you know that we need teachers. Will you transmit to me the names and addresses of the Secretys of the various Freedmen's Aid Societies of Phil.?
Dispensaries (Louisville)-applicants-157; prescriptions-220.
Covington-applicants 22, no prescriptions; Lex-applic. 1-, no proc.; Mt. St.
no applications.

Noble seeks teachers, will pay rent: to be used as teacher salaries

To James F. Bolton, Jan 18, 1867, Isaco, Vol 15, RG 105, E. 1063

You are sure the freedmen will pay the board of the teachers and therefore
I shall send you an "order to rent the schoolhouse of them, paying the (30)
30 dollars per month with the understanding that this sum shall be used to
pay the teachers salary." The Sec. of the All. and Freed-men's Relief Commiss-
ion wrote me yesterday and stated that they can and do nothing more in
this State. "They can furnish teachers if we will see that they are supported.
Now, the rent of the building will pay the salary of two teachers and if you
can see that their boards is paid, I will send them to you as soon as
possible." I cannot supply books.
Can you furnish some teachers. "This Bureau will furnish transportation; secure necessary school buildings, and give all needful protection." The A.A and "PP aid commission are sustaining about a dozen schools in the entire state. There should be 50 schools established in the next two months.

73 schools in operation; 58 day schools
15 night schools

Attendance is 4411, an increase of 4 schools and 242 scholars since January.
6 schools have been discontinued during the month of February "on account of the poverty of the freedmen." One new school has been opened.
Of the 73 schools reported in Feb., 21 are sustained in part by the Bureau. We rent black owned churches "with the understanding that the rent shall be used in support of the school." No pupil shall be excluded because of poverty. The rent is usually sufficient to pay the salary of the teacher. Therefore at the expense of $625, 22 buildings have been rented. 2804 or 63% of the 4701 (counting the students who are in the 3 schools not reporting in Feb., or the 4403 all total reporting) students are in Bureau supported schools.

There are 88 teachers in Ky.: 21 AWA, this agency "pays the salary of these teachers the freedmen pay their board . . ." transportation is furnished by the government.

During the month the AWA has sent 2 teachers to Columbus, 1 to Greenburg and 1 to Louisville. At Columbus and Greenburg the salary of the teachers is paid by rental of the bldg.
There is an increase of 242 in aggregate attendance (in Feb.). The increase in Jan was 397 making the year's increase 639. Three schools have not reported. Estimated attendance for these schools is 298 and thus the total attendance in Feb. was 4701.

Your order to relieve all surgeons who are officers of the regular and volunteer army has been read. A few days ago I authorized the employment of Dr. Beaman at a salary of $75 to assist Dr. Bell in charge of the Hospital. We therefore do not need a physician such as you describe. It would never cost $100 a month to get one.
Schools for Jan-67 in operation with 4169 pupils. The number of schools run by Bureau and Benevolent assoc. teachers is 5 with a total of 625 scholars. The number of churches the bureau pays rent for in order to defray tuition is 14 with a total of 1450 scholars. The balance is 52 schools.

Obstacles; an "atmosphere of bitter hostility to 'nigger schools'." Also difficulty in procuring buildings -black churches are almost the only available places. Teachers 'almost totally incompetent,' six schools have been discontinued but four new ones "have been established on a permanent basis, supplied with competent teachers . . . ."

The Bureau "pays provided the buildings and pays the transportation of the teachers: The American Missionary Association is responsible for their salary, while Freedmen meet the expenses of board, fuel, &c."

In the present school year little aid will be guaranteed to my schools. "I cannot refrain from expressing my conviction, that but for its protecting aid, schools for the colored children in this State would have no existence."

The school law is a dead letter. "At a single school has been established since its passage. "I incline to the belief that it was initiated for the latitude of Washington rather than that of Kentucky."
PREScriptions Issued Around KY March 1867

The number of prescriptions issued during March--Louisville, 3337
    Lexington, 131
    Covington, 52
    Mt. Sterling, 71

4032

School Report, March 1867

In March 65 day and 9 night schools, employing 91 teachers.
Attendance 4543.
In R & F hospital on Feb 28---164. Admitted during March--56; total 220.
Discharged---cured, 29;
died, 9;

38

Number remaining in Hosp---182.

A school house has been erected in Bowling Green during the month of March. The building was given by a citizen.
LEX, LOU SCHOOLS RUN BY AMA UP TO STANDARD OF FREE STATES (APR 1867) 2541

SCHOOL REPORT: MARCH 1867

See note 2536: contrast political view with education specialist view.
The following have no schools—Hollingsworth, Trimble Co. (35 children aged 6 to 21); Middletown (50); Jericho, Estill Co. (25); Centerville (21); Harrisburg, Bath Co. (35); Newport, Campbell (35); Warsaw, Boyle Co. (50). These people are too poor to support a school. A school of 50 c. will be opened in Crittenden, so, but troops would be necessary to guard it.

North Western—Black pop is badly scattered and thus little has been done here. There are few places where a school of twenty-five children could be gathered. But 1 or 2 are in operation. A small bug school has been erected at a schoolhouse of Mr. [illegible] which is rented by a Negro. Taught by two young ladies from other (white) and has an attendance of 20.

No Eastern—A school house has been erected in P. C. during the winter. It a building given by a citizen.

The tuition aid by the freedmen in March was $114.3, an increase of $117 over last month. I am getting no aid now from the benevolent agencies. The chief difficulty in getting black scholars in the freedmen's poverty.
The dispensary in February--have seen people and dispensed medicine to the following numbers: Louisville, 750 persons; Covington, 175 persons; Lexington, 100 persons; Mt. Sterling, 150 persons. Total, 1275.

Hospital and dispensary-- Number of R & F at end of Jan, 175. 41 admitted during the month; total--216. 46 discharged cured; 6 died; for a total of 42. On hand Feb 28--164. 10% are white refugees.
Seven schools with an attendance of 1343 are furnished with teachers by the AMA & WFC. The Bureau pays rent. The number of schools without benevolent association teachers for which the Bureau paid rent was 15 with 1461 pupils.

Four new schools have been opened since last report (March) and 320 have been added to the aggregate attendance. Many of the older pupils have left school to work. 40 school buildings, largely churches, have been furnished by this Bureau. Last month the attendance was above 80% of the number enrolled. This month in spite of the labor it reaches 78%. Opposition of the whites is dying in the Lex and Lou sub dists.
The school in Louisville under the auspices of the Pa. Branch of the Prot. Episcopal Church. Last Feb this society sent a black teacher and opened a school in the Colored Episcopal Church, on the corner of 9th and Green streets. "It is styled a 'High school.' Its real grade is however no higher than other schools in the State which have a more modest name." Last month another teacher was sent by this society and a school founded in a bldg in the rear of the church. This bldg has a single room and will comfortably seat 50 students. I recommended that the bureau pay a rent of $15 per month to help with the expenses. This was approved and the bldg rented. "It is regarded... as a primary department of the High School." Mr. Atwill is the rector of the church. This High School bldg is in better condition than the majority of school bldgs in the State—the teachers receive as tuition not less than $30 per month. They receive from Pa. Prot. Epis ch $900 per year and from the Bureau $180 per year. Makes an aggregate of $1380 per year. I cannot recommend that the appropriation be made." Too many other schools are poor.

"I am greatly embarrassed in the way of organizing schools in this State by reason of a lack of funds."

"Only two Benevolent organizations are operating here and their combined expenditures are less than six hundred dollars per month. In the adjoining State of Tennessee over Six Thousand Dollars were expended during the month of March. Cannot a portion of the funds arising from Abandoned Lands be apportioned to Kentucky?"
Hanley is of the Lane Theological Seminary.

"I will state that if you are prospecting a good mission and ground you need will not go beyond this State. As to the wages given and terms generally it is enough to say that it is a work of charity and love, the average salary of the teachers is least a twenty-five (25) dollars per month including board."

"If you can afford to spend your vacations in doing good and wait for the wages till you get into the next world, I can give you a fine field."

There are no records in this state indicating that there are any teachers in the employ of the North Western FAC of Chicago. The only societies reported are the AIA, SFAS, and the Prot Epis. Aid Society.
2 BLACK TEACHERS SENT TO BOWLING GREEN; FREEDMEN MUST PAY THEM

noble to C.T. Johnson, apr 22, 1867, Isaco, vol 16, rg 105, 1063 entry

In regard to the expediency of a white teacher in Bowling Green. The A2A is sending you two colored ones. "Please do what you can to set up a large school for them. The expenses must be met by the Freedmen."

KY LAW ON PAUPERS; NOT YET ENFORCED (apr 1867)

ely to Burbank, apr 20, 1867, Isaco, vol 16, rg 105, 1063 entry

Paupers—By sect. 7 an act of the commonwealth mar. 9, 1867, a portion of the taxes were to provide for support of colored paupers. "No action has yet been taken by the civil authorities of the State under this act."
CLOTHING, RATIONS FOR FREEDMEN (Mar 1867)

ELY to Burbank, Apr 20, 1867, Lsaco, Vol 16, RG 105, C. 1063

clothing---200 pairs of stockings issued during March 1867

Rations for March---To the R & F hospital, 5971
To the State, 508
Total, 6479 @ $1,470.07

ELY CERTIFICATES PRINTED FREE BY J.W.CALVERT CO OF LOUISVILLE
(May 1867)

ELY to a W Lawwill, May 31, 1867, Lsaco, Vol 16, RG 105, C. 1063

The certificates requested for the Ely school have been printed
(200 of them). J. W. Calvert and Co. of Louisville did it for free
"desiring to give this service as a contribution for the benefit of the
Ely School."
I am informed by [Omitted] that the school at Owensboro is not yet finished due to a lack of funds. Please forward to this office an estimate of the amount needed to complete the building.

RATIONS ISSUED FREEDMEN April 1867

Rations issued to destitute freedmen in April—1071, issued to the R & F Hospital 5750, for a total of 6821 worth $1,486.97
HOSPITAL & DISPENSARY REPORT, APRIL 1867

Hospitals and Dispensaries for April. # of patients in R and F Hosp. at end of March=182; Admitted in Apr=39; total 221; discharged cured 43; died 14; total 57. In Hosp at end of Apr.= 164.

# of prescriptions issued: L'v=1860; Lex=81; Cov=437; "t. Ste. 58; D'pad.=25. Total 2461.


SCHOOL REPORT IN APRIL 1867

Schools in April– 83, 71 day and 12 night schools. 4963 scholars, and increase of 9 schools and 320 pupils. 12 schools were furnished with teachers by the Benevolent Assoc., (AMA and WFAS) and buildings were paid for by the Bureau for a total of 1615 students. 20 school houses were rented by the Bureau with 2350 students. Total Bureau expense $2465.00. The Freedmen paid a total of $1101.75 in the Bureau schools–50¢ per capita.
The blacks prefer black teachers and there are few instances in which I can get decent housing for white teachers of black pupils. "I can get them only from Oberlin and the supply is by no means equal to the demand."

Report on Berea. Rev. J. L. Rogers is the principal. The freedmen are securing parcels of land around Berea and therefore securing homes. There is an endowment fund of $10,000 already secured and $7,000 of it is not yet paid. Berea is organized into three departments: primary, intermediate, and academic. The course of study is arranged for three years. 137 students, of whom are white in the year 1866. At present the school numbers 193.

The rev. Mr. Lincoln is an instructor and is a graduate of Oberlin. Rev. Mr. Rogers is the principal. Instruction is given in Latin and algebra. This education "would compare favorably with the schools in the East." Other profs= Mr. Wheeler, Mrs. Lincoln, And Ms. Smedaker. The institution needs money.
Noble addressed his letter to J. Richards, Frankfort, Ky.

In reply to letter of the 29th "stating that you have been expelled from the Hotel because you are teaching the Freedmen that you are compelled to stay with the soldiers and that your life will not be safe when the soldiers leave."

"I am informed by the Asst Comr that the troops have not been ordered to leave and that if necessary a detachment will be continued there to protect the school."

"Judge can advise you in regard to getting a place to board, ad on other matters."

Richards is the FB teacher at Franklin (Simpson Co.). Informed that you have been expelled from the Hotel because you are teaching freedmen and that you are compelled to stay with the soldiers and that your will not be safe when the soldiers leave. If you stay need protection the soldiers will stay.

The state authorities will not apply the funds of the tax elicited for the support of colored schools or paupers "It is therefore desirable either that the civil authorities of the State of Ky be compelled to use this money as provided for in this act or if this act is unconstitutional be so declared."
HOSPITAL, DISPENSARY, PRESCRIPTIONS APRIL 1867

Hosp and Disp.-R and F Hosp=# at end of April was 165; # admitted during May-52; Total 217. Discharged-cured=27; died 12; Total 39. # remaining at end of month 178.

Prescriptions; L'v-1482, Lex-37, Cov.-493, Mt S-43, Pad-126. Total-2211.

SCHOOL REPORT, MAY 1867

For May: 95 schools, 77 day and 18 night with 5547 pupils. An increase of 12 schools and 584 pupils. The remaining 35 schools are supported entirely by freedmen and have an attendance of 997 pupils. The Bureau paid $2946.25, the freedmen $1372.28 for schooling. The per capita cost was thus $53¢ per capita for each scholar taught.

Noble to Alvord, June 1, 1867, R. G. 105, e.1063, LSACC, Vol. 16.

Monthly report for May—At present there are 95 schools, 77 day and 18 night. 14 are under the care of the Benevolent Assocs. The A:A and WFAC support 10 schools, the prot epis soc-2, and the meth and spt. soc. 1. These schools have an aggregate attendance of 1509. There are "(46) schools in the State the teachers of which are paid by this Bureau—not direct of course but virtually ...." This is through the rental of black owned cincches. The Freedman pay for the teacher's board. Aggregate attendance of schools supported by the Bureau is 2641. The gain this month is 534 and average attendance for the month of May has now gone up to 50%..
If it had been in the power of the Bureau to furnish issues of fuel "I am of the opinion that it would have prevented more suffering than the issuing of clothing and rations combined."

Rations--- R & F hospital, 5269. Issued during May to the destitute Freedmen in the state, 496. Total 5765 valued at $1,354.77
SCHOOL REPORT, OCT 1867

runkle to burbank, nov 15, 1867, lsaco, vol 18, e.1063, rg 105

Schools on oct.-97; 86 day and 11 night with 5118 pupils. An increase of
27 schools and 2987 pupils over last report. Freedmen pay $1400.00 in tuition
and EDureau pays $1147.00.

RATIONS (Nov 1867)

runkle to burbank, nov 15, 1867, lsaco, vol 18, rg 105, e.1063

Rations---R & F hospital, 6887; to destitute freedmen---0. Monetary
value---$1,455.22.
Hospital and Dispensary for October---In R & F Hospital on Sept 30, 208 patients. Number admitted in October was 60, for a total of 268. Discharged, 65; died, 11, for a total of 76. Total in the hospital on Oct. 31 was 192.

The entire subject of this capitulation tax on black people has been turned over to James Speed for the proper "mode of procedure" to force the authorities of the State of Ky to care for the paupers as provided for by said act, or to cause said law to be declared unconstitutional and to force the Civil Authorities to refund the money.
REV J RICHARDS EXPELLED FROM HOTEL IN FRANKLIN BECAUSE HE TAUGHT AT BLACK SCHOOL; MOB ATTACK (Nov 1867)

noble to runkle, nov 8, 1867, lsaco, vol 18, e.1063, rg 105

Proceeded to Franklin, Simpson Co. Richards had been thrown out of the hotel and took up lodgings with Mr. Taylor (c) and the Taylor house was sat upon by a mob demanding Richards. A squad of soldiers saved the men. The next day William Green made threats against Taylor's life if Taylor continued to board Richards. Last Sunday Dick Robinson Deputy Sheriff of the county assaulted Ned Finner (c) and beat him. Green and Robinson should be arrested and tried in the U. S. Dist. Court.

BISHOP B B SMITH ERECTING SCHOOL AT FRANKFORT (Nov 1867)

runkle to r e johnston, nov 9, 1867, lsaco, vol 18, e.1063, rg 105

Bishop B. B. Smith is erecting a school house for freedmen at Frankfort, Ky., and is spending $2,000. The bldg will be turned over to you.
Central Sub District--16 counties. Scattered black population. There are 11 schools, and 671 pupils.

Lexington Sub District---47 schools with 2,859 attendance. Charles P. Smith is supervisor for schools in the sub district. Much opposition to black schools.
The $25,000 allowed to Ky for the current year as her school fund is "entirely inadequate . . ." nearly $ has been appropriated for the contraction of school houses. Comparatively little aid is elicited from Benevolent organizations.

12 counties in the Western Sub dist. Scattered black population prohibits the establishment of schools outside of Paducah and 1 or 2 other towns. 4 schools with 241 pupils.
Southern Sub dist. - 18 counties. "Owing partly to the scattered population and partly to the hostility of the white citizens we have in this Dist. but twelve schools." Attendance 459.

L'v Sub Dist. - 19 schools. Two having attendance of 500 pupils under the immediate care of the AMA & WFAC. A house has been rented as a home for teachers. There are also 2 schools under care of the Epis. Church, three teachers are employed for 145 students. One other school is aided in Louisville and the others are independant.
RATIONS DISTRIBUTED JAN 1868

runkle to burbank, jan 13, 1868, lsaco, vol 18, e.1063, rg 105

Rations: To R & F Hospital, 7,507. To destitute freedmen throughout the state, 496. Total, 8003 with monetary value of $1,619.82.

PETITION ON CAPITATION TAX BEING EXPENDED, SIGNED, SENT TO LEGIS

(Jan 1868)

runkle to burbank, jan 13, 1868, lsaco, vol 18, e.1063, rg 105

The petition on the capitation tax has been signed and will be presented to the Legislature.
AGREEMENT BETWEEN CIVIL GOVT IN PADUCAH AND PB ON MEDICAL CARE
(Dec 1867)

runkle to C. Smith, dec 23, 1867, lsaco, vol 18, e.1063, rg 105

Instructs Smith to enter into a contract with the Civil Authorities of Paducah to give medical attention to the freedmen at on the condition that the medicined are furnished by the BUREAL. The medical officer appointed by the City must present report weekly and monthly to the Chief Medical Officer of the Bureau.

SCHOOL REPORT FOR NOV 1867

runkle to burbank, dec 12, 1867, lsaco, vol 18, e.1063, rg 105

Schools for Nov. -120 in operation - 107 day and 13 night with an attendance of 6493. An increase of 23 schools and 875 pupils. The freedmen paid $1350 in tuition and the Bureau $1417.00.
Rations---issued to R & F Hospital, 6,640. issued to destitute freedmen in the State, 480, for a total of 7,120. cost of $1,504.45. The 480 rations issued were all in Lexington.

Hospital and Dispensary:  R & F Hospital, as of Oct 31, 1867---192;
Admitted 51p; for a total of 243. Number discharged as cured, 30; Number died, 12, for a total of 42. Number in hospital Nov 30 was 201.
Destitution—there is no county where there are a sufficient amount of destitute freedmen to justify the establishment of a soup house as contemplated by the Commissioner's Circular letter. It will become necessary to establish them before the end of winter in the cities of Covington, Louisville, and Lexington.

Capitation tax—the act according to Speed is unconstitutional. No reason why. The blacks should petition the legislature for a repeal or modification of the act. If the legislature refuses the courts should be used.
burbank to whittelsey, dec 12, 1867, lsaco, vol 18, e.1063, rg 105

The school fund for this state is inadequate. Of the $25,000, $15,700 will be spent by Dec. 31 leaving $9,300. The $9,300 will be "required to pay for the rent of schools alone, every dollar of which rent goes to support of teachers."

SCHOOL REPORT, NOV 1867

noble to j alvord, dec 1,1867, lsaco, vol 18, e.1063, rg 105 (also ref 26, M-283)

November report. 120 schools; 197 day and 13 night. 33 white and 107 colored teachers. 6493 students. 23 new schools with an increase in attendance of 875 and $3291 spent. 71 buildings have been rented at a cost of $1412.0.

"I had hoped to increase the attendance during the present school year to at least ten-thousand and am confident it could be done but for the breaking up of the Bureau. I fear the effect of this order which is to take effect in February will be most disasterous to the education of the Freedmen of Ky."
An attempt has been made in Lawwill's sub dist to get Lawwill to teach the blacks to become better slaves and to "look upon their late masters as the most chivalrous people they would ever saw. "Magnamicus, brave, honest, just, and with the Heaven born gift to beat, whip and kill a negro at pleasure."

The school house in Buffalo os the Louisville sub district has been "rebuilt by the white residents of the neighborhood."
In July the AMA and WPAS purchased a lot for a school building in Louisville at the cost of $5000 (on the corner of Edway and 14th St). A school has been erected there. It is two stories and brick, 50 x 70. On the ground floor there are 4 rooms capable of seating 75 students. On the 2d floor there is a large audience room and 2 recreation rooms and a room for the principal. These rooms on the 1st and 2d floors are connected by sliding doors—the entire 2d floor can be made into 1 auditorium. The bureau spent $12,000 to erect this building. The brightest of 5000 black children are to go to this school. The building was completed on the 25 of Dec. and the school will be in service on Feb. 1, 1868.

During the summer and in Oct and Nov many inspections throughout the state were conducted by Noble to find where schools might be erected. At the opening of the school year active work was taken to establish schools in the interior as all of the principle cities had schools, Educational Associations were formed.
"The one great impediment to the general education of the Freedmen is the malignant hostility of white citizens." Although poverty among the freedmen is universal. The freedmen "are told that all the teachers want is their money. That school will do them no good, that it is much better to have their children earn money than to waste their time at school." In many towns of the interior it is impossible to hire buildings or to secure a lot of land for school purposes. This hostility has broken out in open violence. Colored teachers must be employed in all places not protected by troops. We can not secure board for the white teachers. Black teachers are not really competent but I have been forced to hire them.

115 schools: 105 day and 10 night, 137 teachers, 6132 pupils. 112 buildings rented by the Bureau. Amount spent by the Bureau ?, Freedmen $1850, AMA & WFAC $950, EPis Soc Phil $150.
Requests that Speed presents a petition "signed by 4500 colored citizens of the U. S. and the State of Ky." to the Ky Legis. Your expenses and a reasonable compensation will be paid by the Bureau.

SCHOOLS IN DEC. - 115-105 day and 10 night. Attendance of 6132. A decrease of 5 schools and 361 students. Tuition paid by Freedmen $1850.00, amt. paid by Bureau-$1502.00.
RESPONSES FROM AROUND KY ON EFFECT OF REMOVAL OF FB: DISASTEROUS (Jan 1868)

burbank to ooh, jan 13, 1868, Isaco, vol 18, e.1063, rg 105

In reply to removal circular, (§ 1 B)

R. F. Johnston states: There are thousands in the Lex ad who hate the freedman but will not disturb him as long as the Bureau is in the state. "it has been almost impossible to keep them / the schools / in operation with the aid of the Bureau, and not a school I believe could be kept open 20 days after the Bureau would cease to lend its protection and influence and support." In the dist of Maysville the circular has stopped the work on schools. In Mayslick and Carlile the freedmen declare they dare not continue the work / of establishing schools/ in view of the removal of the Bureau."

Issac S. Catlin states that serious opposition, especially in Taylorsville (spencer, co.) has been voiced against black schools since the publication of the circular. The removal will cripple black education in this District.

Burbank already had to "station a guard at the Freedmen's High School built in this city / Louisville / at the expense of near / by / $20,000 to prevent its destruction, such is the bitterness of feeling against the education of freedmen."

In "estern and South western Ky the removal of the Bureau will entirely stop education. At Bardensburg (breckinridge, co.) a school was blown up "the Regulators had said that the bureau had been removed from Ky and that they would drive the damned niggers from the State."

After the issue of the circular the outrages increased from November's 27 to 60 in December.

DESTITUATION DOES NOT WARRANT SOUP KITCHENS (Feb 1868)

burbank to witlsey, feb 10, 1868, Isaco, vol 18, e.1063, rg 105

The destitution is not sufficient to "warrant the establishment of Soup Houses..." but rations will be issued.
Requests that a soup house be opened in Louisville.


no soup houses will be constructed in Ky or Va, but a limited amount of rations "will be issued for a period of two or three months." Probable ___ will be 1500 at Louisville, 300 at Covington and Newport, and 500 at Lexington.
RATIONS TO LOUISVILLE DESTITUTE FREEDMEN UNDER STRICT CONTROL
(Feb 1868)

runkle to js catlin, feb 10, 1868, lsaco, vol 18, e.1063, rg 105

Instructing Catlin to draw rations to issue to destitute Freedmen in Louisville. "Each case will be carefully investigated by a clerk or orderly visiting the house occupied by the Freedman, and rations will only be issued to prevent starvation."

HOSPITAL (R & F): DISPENSARY NOV 1867

runkle to burbank, jan 23, 1868, lsaco, vol 18, e.1063, rg 105

Hospital and Dispensary

R & F Hospital—Number in November, 201; admitted in Dec. 58, for a total of 259.

Discharged, cured, 26; died 4; total 30.

On hand Dec 31, 229.
"the appropriations for the educational work will be continued and protection given so far as possible. By all means let the school be opened immediately at Ashland and Louisa and at all other points where a sufficient number of children can be gathered."

"Continuance of the Bureau a Necessity."

For the first time since I've come into this office my report shows a decrease in aggregate attendance. 5 schools have been discontinued. Another school house has been burned at Layeville. The best teachers will leave without the protection of the Bureau. Bravate notified me that the AMA would not supply teachers without the PB's protection.
Lt. W. S. Bailey (Central District) says the whites are bitter against schools. As soon as the Bureau is removed in Henderson "the school will be stopped by an act of Common Council."

Reply of W. James Kay, Western Sub Dist. "The whites are doing all in their power to hinder and disuade the negroes from having schools ... by refusing to rent houses or sell lands to the negro...."
ARRANGEMENTS MADE TO GET BLACK TEACHERS FOR KY (Summer 1867)

"During the summer vacation communication was opened through the U.S. and "EC with the officers of the schools at Berlin, Toronto [chief], and Cincinnati; and arrangements made for a supply of colored men and women..." Any have been secured.

GOVT BLDG AT CAMP NELSON PURCHASED BY FEE FOR SCHOOL (Jan 1868)

Camp Nelson—a large Govt. Bldg. has been purchased by Rev. John Fee. "When properly repaired it will make an "excellent school house." He is aided by benevolent friends in the north—a school is already in operation with 30 pupils. The "ct. will aid the enterprise with $2000 as soon as the institution is incorporated and the title to the land secured."
EPIS. BISHOP BB SMITH BUILT SCHOOL IN FRANKFORT WITH AID OF FB
（Jan 1868）

noble to alvord, jan 18, 1868, lsaco, vol 18, e.1063, rg 105

Frankfort—Episcopal Bishop of the Ky. Diocese has purchased a lot and a school house has
been erected upon it. It is the intention of the Bishop to furnish $200
The teachers are supported by the Bishop and the persons will be selected
by the Bishop. The sum of $2000 was spent by the Bishop in the construction of the building.
If the Bishop, Bishop Smith, would support the school further, the
Bureau will pay for it.

Noble Orders Louisville Sch (14th and Broadway) Furnished; By FB Funds If Necessary
（Mar 1868）

noble to cravath, mar 6, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e.1063

"I am authorized by the Asst. Comr. to request you to have the new
school building on the corner of 14th and Broadway in this city furnished
with seats without further delay."

"Should the funds on which you rely for the purpose fail, you will
be authorized to make the expenditure at the expense of the Bureau."
The average amount received by teachers is $31.00 per month. Thus the difficulty in getting competent teachers.

SCHOOL REPORT FEB 1868

For Feb.: Aggregate gain of 4 schools and 570 pupils "over and above the number for any previous month." Now there are 131 schools with 7218 pupils. 146 teachers (93 black and 26 white).

Expense: $2117.00 - Bureau; $1750 in tuition of blacks; $800 contributed by the benevolent societies.

$4,647 total
FEAR THAT FB WAS LEAVING KY LED TO BREAK-UP OF SOME SCHOOLS (Mar 1868)

noble to alvord, mar 1, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e.1067

"The removal of several local agents together with a wide spread apprehension among the freedmen that the Bureau was to cease its operations altogether in Kentucky, resulted in breaking up a number of schools in the country. New ones have however been established . . . ." Resulting in an increase of schools

BURBANK OPPOSES ADMITTING SYPHILITIC & PREGNANCY CASES TO R & F HOSP (Feb 1868)

burbank, to whittlesey, feb 29, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e.1067

"I desire, with your approval, to issue an order forbidding hereafter the admission of syphilitic and pregnant cases into the Hospital for the reason that it seems to me that the admission of these persons, some of whom have been admitted more than once, to encourage vice." Many of the fondlings are undoubtedly the offspring of white men.
NOBLE WANTED TO ESTABLISH THE COMMON SCH CONCEPT OF NORTH IN KY
(Feb 1868)
noble to s.c. hale, feb 27, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e 1643

"during the existence of the Bureau the common school system of the
north should be put in operation among the Freedmen of Ky."

Until further notice Hale is in charge of "the educational work of the Bureau
in the Lexington Sub-District."

S.C.HALE, NEW HEAD OF LEX SUB DIST, TO GIVE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO
INCREASING ATTENDANCE, STARTING NEW SCHOOLS (Feb 1868)
noble to s c hale, feb 27, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e 1643

"You will give special attention I. To increase the attendance upon
the schools already in operation and add to the efficiency of their
administration."

"This will be cut effected by frequent visits to the schools, by
securing the cooperation of ministers of colored churches and other
of influence, and by placing gentle collections among the people."

"II. To establish schools in places you designate, and a score of
children can be satisfied, a school should be put in operation. If
there is not a suitable building, let the people secure a lot, and
the government will aid them in the construction of a schoolhouse."

"In most small towns such a small building can be put up without
great cost."
"the appropriations for the school enterprise at Camp Nelson is made on the same basis as that made by Genl. Hvyard for the School at Berea."

"All that is asked is that the Trustees will assure thee that the property be held sacred for educational purposes... When evidence is furnished this office that the title to the land on which the buildings stand is valid, the above will be paid. The entire amount cannot be paid at once... but as the work of repairs goes on it will be paid in installments, the last payment to be made when the school has actually gone into operation."

300 TICKETS ISSUED TO BLACK CHILDREN UNABLE TO PAY TUITION (Mar 1868) 2618

runkle to bt. capt. john s graham, march 28, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105

Issue these 300 tickets of Admission to freedmen's schools " to all children of Freedmen whose relatives or friends are unable to pay for their tuition and who may apply to you for the same."

Get the black pastors to announce in church that these tickets are in your hands. For schools far away from you secure the aid of a legal man in distribution. Keep a register of all distributions with name, age, school, and date of issuance. Forward to this office.
Can a white teacher obtain comfortable board and teach in Henderson?

"I have several applications from young ladies in experience in teaching...."

The house at the corner of 14th and Broadway should be organized as a normal school.
SCHOOL REPORT Mar 1868)

runkle to burban, mar 13, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e.1063

Schools: 131; 14 day, and 17 night with 7,-18 pupils
an increase of 4 schools and 570 pupils.

RATIONS ISSUED MARCH 1868

R & F Hospital, 7,917 rations.

For the state, 1,993 rations

9,910 rations for total value $2,000.81
Hospital and Dispensary: In R & F Hospital on Jan 31, 240. Admitted in February, 68; Total 308. Discharged as cured, 52; died 22; for a total of 74. In R & F on Feb 29, 234.

$15, a month, has been paid for the support of the school in Hardinsburg to Rev. Moses Hundley, the circuit preacher of the district. The freedmen of Hardinsburg will also be paid $200 in the construction of a school building, when it appears as if they have a lot of land whereupon to build.
There are 58 school houses in the State. 80 additional schools are needed.

"I have the honor to call your attention to the necessity of building a school house for the Freedmen of Paducah."

"You will remember that the estimates were procured several months since, on the receipt of a communication from Washington stating that Col. Markland would furnish a lot of land free of rent. When it appeared that this land had been leased by the Army for the short space of two years, with no intimation that the lease would be renewed, it was deemed inexpedient to proceed with the construction of the building. While in Washington I had an interview with Col. Markland and was informed that it was his purpose to turn over the lot to someone of the Benevolent Associations at the expiration of two years. This was the first intimation ever received at this office that the lot could be secured for a longer period than two years. In view of this statement of Col. Markland I recommend that a plain substantial schoolhouse be erected capable of seating 250 children, to cost not exceeding $2000."

"I would also recommend that Col. Markland transmit to this office a lease of this lot to the AM Association or some other benevolent organization. So that we may decide to erect the building on pins, or upon a permanent foundation."

SCHOOL REPORT (Mar 1868)

noble to Alvord, Mar 1, 1868, Isaco, vol 19, rg 105, e.1063

(Col. Markland to provide building & lease of land for Paducah Sch)

noble to Runkle, Mar 9, 1868, Isaco, vol 19, rg 105, e.1063

"I have the honor to call your attention to the necessity of building a school house for the Freedmen of Paducah."

"You will remember that the estimates were procured several months since, on the receipt of a communication from Washington stating that Col. Markland would furnish a lot of land free of rent. When it appeared that this land had been leased by the Army for the short space of two years, with no intimation that the lease would be renewed, it was deemed inexpedient to proceed with the construction of the building. While in Washington I had an interview with Col. Markland and was informed that it was his purpose to turn over the lot to someone of the Benevolent Associations at the expiration of two years. This was the first intimation ever received at this office that the lot could be secured for a longer period than two years. In view of this statement of Col. Markland I recommend that a plain substantial schoolhouse be erected capable of seating 250 children, to cost not exceeding $2000."

"I would also recommend that Col. Markland transmit to this office a lease of this lot to the AM Association or to some other benevolent organization. So that we may decide to erect the building on pins, or upon a permanent foundation."

COLONEL MARKLAND TO PROVIDE BLDG & LEASE OF LAND FOR PADUCAH SCH (Mar 1868)
RATIONS ISSUED (Mar 1868)
runkle to burbank, apr 10, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, c.1063

Rations---
Hospital, 7,898
Destitute in Louisville, 1,052
Destitute in other parts of the state, 1,296
Total 10,246 costing $2,074.80.

HOSPITAL AND DISPENSARY (Apr 1868)
runkle to burbank, apr 10, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, c.1063

Hospital and Dispensary---R & F, number at the end of Feb, 234;
# admitted, 22; total of 256.

discharged cured, 49; died 7, for total of 56;
on hand at the end of March, 200.
The building at 14th and Broadway "is intended for a normal school where the colored young men and women of this city may receive such training as will fit them for the work of teaching."

The school house at 14th and Broadway is intended for a normal school.
The sentiment toward black schools is most favorable in large towns and cities where schools have been in operation the longest.

A graduate of Howard Univ. has agreed to teach at Camp Nelson.
CHURCHES SERVE AS SCHOOL HOUSES (IN MOST CASES) (Apr 1868)

Most of the school houses rented by the bureau are used for both school and church purposes.

MARCH SCHOOL REPORT (1868)

March Report—3 schools are closed because competent teachers can not be secured.

March rept. 13 schools opened during March-141 schools all total; 125 day and 16 night. Attendance down because of older students going to work. Estimates that on the whole 17,000 different students have been in these schools.

Spent; Bureau $1987.00; Blacks $1600.00; Benev asoc. $900.
TUITION TICKETS ISSUED TO FB AGENTS (Mar 1868)

levi f burnett to bvt. capt martin norton, mar 30, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105

200 tickets of admission issued to Norton; 100 to H. A. Hunter; 100 to A. W. Lawwill; 200 to Hay; 300 to Brown; 300 to Johnston; 300 to True; 300 to Catlin; 300 to McCleeny; 150 to Bolton; 200 to J. R. King; 200 to H. C. Howard; 200 to G. W. Klinsbury.

SCHOOL REPORT (May 1868)

noble to alvord, may 1, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105

25 new schools have been opened and 15 have closed. A gain of 10 schools and 319 pupils. Current total of 151 schools, with 7,397 pupils.
For April: 15 schools have been closed during the month due to "poverty of parents, necessity of the pupils labor, disengagement of teachers...."

FB CAN NOT GIVE $100 TO ALLENSVILLE SCH (Apr 1868)

The small amount of funds belonging to this Bureau available for school purposes will not permit an appropriation of $100 toward putting bldgs up at Allensville, Todd Co.
FB PURCHASES LIME FOR FREEDMEN TO WHITE WASH THEIR HOUSES (Apr 1868)

runkle to j s catlin, apr 27, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e 1067

You are authorized to purchase 100 bushels of lime "to be used by freedmen who are too poor to purchase it for white washing their rooms and houses."

MONEY FOR BURKSVILLE SCHOOL EXPENDED WITHOUT AUTHORITY (Apr 1868)

levi burnett to lt. G. W. Kingsburg in Burkesville, apr 16, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e 1063

Letter of Mar. 4, 1868 enclosing statement showing amount of money paid by you without authority from this office for a school house bldg for Burksville to be $678.30. "The Asst. Com'r disapproves of your action in expending money on account of this Bureau without authority from this office. You neglected your duty . . . ."
James is the teacher of the freedmen's schools at Jeffersonville, Ind.

Encloses blank reports and requests that James fill them out. "It is desirable that the record of your school should go to Washington with the schools in Kentucky, as it is maintained mainly by those whose homes were once here."

Noble to Address Blacks on Importance of Education: Lebanon, KY (Apr 1868)

I will be in Lebanon on Wed. the 16th to address the blacks on the importance of education.
"A school is required in Jeffersonville Ind. for the children of emigrants from Kentucky."

"and that competent teachers can be obtained for the Henderson District at $25.00 per month exclusive of board and expenses to the field and asking if that amount will be paid. I will say it really that the teacher would probably realize that sum from the school. In all the larger places, fifty cents per month is charged to each pupil and to each pupil and from 15 to $25 is allowed by the Bureau, where pupils are absolutely too poor to pay they are supplied with tickets of admission. My judgment is that the school would pay an energetic teacher the sum named."
I proceeded to Camp Nelson and purchased the Aerial Academy for $1520. Aerial Academy consists of one large two story main bldg. 73 x 35 containing 12 rooms to be used as a boarding house. One wing of 5 rooms, 75 x 25 to be used as a school house and one wing 75 x 25 to be used as a Chapel.

SCHOOL REPORT APRIL 1868

Schools--- 141; 125 day schools, 16 night schools, with 7,078 students (a decrease of 140).

1,204 left school and this was balanced by 1,064 being admitted. Work is the reason for the decrease.
NO MORE RATIONS ISSUED IN LEXINGTON AFTER Apr 30, 1868

Runkle to re Johnston, May 27, 1868, Isaco, vol 19, rg 105.

No more rations to be issued at Lexington after April 30, 1868.

FB HAS NO FUNDS TO BUY BOOKS OR CHARTS FOR SCHOOLS (May 1868)

Noble to Wm H. Steward, May 26, 1868, Isaco, vol 19, rg 105.

There are no funds in the FB available for the purpose of securing school books or charts. The law limits Bureau activity in this respect.
Dinkelspiel was the owner of the bldg rented for the Orphan's Asylum. Please forward the names of those who threatened to burn the asylum down.

Schools--- 151; 139 day, and 12 night. 7,397 pupils, an increase of 319.
RATIONS ISSUED May 1868
runkle to burbank, may 12, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e.1063

Rations=== R & F hospital, 6,200; destitute in Louisville, 600; destitute in other parts of the state, 1,590. Total 8,390 for cost of $1,891.09.

HOSPITAL AND DISPENSARY REPORT May 1868
runkle to burbank, may 12, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e.1063

Hospital and Dispensary--- R & F Hosp, 196; admitted in Apr 34; total 230. Discharged cured, 23; died 8, for total of 31. In hosp Apr 30, 199.
I desire to employ Rev. J. S. Atwell to look after the Orphan Asylum in this city which he has organized. It is expected that the Epis. Church through Ep. Smith will be prepared to take charge of the Asylum when the Bureau expired. About 50 inmates of the hospital will be placed in the Asylum at once.

There are 63 school houses in the state.
"At Paducah a lot has been given by the Citizens, and $2000 has been appropriated by the Bureau for the construction of a suitable building."

On Apr. 22 another school house was dedicated in Frankfort under direction of Rev. B. B. Smith. The Bureau appropriated $2000 to this purpose. A colored man educated abroad has been secured as a teacher. Lot cost $600. Attractive.
HOSTILITY TO TEACHERS, B.G., DANVILLE (May 1868)

Public sentiment is still hostile. At E., a school was opened by a lady from Cincinnati and of the 27 loyal families in the city not one would provide her board. "She is living at a boarding house kept by a rank rebel and is severely let alone... In the Danville district a teacher has been driven off by the regulators & it is not deemed safe to reopen the school at present.

ELY NORMAL SCH, LOUISVILLE: COST, DEDICATION, STUDENTS, PRINCIPAL

On Apr. 6, 1868 Ely Normal School was dedicated. It has accommodating for 500 pupils. Entire cost: expense of labor-$5000; construction of bldg.-$13,200; School furniture $1,000; Total $19,200. Of this amount $12,406.25 was appropriated by the Bureau. Now under operation and under direction of Mr. John Hamilton (A.A.—FAC) a graduate of Oberlin. Seven assistants who are all teachers and 395 pupils.

40 students are receiving special instructions from the principle Hamilton that will qualify them as teachers.
SCHOOL REPORT JUNE 1868

runkle to burbank, july 10, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e. 1063

Schools--- 162; 155 day, and 7 night, with 7,829 pupils, an increase of 318.

RATIONS DISPENSED (July 1868)

R & F Hospital, 5,010;
Orpahn asylum at Lex, 120

total of 6,130 @ $1,502.46.
HOSPITAL AND DISPENSARY REPORT, MAY_JUNE 1868

runkle to burbank, july 10, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, c.1043

Hospital and Dispensary--- R & F Hosp, 190 in May; 29 admitted in June; total of 219. # discharged, 39; died 10; total of 49. The number remaining at the end of June was 170

SCHOOL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1868

noble to rev j. richards, june 30, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, c.1043

The school year under the FB closed today. If you wish the school will be opened in Oct. if the Bureau still exists.
noble to rev e p smith, june 18, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e. 1043

General field agent New 'ork.
Rec'd communication indicating that several young men from Lincoln Univ.
desire to teach during the summer. Should this Bureau remain there should be
no trouble in giving them stations.

SCHOOL REPORT 1868

noble to alvord, june 15, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e. 1063

9 schools closed, 1 at lex, 1 claysville, 1 briggeport, 1 frankfort, 1
comington, 1 la grange, 1 harrisville, 2 at paducah.
150 day and 7 night schools employing 130 teachers with 7511 pupils.
In reply to your request for aid in establishing a school "no action will be taken at this office until after the Congress of the United States had decided whether the Bureau shall be continued in this State . . . ."

The school house at Jeffersonville, Ind, is ready to be opened.
"All applications for school aid are ... disapproved for want of funds."

SCHOOLS: 157; 150 day, 7 night, with 7,511 pupils making an increase of 114.
RATIONS DISTRIBUTED (June 1868)

Runkle to Burbank, June 16, 1868, Isaco, vol 19, rg 105, c. 10 e. 3

Rations: R & F Hosp, 6,860; to destitute at Lexington (this was illegal), 216; total 7,076 @ $1,587.83.

REPORT ON ORPHAN ASYLUMS (May 1868)

Runkle to Burbank, June 16, 1868, Isaco, vol 19, rg 105, c. 10 e. 3

Orphan asylums for May: Lexington contain Orp. Asy. with 14
Louisville " " " 22.
HOSPITAL & DISPENSARY REPORT (XHHX 1868) (Apr & May)

runkle to burbank, june 16, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e. 1063

Hospital and Dispensary: R & F hsop., 199 in April; 29 admitted, for total of 228. Discharged cured, 29; died, 14; total 43. Remaining in Hosp on May 31, 1868.

TEACHER PAY IN KY SEPT 1868

noble to E. S. Bussett, principal of Institute Phila, Pa, Sept 1, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e. 1063

Teachers pay: $20 mo and board to female teachers; $30 & board for male teachers; "Government will furnish transportation to the field on application to this office."
LOW TEACHER PAY IN KY (July 1868) FB NO MONEY

noble to Moses T. Weir, July 11, 1868, Isaco, Vol 19, RG 105, C 1063

"The Bureau says 'it is for rent' in rent for the school house to Mr. Colle and if this was not sufficient for transportation that this is unfortunate for the Bureau can do nothing else now."
SUPPORT OF BLACK SCHOOLS BY WHITES (July 1868)
noble to alvord, july 10, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, c. 1063

The school house in Paris was built by a white man, Mr. Clay; in Barksdale, $107.00 was contributed by whites. In Frankfort the Epis. Ch. gave $600.

NEED FOR BLACK TEACHERS IN KY (Sept 1868)
noble to Rev. J. H. Chapil, Sept 1, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105 (Sec of the N.E.Branch FAS, Boston) e. 1063

If you have secured any black teachers "it is desirable that they be sent as soon as you can obtain transportation."
The FB pays the rent, blacks pay board, AMA provides transportation.

Schools: 32 day with 1,746 scholars. This is a decrease of 130 schools and 6,093 scholars.
RATINGS DISTRIBUTED (June 1868) July

Runkle to Burbank, Aug 11, 1868, Isaco, vol 19, rg 105, e.106

Rations-- R & F Hosp, 4,301; Orphan asylum at Lexington from July 1 to July 20, 110; Total of 4,411 @ $986.86.

HOSPITAL AND DISPENSARY REPORT AUG 1868

Runkle to Burbank, Aug 11, 1868, Isaco, vol 19, rg 105, e.106

Dispensary & Hospital: R & F Hosp, July 1, 170; # admitted for Orphan Asylum, 30; total of 200. #discharged (no mention of whether or not they were cured), 96; # remaining July 31, 1868, was 104.
CHILDREN IN ORPHAN HOME TO APPRENTICED (Aug 1868)

runkle to j s catlin, aug 11, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e. 1063

Apprentice the children in the Orphan Home according to the laws of Ky and in addition a stipulation requiring that the children be taught to read, write, and cipher.

HOME FOR DESTITUTE INSANE CLOSED JAN 1, 1869

runkle to james speed, july 21, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e. 1063

The home for the destitute (housing the insane) will be closed on Jan 1, 1869. The state of Ky has made provision for insane colored people.
The FB school year begins Oct 1 and ends June 30.

### Schools, Costs, Erected in KY (Oct 1868)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th># of Bldgs</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Louisville</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frankfort</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owensboro</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BG</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camp Nelson</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burksville</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrodsburg</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erlisle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, Ind.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paducah</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claiborne</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21,648</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The school funded in Cloverport is not a Baptist or Methodist school, but a school for the benefit of all colored children of Cloverport.

The freedmen, between June 30, 1867, and June 30, 1868, raised $17,137.30 for the support of school teachers.
40 school houses have been built in various parts of the state at a cost of $41,415.97. Of this sum the Freedmen contributed $14,091.32.
Sends Fidler the plan for a schoolhouse at Lebanon. "you will oblige me by submitting them for proposals. If colored builders can be found who are really competent and responsible, I should like them to have the contract."
RATIONS DISTRIBUTED (Sept 1868)
runkle to burbank, sept 14, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e. 106

Rations: At the Home for the Destitute and Orphanage, 3,197 @ $730.83.

HOME FOR DESTITUTE & ORPHANAGE REPORT JULY 1868
runkle to burbank, sept 14, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e. 106

Home for the Destitute & Orphanage. No. of patients in July, 109; # discharged 15; # died 1; # remaining on Aug 31 was 93.
14 schools were allowed to run through August.

PADUCAH SCHOOL NEEDS 3 TEACHERS (Sept 1868)

In the Bureau when you decide and if you decide to take possession of the schoolhouse in Paducah. Three teachers will be needed there when the school is underway and it should be opened with two. "There is great ignorance and destitution in the district and a good school will serve as a model for the region round about."
Noble estimates that 20,000 have attended the FB schools in Ky, but not more than 8,000 at any one given month.

106 schools in Sept, with 4,501 students. 165 teachers, all but 21 black. Miss Jennie Meade of Ohio teaching in Hickman; trouble finding a place to board; her pupils threatened. Mob of white men burned a freedmen's church at Germantown. Ky: "I believe it is now the only portion of the habitable world where men are beaten and stoned for instructing the ignorant."
Suits adjusted in the 1867-1868 year were 467.

RATIONS DISTRIBUTED WHITE & BLACK YEAR 1867-68; VALUE

Rations distributed during the 1867-1868 year—Total: 72,592 R and F Hosp. For sick in the rest of the state 8,569. Total $ value was $17,458.34.

Rations to whites in R and F Hosp during year—1,174 @ $255.73.
Total to white and black—82,335—@ $17,714.07.

\[
\frac{17,458.34}{255.73} = \frac{17,714.07}{82,335} \approx 225.57 \text{ meals per in.}
\]
Capitation tax—the only change in the 1867-68 year was the legislative amendment providing that the whole amount went to the pauper fund. The counties do not usually pay.

During the 1867-1868 school year, 7 schoolhouses and one church were destroyed.
The Bureau spent $18,629.18 on construction of schools in 1867.
The Bureau spent $20,495.26 on rent of buildings.
$39,125.06 spent for bldg repairs and rent of school houses.

Students 7329.
School year beginning Sept. 1868—135 day and 1 night school. 21
white teachers and 144 black; 6022 pupils.
The dispens. did a great good to the freedmen. An estimated \( \frac{1}{4} \) of the 16,424 cases were treated at the patients homes. The regular charge for the patients to receive physicians at the patients home would have been from 2 to 5 dollars per visit. Dates of discontinuing disp.- Ld. Dec. 31, 1868; L. Ster. May 1, 1868; Lex. July 15, 1868; All others on Oct 15 (central L'v.. "L'v Covington, Owensboro E. L'v will not be closed on Dec. 31, 1968.

apprenticeship has reduced the number of orphans to 21
HOSPITAL REPORT OCT 1868

burbank to ooh, oct 14, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e. 1863

Hosp. began by order of Davis July 17, 1866. # of patients: Oct. 1, 1867-205; admitted during year-455; # transferred to Orphan Asylum-21; # discharged cured 486; # died-100; # remaining in home for destitute Oct. 14, 1868-56.

R E JOHNSTON CRITICIZES NOBLE'S EDUCATION EFFORT (Dec 1868)

noble to runkle, dec 11, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e. 1863

Johnston stated that Noble did nothing to forward education in his subdistrict. Noble wants to clear the record—Noble is the one who counseled the freedmen to start schools in that subdistrict.
RATIONS (Dec 1868)

runkle to burbank, dec 15, 1868, lsaoo, vol 19, rg 105, e.1067

Rations---2,280 @ $501.60.

SCHOOL REPORT SEPT 1868

runkle to burbank, oct 20, 1868, lsaoo, vol 19, rg 105, e.1067

Schools in September--- 136 with 6,022 scholars. An increase of 106 schools, and 4,501 students.
FB agents issued 228 marriage certificates during the period June 30, 1867 to June 30, 1868.
SPEED TO SUE FOR LOUISVILLE TO TAKE CARE OF PAUPERS (Dec 1868)


I have engaged Speed to sue if the city authorities of Louisville can be enjoined in a suit to take care of the paupers.

NOBLE WENT TO CINCINNATI & OBERLIN TO SECURE 16 TEACHERS (Nov 1868)

noble to burbank, nov 28, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, c.1063

I had to travel personally to Cincinnati and Oberlin to secure the services of 16 teachers. Written requests do not work.
The hostility to black schools is again breaking out in overt violence especially in Bullitt County where one school and two churches have been burnt down. At Mayfield on the morning of Oct. 30 a mob of 40 KKK drove a black Oberlin graduate from the town.

SCHOOL REPORT NOV 1868

runkle to burbank, nov 16, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e.1043

Schools---188 with 8,482 students. An increase of 52 schools, and 2,460 students.
RATIONS DISTRIBUTED (Nov 1868)

runkle to burbank, nov 16, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 106, e.1063

Rations--- 2,635 at the Home and Asylum, as a cost of $582.41.

HOSPITAL REPORT (Oct 1868)

runkle to burbank, nov 16, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e.1063

Hospital.  72 left as of Oct 31, 1868.
On the Ky school Act. Z. P. Smith, Supt. of Public Instruction states: "The trustees are aware that the law makes it their duty to have colored students taught, but they reply 'the law says they may have, but don't say they shall have colored schools taught in their district.' Therefore the trustees are indifferent.

In Hickman, Fulton Co., Miss Jennie Mead (from Ohio) has been insulted many times in the streets and had been threatened with death. One of her pupils has been murdered. At Corydon, the teacher was driven from the town. Schoolhouse burned at Rock Springs. At Cadiz Mr. P. S. Reeves (white) was beaten while trying to organize a school. School burned in Germantown. The Noble schoolhouse in Shepherdsville burned Oct. 11, 1868. Two churches used as school in Bullitt Co. were burned. Schoolhouse at Thompkinsville burned. The teacher in Mayfield was driven from the town.

The remark--"Now in other portions of the United States it is not uncommon for houses to be burned, but the motive is usually gain. The remarkable thing about Kentucky arson is this the crime is committed from principle, here education is not believed in and schoolhouses are therefore burned... because instruction is given to ignorant freedmen."
"All of the above named schools (Ariel Academy, Howard School in Lexington, and Ely Normal School in Louisville) are under the auspices of the American Missionary Association and Western Freedmen's Aid Commission and the teachers are supported wholly or in part from its funds." The Rev. B. B. Smith also deserves credit—he has established schools in Louisville, Frankfort, Lexington, and Paducah. He has brought men from the Bermudas to teach in Ky.

ARIEL ACADEMY, CAMP NELSON (Jan 1869)

Ariel Academy—modeled after Berea. Mr. I. M. Newton and his wife are in charge. 37 pupils.
Howard School---Principal is John Hamilton, a graduate of Oberlin and during a portion of year he was the head of Ely Normal School. An attendance of 200.

LEADERSHIP OF ELY NORMAL SCH: SIZE

Ely Normal School

"This institution has a larger number of pupils than any other in the State. Principal-Mr. C. H. Robins a graduate of Oberlin. He has 40 students who he is specifically instructing to become teachers. He has 5 assistants and 5 are white."
FB AGREEMENT OF INTENT TO START A SCHOOL AMONG FREEMEN (Jan 1869)
noble to alvord, jan 13, 1869, lsaco, vol 21, rg 105, e.1063

Noble to Alvord, Jan. 13, 1869, lsaco, vol. 21.

Articles of Agreement

"We, the undersigned freedmen, citizens of and vicinity being desirous to have and perpetuate a School in the above named place, do agree and hereby bind ourselves by the following articles of agreement."

"I. Three (3) persons shall be elected Trustees of the school from among the subscribers themselves. Their duties shall be to provide a suitable boarding place for the teacher, to collect the monthly tuition and to pay the same to the teacher, to fix the amount to be paid by each subscriber for the pupils he may send to decide who of the pupils are too poor to pay the prescribed tuition and to perform such other duties as the Supt. of Schools may direct."

"II. The teacher shall be punctual in attendance at school and faithful in imparting instruction to the pupils (who shall obey all the lawful commands of the teacher) and shall report monthly to the Bureau as required."

"III. The Subscribers shall pay to the Trustees the amount they may require for the support of the School and shall abide the decision of the Trustees as to their ability to pay tuition and no child shall be denied the benefit of the school because the parent or guardian is too poor to pay the required tuition."

GREATER EMPHASIS ON NIGHT SCHOOLS; SCHOOL REPORT (Jan 1869)
noble to alvord, jan 13, 1869, lsaco, vol 21, rg 105, e.1063

212 day and 37 night schools with 10,360 pupils. 15 more schools and 126 more pupils. "Special attention has been given to the establishment of night schools for the adults."
Schools for November 1868: 237 with an attendance of 10,242. An increase of 49 schools and 1,760 pupils.

"The great trouble in this whole case is, that I have pledged my word that they shall have colored teachers at Paducah and they have agreed to cease opposition on that basis. I cannot break my word, but if I can get a competent man for Principal of the school I can both keep my word and give you control of the school house..."
On the 15th Oct. 1868 the following dispensaries were discontinued. Central Louisville, Western Louisville, Covington, Owensboro. On Oct 31, 1868, East Louisville was closed.

By circular #1 the state was divided into two school districts—Eastern and Western. T. K. Noble was placed in charge of the eastern and Capt. A. B. Brown of the Western. Brown does this in addition to his duties as disbursing officer. —have-carried—
Schools: 249 with 10,360 pupils. An increase of 15 schools, and 118 pupils. The smallpox and the holidays are the reason for such a small increase in pupils.

Rations for December 1868---2,214 @ $502.43.
"The Marine Hospital is a fine large building with ample grounds it is unoccupied, the patients who would ordinarily be there being cared for in the City Hospital. There is no reason not to take charge of it if the Treasury Dept. would give us permission to occupy the building."

The number in the Home and the Orphanage on Jan 1, 1869, is 60.
**Noble's & Freedmen's Accomplishments 1866-69**

Noble was appointed Chief Supt. of Schools on Dec. 10, 1866 at that time there were 9 schools in the State receiving aid from the Bureau and 9 more sustained by the AMA. Attendance of these schools in Dec. 1866 was 3,559. 69 schoolhouses were built during Noble's administration "fully one half of the expense... set by the freedmen..."

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**1868 Report on Construction; Support of Schools, FB, AMA, WFC, Freedmen, etc.**

Noble to Alvord, Jan 13, 1869, lsaco, vol 21, rg 105, e. 1063

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>No. Teachers</th>
<th>Aggregate Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sept</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>6,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>8,482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>10,282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>10,360</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Construction of School Bldgs.**
- Bureau: $4,282.55
- AMA WFC: 0
- Freedmen: $14,567.45

**Repairs of School Bldgs.**
- Bureau: $1,642.39

**Support of Teachers.**
- Bureau rent: $11,788.56
- AMA WFC: 0
- Freedmen: $10,185.15
- Epis ch: $1,240.10

Total all expended: $48,939.19

This is a yearly report.
"The practicable result of this law [applying the pauper fund surplus to schools] is, with rare exceptions, to deprive both the paupers and the children of any help from the State. The taxes are paid but ... only the Lord knows were they go to."

-- Noble to Alvrod, Jan 13, 1869, Lsaco, Vol 21, RG 105, E.1063

"The speeches of Colonels Runkle and Catlin [to Freedmen's educational meetings] were published by orders of the Commissioner and distributed throughout the State. These meetings at Lebanon and Danville were attended by whites. A peculiar feature of these meeting is that all the good radical friends of the colored people do not attend such meetings and stronger to say that all the whites that attend are not Radicals."

"The crowning work however was the Educational Convention held in this city on the 14, 15, and 16 days of this month after carefully considering Circular No. 6 from the office of the Commissioner I concluded that the only way to carry out the designs of said circular would be to call together in Convention all the leading colored men in the State, consult with them and have them consult with each other and determine upon some plan of action for the future. I accordingly invited all of the leading colored people of the city, the teachers of colored people and some of their influential white friends to meet at my office. The meeting was held and all entered willingly and enthusiastically into my plan."

"The following is the call signed and issued by the Committee:"

(cint on card #2143)
TO the Colored People of Kentucky

"We are called Freedmen, the chains which bound us in actual slavery have been broken, but we are not yet free."

"Three conditions have combined to make us slaves—political power has been held by our former masters, leaving us helpless. The immortal proclamation was followed by the amendment to the Constitution of the United States and slavery was banished... followed by a second amendment... that there shall be no longer taxation without representation—that no longer we shall be called to bear arms in defense of our Country, and yet to be excluded for the rights and privileges of citizens... that we may be taxed as other men are taxed, and the taxes we pay appropriated for the education of our children."

"We only ask that our children may be educated and prepared for the struggle of life."

An edu. meeting was called for.

RUNKLE'S CRITICISM OF WHITE KENTUCKIANS FOR NOT HELPING OLD FORMER SLAVES (July 1869)

"History is to a certain extent impartial and whatever may be its judgement about other matters, it will not forgive the man or men who turned away from the poor old servant who had been faithful throughout the strength of his days and left him to starve to death or to another to support."
Records forwarded to D. C. making a statement about the hospital impossible. Ordered to close the Home on Jan. 1, 1869 and to induce the city authorities to take charge of the patients. On Oct. 17, 1868, Burbank asked the city authorities to do this with the offer of buildings and medical stores. This was not accepted. Runkle made one more try and it also failed. On Apr. 10, 1869 Runkle was forced to vacate the Hospital and therefore asked to furnish quarters in the store room (Taylor Barracks?). Genl. Thomas issued an order directing the officers at Taylor Barracks to furnish quarters for the patients until Apr. 30, 1869. Arrangements were then made to ship them to Washington via the Cin and Louisville mail Boat line and then the rr. No patients left after Apr. 30, 1869.

The 21 orphans still left in the Louisville orphanage were also forwarded to Washington.

267 schools and 12,713 pupils—and increase of 7. There are 267 schools with 234 teachers in this state. Of the above #, 221 schools are supported entirely by the Bureau, 37 schools are supported entirely by the freedmen, and 5 schools are supported entirely by the A.M.A and Epis Church.

The Bureau supports 201 teachers, the freedmen (unaided) 27, the A.M.A with aid from the Bureau—19 teachers, the Epis Church 4 teachers.

From the above it appears as if 55 teachers are missing that is because some teach both day and night school.
Schools——260 with 1,315 scholars, an increase of 11 schools and 11,351 pupils.

ESTIMATED COST OF HOWARD HALL AT BEREAIL (Feb 1869)

Planned for Howard Hall—Howard estimated that the building should cost $8000. The estimate of the architect Stencliffe and Andrewatha is $16,000. The lowest bid as shown by the letter of Stencliffe and Andrewatha is $18,375. "If built for less than the estimate, green lumber and bad material will have to be used."
TAX ON BLACK MALES TO RAISE MONEY FOR SANITARY MEASURES IN HENDERSON?

(Apr 1866)

thomas cheaney to ely, apr 11, 1866, lraco, box 1, rg 105, e.1068

The civil authorities of this city have already adopted sanitary measures compatible with Circular number 9. "I have had a consultation with the Mayor & Marshall, they very readily agree to cooperate with me in providing for colored people. We agreed that a tax of one dollar per head, upon all colored males over the age of eighteen years living within the city and within one mile thereof, will make a fund amply sufficient for Hospital purposes, and we thought it better that this tax should be collected by the Marshall, which he is willing to do, By your approval I will authorize the Marshall to collect a tax as above suggested."

CLOTHING SENT TO KY FREEDMEN

(Mar 1866) where?

henry m. laing to ely, march 3, 1866, lraco, box 1, rg 105, e.1048

Clothing sent by the Friends assoc for the aid and education of Freedmen-(Pa.) 46 pairs of boys pants, 22 childrens flannel drawers, 1 delaine dress, 40 shirts, 25 childrens calico dresses, 12 mensflannel shirts, 26 women's calico dresses, 41 check shirts, 25 childrens flannel dresses, 11 women's flannel skirts.
RUNKLE: BLACKS WANT TO RUN THEIR SCHOOLS UNTIL THE STATE STARTS TO HELP (Aug 1869)

RUNKLE to Alvord, Aug 16, 1869, Isaco, vol 21, rg 105, e.1063

Reply to communication of Aug. 14, 1869 asking if Ky. schools could not be turned over to the various educational associations.

"I will preface my remarks by stating that I do not wish to put any obstacles in the way of any plan that the Commissioner may determine to adopt, and will work as diligently to carry out his plans, as I have worked for the success of the present system.

"The colored people of Kentucky have taken hold of the work in earnest." The State Educational Board organization of 14, 15, 16 July. The board proposed to organize subordinate boards in every county where there are freed children to educate. This board is to be appointed an agent of the Bureau to report to the Supt. of Edu. This plan was agreed to by Mines, Langston and Clark leading blacks. The board is ready to go to work as soon as the plan is approved.

"Your plan will fail generally because the black leaders do not approve of it. They desire to regulate their own affairs. So that when this Bureau is taken away they can move along until the State takes some action for their benefit."

"I cannot see... what advantage could accrue from turning over the reports to the benevolent association. I suppose I am warranted in judging the future from the past. There are four schools in Ky conducted by the benevolent societies in one of these four cases, Louisville, the Government has constructed the building, given it to the association, rents it, and tuition is charged to the freedmen."

"The building at Lexington was mostly paid for by the Bureau, with rent to teachers. At Frankfort the school was built by the Bureau and teachers gotten by the Episcopalian Church. "the work of the Societies without the Bureau would have amounted to little or nothing at all."

SCHOOL SPENDING (July 20, 1869)

RUNKLE to Whitlessey, July 20, 1869, Isaco, vol 21, rg 105, e.1063

Total amount spent during the year for construction of schoolhouses:

$10,650.34. Interest at 6%, $639.02. The amount for rent and repairs was $26,586.45. Total expenses with interest on construction: $27,255.47.
In the vicinity of Trigg and Christian Counties, gangs of 'Regulators' are still robbing and abusing colored people. It will be impossible to reach these accomplished thieves and cutthroats without the aid of mounted men.

"the county court has no means at its disposal to provide & take care of the woman referred to /a destitute insane woman/. We are largely in debt for building a Court House and other incidental expenses."
CRAVATH RECOMMENDED NOBLE FOR SUPT OF ED. IN KY (Oct 1866)

Cravath to Ely, Oct 24, 1866, LRACO, Box 1, RG 105

"I have the honor of recommending the appointment of Chap. T. K. Noble as Superintendent of Education for Ky. Rev. A.M. Richardson of whom I wrote you yesterday cannot get a release from his church... you can get Chap. Noble at once by requesting Gen. O. O. Howard to transfer him to you..."

STUDENTS FROM 2 WHITE SCHOOLS THREATEN BLACK SCHOOL: PADUCAH (May 1866)

donovan to Ely, May 9, 1866, LRACO, Box 1, RG 105

The school is progressing "peaceably and quietly" until today when the scholars of the white school were at it again. Donovan placed guards on the PB school and prevented an attack. The Sheriff and police of the city also aided in thwarting the crusade. Later on that day the scholars of Mr. Lyon's school apologized for the manner in which the other two schools acted.
"Since the troops left here the people here suddenly arrived at the conclusion that the Negroes have no right to bear arms or to carry arms of any kind and a general effort is being made to disarm them." The ruling of the local courts is that any white can disarm a black, and keep his gun.

Since the attack on the School "a delegation of the most prominent citizens of this place came to my office to assure me in behalf of the city that the people were well disposed and that they would render me their aid and protection in the performance of my duties."
HENDERSON AREA?: BLACKS GET JUSTICE IN COURTS ONLY WHEN WHITES TESTIFY FOR THEM; INDIGENT AIDED BY RELATIVES, FORMER OWNERS (May 1866)

thomas cheaney to ely, may 1, 1866, lraco, box 1, rg 105, e.1068

"I have been trying the experiment of turning over everything I build to the civil courts, and as much gratified at the result... The negro can get justice if there is white testimony... but there is a strong prejudice against negroes to testify in courts against white men.

The "helpless portion / of blacks / are cared for by their relatives and former owners, generally their former owners."

STUDENTS FROM 2 WHITE SCHOOLS ATTACK BLACK SCHOOL: PADUCAH (Apr 1866) 2753
donovan to ely, apr 20, 1866, lraco, box 1, rg 105, e.1068

Freedmen's School attacked the day before yesterday about one o'clock p.m. The attack was made by the boys of two white schools in this City, instigated by the spirit of the community at large... "Men were seen to encourage the attack by the ringing of dinner bells and flouting of handkerchiefs."

I addressed a letter to the mayor of the City informing him of the riot and requesting that he would cause the guilty parties to be arrested and brought to punishment and have the damages done the schoolhouse repaired. He has paid not the slightest attention to my communication and nothing has been done by the Civil Authorities by way of redressing the outrage. A guard has been placed on the school from the detachment of 2d U. S. C. I. (12 privates and 1 sergeant). Read a telegram to send them back this morning. "The service of at least a Company of Soldiers are absolutely necessary at this place."
"There are within Camp Nelson not less than 250 colored persons—near there
many more. For these there ought to be a school."
proposes to purchase a two govt. buildings when they are sold. "We propose then
a local board of trustees for immediate over sight of the school & procure
teachers from the American Missionar Association . . . ."
"Rev. A. Schofield, myself, and Eld. Gabriel Burdett will act as trustees."

"I was empowered by the AMA to employ teachers." Has hired Ms. Belle
Mitchell "a lady slightly colored" as a teacher. Col. Jacquess does not
approve, and Fee wants Fisk to back Fee.
LIZZIE BRADSHAW, MADISON, IND, WANTS TO WORK IN KY WITH FREEDMEN (Oct 1866) IN TOUCH WITH DELIA A. WEBSTER

Lizzie Bradshaw to Ely, Oct 19, 1866, Lraco, box 1, rg 105, e.1068

Ms. Bradshaw is from Madison, Ind...

Left Madison Ind. "about two weeks ago through the medium of Miss Delia A. Webster who represented herself as having built a college for the purpose of educating colored people of Ky but on my arrival I find that no college is being erected yet, and that she has been lately, and constantly interrupted by ruffians of that state, even at the risk of her life." "I have spent some time in the South teaching the freed people and desire to continue the great work; and since it is impossible to undertake such work in that part of Kentucky or even here in Madison Indiana without protection, I appeal to you to be informed of the probabilities of assisting your department wherein I could aid in the elevation of the colored people."

HENDERSON CO FAVORABLE TOWARD BLACK EDUCATION; BLACK RIGHTS (Dec 1866) 2757

Lt Wells S. Bailey to Ely, Dec 4, 1866, Lraco, box 1, rg 105, e.1068

Henderson Co. - favorable toward edu. and "also the feeling toward the colored race. I have the assurance of the civil authorities that the schools in Henderson Village (3 in number) shall not be molested & no colored person shall be punished except by due process of law & then only the same as if the offenders were white."
"I was assured by the circuit judge and the County judges of Henderson, Hopkins & Webster counties that a colored man should be protected in his rights and suits should be heard before them and justice granted according to the merits of the case (color being no objection)."

Union Co. is not so good. "The school at Caseyville was broken up by white children throwing stones at the schoolhouse...."
FREEDMEN START SCHOOL IN MADISONVILLE (Dec 1866)

It wells s. bailey to ely, dec 22, 1866, lrac0, box 1, rg 105, e. 1068

"The Freedmen at Madisonville started a school & the teachers (c) said that no one molested them during the term of three months for which she was hired...."

DESCRIPTION OF CAMP NELSON: SICKNESS, DR SCHOFFIELD, ETC (May 1866)

first lieut W.H.Merrell to Levi F. Burnett, may 4, 1866, lrac0, box 5

Merrill to Burnett, May 4, 1866, lrac0, box 5.

Camp Nelson—the communication of Mr. F. Pice was correct—between 500 and 600 freed people are at Camp Nelson "in a crowded and filthy condition." "About one third of the freed women are prostitutes... and by this means a vast amount of sickness and loathsome diseases are introduced..." The freedmen of the camp are able to help themselves but will not go. "the reason for their cholic in remaining is, no doubt, due to Mr. Schofield's influence and advice... it is useless to induce the freedmen to accept employment outside of Kentucky unless he gives his consent to their going."

"Lt. Butler... commanding Camp Nelson informed me that it required the entire strength of his company to prevent these people from stealing the Govt. property under his charge. He has informed me that people in the neighborhood frequently come to him with complaints of thefts committed—the freedmen to stay at—by those people. When asked why he counseled the freedmen to stay at CN Schofield retorted,"that the experiment of sending these people South was very unsafe, and he did not feel disposed to encourage them to leave Kentucky."

"the Government still has possession of the Camp, and holds it, as I am informed, as seized property, and the parties claiming to own the property have purchased some of the Government Buildings on this land, and now rent said buildings with three acres of land to each room at nine dollars (9) a month, to be paid monthly in advance, and it is suspected that a family so from two to ten can support themselves from the production of this land. All the arrangements pertaining to the renting of said houses and land are made through Mr. Schofield and by verbal agreement."

"Mr. Schofield said that he solicited and received from the American Christian..."
"Mission... seeds for gratuitous distribution among the freedmen and that he so distributed the seed. After seeing Dr. S. I learned for good authority that he sold the seed, and was paid for the same."

"The idea that 'God had selected the freedpeople at Camp Nelson as his chosen people' is correct with Dr. Schofield (according to his profession) paramount to everything else."

"Things are in a most wretched condition. Freedmen are shot almost nightly in and around Russellville... the civil authorities do nothing and unless some help can be sent to enable the agent to stop these outrages, the whole population will be driven from their homes."
Returned last evening from Berea and found Ms. Mitchell fired and himself, by order of Col. Jacques relieved from post as superintendent. "I had my appointment from Gen. C. B. Fisk—I suppose he alone can relieve men I appeal to know."

There are two systems of education. 1) a monthly stipend paid by parents to teachers and amounting to $1.50 per pupil per month, and 2) the free schools.
FREEDMEN TO PAY $1 PER PUPIL IN CASEYVILLE (Oct 1866)

j w finnie to ely, oct 31, 1866, lraco, box 2, rg 105, e. 1066

Freedmen are to pay $1.00 per pupil to the school teacher at the school in Caseyville.

NO TEACHER FOR BLACKS IN UNION CO (Sept 1866)

j w finnie to ely, sept 30, 1866, lraco, box 2, rg 106 (Finnie in Union Co?)

I have a schoolhouse "but no teacher we have few or no blacks qualified and white men and women think it a disgrace to teach freedmen."
The dispensary was established Jan. 24, 1866. In Jan. 1866 and Feb. there were 116 patients, in Feb. 464, in Apr. 553, and in May 650. 2405 in all. Out of this number there have been only 20 deaths. Dr. Coertloney is in charge. "He was considered by the black citizens of Louisville one of the most able and successful physicians in the city, and that it was well known that for some time previously to his appointment to the position he now holds, he had a very extensive practice among the destitute colored people, and was always prompt to attend them free of charge."

The is another dispensary—the Cutler dispensary—run by ex-confederates. Those who are able to pay for the Bureau dispensary are charged 50c for attention and medicine and those whom the Dr. visits are charged 75c and in cases of childbirth $1 is charged for the attention and medicine received.

The Dr. has the following office hours, from 7 to 9 a.m. and from 3 to 4 p.m. "During the interval he visit those who are unable to come to him." There are few coming who are able to pay the largest receipt for any one month was $8. All money received is applied to the rent of the office. "The tables, chairs, buckets, and what furniture there is was supplied by the freedmen of the city."

Efforts are being made to break up the Bureau Dispensary by a few physicians in this city in order to secure the patronage of the colored people here.
Census of blacks in counties of the southern sub dist, July 1866

Wh Merrell to Ely, July 28, 1866, lraco, box 5, rg 105, e 1866

Census table of blacks in counties of the southern sub dist.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allen</td>
<td>1582</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adair</td>
<td>1301</td>
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<tr>
<td>Basset</td>
<td>4073</td>
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<tr>
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<td>770</td>
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<td>Christian</td>
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<td>Edmundson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wayne</td>
<td>959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russell</td>
<td>559</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Outrages against freedmen, unionists in Warren, Logan cos (July 1866)

Wh Merrell to Ely, July 28, 1866, lraco, box 5, rg 105, e 1866

"The order of Genl. Grant relative to the arrest and punishment of persons guilty of outrages where the courts refuse to take cognizance of such cases has a very wholesome effect and is a potent restraint upon the lawless hands of outlaws. Since the promulgation of that order the officers and agents have taken fresh courage. This order is a great protection to both the union men and the freedmen."

"A very bad situation exists in Warren and Logan Counties if it were not for the presence of the Bureau officers and the troops, to accompany / sic / Genl. Grant's Order, there would be no safety for union men or the freedmen."
DISPENSARY REPORT: PATIENTS, PRESCRIPTIONS (Nov 1866) Louisville

John A. Ockerlony to Ely, Nov 1, 1866, Lraco, box 5, rg 105, e. 105.

Dispensary report:

| Jan. | 100 |
| Feb. | 434 |
| Mar. | 611 |
| Apr. | 560 |
| May | 546 |
| June (5 of the month) | 569 |
| part of Aug. 52 | 135 |
| Sept. | 125 |
| Oct. | 196 |
| Total | 7098 |

81

Louisville Dispensary opened then closed; R & F Hosp opened by Dr. Ockerlony Aug 10, 1866

John A. Ockerlony to Ely, Nov 1, 1866, Lraco, box 5, rg 105, e. 106.

On Jan. 2, 1866, Ockerlony was employed by Surgeon A. C. Swartzwelder Chief Medical Officer on Fisk's Staff as a "private physician under contract." He was ordered by Swartzwelder to open a dispensary. "The undertaking met with great opposition. The inhabitants of Louisville and their representatives although in no way disposed to alleviate the sufferings of the sick and destitute freedmen, ... were quite indignant to see the Bureau take the matter in hand. It was with the greatest difficulty that permits to the pesthouse could be procured for freedmen suffering with small pov."

On the 1st of June the R and F dispensary in Louisville was closed by order of Col. Swift then medical division. Drs. Phillips, Henry, Crowe, Forsythe, Marvin, and Holloway trying to open a summer school of medicine undertook to run the dispensary. Holloway had been in the Confederate army and with the exception of Phillips all are strong southern men. The blacks had no confidence in them and the dispensary closed one month after it opened. They treated 92 patients — over 1 were Irish.

On the 10th of Aug. Ockerlony established a new R and F Hosp. in compliance with orders from David.
A Freedmen's school committee has been formed and it has borrowed $300 from Mr. John Long of Owensboro to build a schoolhouse holding 150 pupils. The house is ready.

On Aug 9, 1866 a dispensary was opened in Louisville land located at No. 240 3d street between Walnut and Chestnut Streets. Rent for two rooms was $20 per month. Mr. T. B. Lewis was appointed druggist. Can now admit patients to the R and F Hospital.
Investigation of Camp Nelson: "About 12 o'clock p.m., Oct. 15th, 16, ten men armed with shotguns and revolvers visited Camp Nelson, the leader of this party knocked at the door of the building occupied both as a school and by Mr. Schofield. Mr. Schofield got out of bed and went to the door in his night clothes and was met at the door by the leader of this party... who pointed a pistol at his head and demanded a promise from him to leave that place by the Saturday night following, this promise Mr. Schofield declined to give that he was simply there in the discharge of his duty and that he would remain there as long as he was permitted to do so, that he had wronged no one and was using every effort in his power to encourage the colored people to support themselves and to educate their children." Schofield locked the door and ran to his room where one was standing at the window with a revolver repeating the demand and Schofield promised to leave by Saturday "at the same time telling the party that as there were troops not many miles from that they had better go." They went after telling Schofield "that if he was not away by Saturday night they would come with a party strong enough to kill him and with torches to burn every building on the place, that they were not going to have the damned negroes educated while the poor white boys must remain in ignorance!" Between this time and Oct. 15 the colored people supported pickets around the camp every night. The blacks then grew tired of it and duty. On the night of Nov. 20 a party of 25 or 30 men arrive with shot guns and revolvers without the least warning broke in the door and windows of the building occupied as a school and by Mr. Schofield and seized Mr. S and his son who were in bed.

They were placed under guard while the rest of the camp visited the cabins occupied by blacks "most of whom had fled from the camp. John Burns (colored) remained in his cabin defended himself until he was beaten senseless." The party looked for Schofield's daughter but could not find her. Schofield and son were taken to a ravine and threatened with death by gun and then taken to a hill to be hanged. Upon hearing a scream which he thought was his daughter's (being raped), Schofield agreed to leave Camp Nelson. There were 100 scholars in this school and it was prospering. It seemed Schofield's purpose to form a colony at Camp Nelson and he had already negotiated for the purchase of land and had obtained funds from the Freedman's Christian Aid Society to do so. The blacks are afraid to testify. If the school is to be resumed it must be done with the protection of troops. The Union people of Jessamine Co. say that if Schofield is made to leave that this will establish a precedent and they will be compelled to leave.

The hostility seems to be against a white teacher educating blacks. There is a school 6 miles away in Nicholasville taught by blacks and it has not been molested.
Rev. Schofield proposes to undertake the work of a claims agent for $10 per claim.

Headquarters at Crittenden Barracks. "After a careful and thorough inspection of said quarter we have the honor to report, that, in a sanitary point of view the said quarters are unfit for occupancy and that the officers now there are liable to diseases of a malarial character."

"These quarters are damp, and very unhealthy, and the approaching wet-season will render them still more so."

The building leaks—it does not yet house the destitute and sick freedmen.
Under the Act of Cong. Rice made arrangements to secure a building capable of accommodating all the children in Lexington of suitable age. It is in the possession of the black people in the city but not yet paid for. It will cost $500 to furnish it suitable. $100 a month in rent will aid these people in buying the bldg. The Western Freedmen's Aid Society will furnish teachers.

There is about (60) sixty children in Henderson unable to attend school and pay tuition their fathers being in the service now or died in the service there is a large portion of the 125 Reg. U. S. C. I. from this Dist. and that Regt. is in service in New Mexico & what money is sent home to their families does not meet the expenses much less send the children home & pay tuition.
"the river being closed by ice has caused coal to advance to 50 or 60 cts per bushel causing some suffering among the Freedmen in Henderson which has been relieved by individual contributions among the worthy & causing a better feeling between all classes. There is considerable bitter feeling in Union Co. against the act of that Co."

"the school at Caseyville was broken up by boys but the agent reported them to their parents & they assured him that it would not occur again . . . ."
SABBATH SCHOOL STARTED NEAR HENDERSON (IN COUNTY) Feb 1866

wells s bailey to ely, feb 28, 1866, lraco, box 7, rg 105

"A sabbath school has been started in Henderson Co. about 8 miles from this place, and being encouraged by the white portion of the inhabitants in hope that it will pave the way to an interest in a School during the week in time. But its attempt to push it might ruin all as nearly all agree that teaching the negro tends to elevate & elevate is universal suffrage & a great many absurd notions that I find it hard to combat with."

HOPKINS CO BLACKS NOT CROWDING INTO MADISONVILLE (Feb 1866)
SCHOOL SHOULD BE AT MADISONVILLE

thomas cheaney to wells s bailey, feb 26, 1866, lraco, box 7

The blacks in Hopkins co are not crowding into Madisonville. There are only about 1500 blacks in the county and they are scattered out. Therefore I know of only one spot that is suitable for a school - Madisonville.
"For the remaining rooms of the schoolhouse, there will be needed Fifty-six (56) desks of No. 2 (next to the largest size) and 32 of No. 3, a size smaller. The factory here of which I expected to get the desks has been burned. We need to get them to Louisville now for the Ely Normal School. Noble should place an order.

The Freedmen's School Committee Owensboro.
"Sometime ago they built or had under contract a School House which is built upon ground belonging to the Freedmen School Committee."
"The house they had in view, the owner would not give possession as soon as they wanted and there he objected to having a colored school kept in it on account of the neighbors being opposed to it."
"If they can get an appropriation of Three Thousand Dollars from the U.S. they can have the House ready for school in one month."
The most industrious and class is composed largely of returned soldiers.
R & F HOSP LOUISVILLE: POORLY SUPPLIED (Sept 1866)

Dr. F. L. Town to Ely, Sept 21, 1866, Lraco, Box 6, RG 105, E.1065

"The ration allowed by Circular No. 18 War Dept Bureau P. F. & L. I. of 1865, the sick of the hospital for R & F in this city is entirely inadequate."

"On the present ration I am totally unable to save a hospital credit sufficient to provide delicacies, eggs, milk, vegetables &c, for the sick, and which are absolutely necessary often to save life."

"The hospital is now in debt about $150.00 and I have practiced great economy. I do not think a hospital with sick, can be run with less than the full army ration. For instance, the allowance of candles for fire would hardly more than light the wards one night, &c &c; soap, the soap would not wash one fourth part of the quantity of clothing &c necessary in a hospital like this."

"The object of this hospital has not been to provide an asylum for indigent, but a receptacle for the sick and suffering destitute, who as fast as they recover are promptly discharged."

BLACK TEACHER FOR MADISONVILLE SCHOOL: PAY, ETC (June 1867)

Thomas Cheaney to Wells S. Bailey, June 4, 1867, Lraco, E.1068, RG 105, E.1067

"I employed a teacher at Madisonville & organized a school while there with twenty-seven scholars for a start. Mrs. Clarke, cold woman teacher, she agreed to take the school for $20 per month, and give way to another teacher whenever we could procure one."
"There has been but three Paupers reported to the County Court, they were ordered cared for at the expense of the County."

Attended Circuit Court at Madisonville and attended to the interest of some colored men charged with a crime. "The feeling toward the Bureau seems to be much improved. One returned Rebel Soldier told me that I could pass through that country in safety but they were going to kill that damned old scoundrel that held the office before me."
"I have opened a school at Madisonville, Hopkins Co, & am assured by the County Judge & other authorities that it shall not be molested ... I have not received a person to teach so "I hired a woman (sic) colored that lives in Madisonville to start the school until a competent teacher can be obtained."

Hopkins and Webster inspection tour. Freedmen in Webster are at work for a share of the crop. Madisonville is the most important point of the district. A school should be opened there. Mr. James Wilkins, the school Supt. of Hopkins Co., will supervise the freedmen's school in Madisonville & give the material aid from the school fund of the state."
HOPKINS CO: SCHOOL ATTENDANCE POOR, REASONS; NEED FOR FREE SCH
(May 1867)
wells s bailey to ely, may 1, 1867, lraco, box 7, e.1068, rg 105, e.1068

"The schools are not well attended owing to work in the Factories & a disposition on the part of the house holders that own the school house asking (12) twelve dollars per month for rent. I have asked permission to rent the Methodist Church, this date, to open a free school ... also permission to rent a room in Madisonville ... The school commissioner in that county [Hopkins] proposes to help sustain a school for colored children at that place."

SICKNESS AMONG FREEDMEN IN B.G.; PHYSICIANS REFUSE TO AID
2793
w h merrell to ely, apr 1,1866, lraco-tn, box 7, rg 105

Bowling Green: "There has however been a good deal of sickness among the Freedmen there, and the Physicians of the place will not attend to the sick Freedmen."
"There have been several complaints made to this office from the teacher of the colored School at Portland of disturbance of that school by boys and young men living in the neighborhood. This matter was investigated during my absence on leave, and, as I understand, was fully reported to you. Now, I am informed, there is no more trouble, and as Mr. Ramsdell has commenced his tour of daily visits . . . ."

"When it is remembered that the blacks were so recently freed; that the prejudices of the people are so deeply embittered against them, and that the laws of the State discriminate so broadly & unjustly against them, it cannot be expected that any institution or power can entirely protect them from wrong and outrage."
"There have been several complaints made to this office from the teacher of the colored School at Portland of disturbance of that school by boys and young men living in the neighborhood. This matter was investigated during my absence on leave, and, as I understand, was fully reported to you. Now, I am informed, there is no more trouble, and as Mr. Ramsdell has commenced his tour of daily visits . . . ."

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ATTACK ON PORTLAND PUPILS, SCHOOL, BY YOUNG BOYS (Aug 1867)

Testimony of George Griffeth, Aug 22, 1867, lraco, box 7, e.1068, rg 105, forwarded by J. S. Catlin.

Forward by Catlin.

There are from 6 to 12 young men from 10 to 18 years old in Portland "who make it their daily business to interfere with the scholars going to and from the school." They throw stones at the pupils and schoolhouse. Older citizens do not stop them. Griffith wants protection.

4 MEMBERS OF ORGANIZED GANG ARRESTED NELSON CO FOR ATTACKING FREEDMEN (July 1867)

R W Roberts to Ely, July 29, 1867, lraco, box 7, e.1068, rg 105

"In Nelson Co. four (4) persons have been arrested and lodged in the military prison for maltreating Freedmen. The persons arrested belonging to an organized band of Regulators who travel through certain portions of the Dist. for the avowed purpose of committing depredations upon the freedmen, and drive them from their homes."
MADISONVILLE AUTHORITIES DISTRIBUTING TAX MONEY (July 1867)

lt. wells s. bailey to ely, july 13, 1867, lraco, box 7, e.1068, rg 105

The county authorities at Madisonville are distributing the money collected from the per capita tax.

STUDENTS IN UNIONTOWN INCREASE WHEN STRIPPING FACTORIES CLOSED DURING JULY; AUTHORITIES DO NOTHING FOR BLACK SCHOOLS(June 1867)

wells s. bailey to ely, june 28, 1867, lraco, box 7, e.1068, rg 105

"the authorities of Unjontown will not do anything about the school fund for colored people until they are driven to it as in this county the Magistrates have been summoned to attend a meeting next Monday to examining the laws & appoint a receiver & I will get the necessary cirtificates for the teachers as soon as possible . . . ."

"The stripping factories will close during the month of July when I shall havve more Scholars than the teachers I have can take care of."
BLACKS OF EDUCATION FOR BLACKS ORGANIZED IN COVINGTON, CYNTHIANA; ELECTED BY BLACKS (Apr 1865) Odgen's plan

John Ogden, supt of ed in tn, to Fisk, Apr 22, 1865, Iraco-Tn, box 8, rg 105.

I have organized boards of trustees in Covington and Cynthiana. The colored people have elected these boards of education & 7 or 8 leading men in the community, who will have power to raise funds for school purposes either by subscription or a tax upon scholars. This is the older plan. If the benevolent assay can not hold out blacks will depend entirely upon this plan.

BLACKS IN HENDERSON SAID TO BE LETHARGIC ON EDUCATION (Dec 1867) RIVALRY BETWEEN BAPTISTS AND METHODISTS

Wells S. Bailey to Runkle, Dec 13, 1867, Iraco, box 7, e.1068, rg 105

"There has been no one in the Dist. since their freedom to encourage or lay before them the importance of Education & as a general thing their spiritual advisers are ignorant but Cumming enough to see that education will ruin their prospects & it is almost impossible to get them excited on the subject unless someone is with them & will take the lead & it was only the rivalry between the Methodist & Baptist as to who would have the best school that has kept up the interest here in Henderson & unless someone is here to keep it up & occasionally (as I have done) calls a Public meeting & have speaking & arouse them out of their lethargy both schools will stop here in less than three months."

"as he the mayor of Henderson who owns the land that the school is built upon prefers soldiers more, I think I can hold him in check i.e. keep him from shutting the black school at least while I am here or someone that will not rally to him or office which the former agent Finney is now doing for a polisemanship. Get the AMA to send a black teacher and the school shall go on."
"The schools of Freedmen that are organized are in excellent condition as to numbers, and are prospering beyond the most sanguine expectations of their patrons and friends. Rev. Mr. Ramsdell has started on a tour of inspection through this Sub-Dist with a view of ascertaining the most desirable location for the establishment of additional schools for Freedmen . . . ."

"It is reported that the County Judge of Larue Co. is doing all he can to care for the poor of that County . . . but that the amount of the per capita tax collected will not be large enough to prevent serious destitution and suffering during the coming months."

At Hardin Co. Mr. Richards reports that the county agents are taking care of the sick and destitute freedmen "but intimates that they will ultimately fall upon the hands of the Bureau agent for support."
"I learn that the tax \textit{per capita} levied in pursuance of an act of the Kentucky Legislature of last winter, is being collected in the different counties, but it is and will be entirely inadequate to meet the wants of the poor and destitute freedmen or to carry on & support freedmen's schools."

"The school-house burned at Buffalo Larue Co., in September ult. has been replaced by a new one erected, as I understand, by the white citizens of the neighborhood...."
OGDEN'S PLAN OF BLACK BOARDS OF TRUSTEES TO WORK WITH WHITE BDS
OF TRUSTEES (May 1866)

John Harlan to Rev. D. Stevenson, May 23, 1866, LRACO-TN, Box 8, RG 105

Ogden's plan contemplates the formation of a general "Society for Educational and Sanitary purposes" and the election of a black board of trustees to cooperate with the white trustees in the districts colored schools are to be organized. Everything these boards do will be subject to the approval of the EX and might be regarded by the St. Supt of Schools as an attempt by the EX to adjudicate dealings that white boards have with the blacks. Harlan does not think this construction should even be implied in any educational plan. The Supt of Trustees Instruction for Ky should not conceed to this plan.

SPECIAL TAXES PLACED ON BLACKS ILLEGAL (Such as Sanitary Comm Tax)
(Apr 21, 1866)

Palmer to Fisk, Apr 21, 1866, LRACO-TN, Box 8, RG 105

All special taxes placed by state or federal governmental agencies upon blacks are illegal in consequence of the Civil Rights Bill. Therefore there should be no special Black Sanitary Commission tax.
OGDEN: BLACKS SHOULD STRUGGLE TOWARD RESPECTABILITY (Dec 1865)

john ogden to fisk, dec 31, 1865, lraco-tn, box 8, rg 105

"These people should be taught as soon as possible to settle down to some regular employment, and to aim at, and struggle towards respectability as the great object of their lives."
OGDEN'S PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION FOR BLACKS (Dec 1865)

John Ogden to Fisk, Dec 31, 1865, lrac-o-tn, box 8, rg 105

"Ogden is cut of ed for tenn. The policy of bolling a few hundred children and adults together in one old shed or barn, or warm out government building and calling it a school is a vicious one. These schools should be made the exponents of a higher civilization, the stepping stones to right thinking and right living... to aid in the work of their own elevation... to give them a fair chance."

OGDEN DISCUSSES THE NEEDS OF KY SCHOOLS; TYPES, SUPPORT, ETC (Dec 1865)

John Ogden to Fisk, Dec 31, 1865, lrac-o-tn, box 8, rg 105

Schools in the dept. of farm andustry are of two classes: those conducted by various Freedmen's Relief Associations and private schools, the former are the most numerous and efficient and were confined to Colored, Negress, and Camp Schools.

"These schools, with the most liberal contributions, cannot come in for the inspection part of this demand. "Their expenses in the Department for the last six months has not been less than $9,000 for educational purposes alone and yet scarcely a beginning to make in this great work."

"$1000.00 expended in the training of 100 teachers will do vastly more towards educating the freedmen of the South, than three times that sum expended in supporting northern teachers in the primary schools throughout the South. Ten good training schools should be established in every one of the southern states, and in a few years the great demand for teachers could be met."

The plan is to have agents to select the best students and turn their names in to the Department and then educate them to teach.

"And again the policy of bolling a few hundred children and adults together in some old shed or barn or warm out government building and calling it a school is a vicious one. These people should be taught as soon as possible to settle down to some regular employment, and to at, and struggle towards respectability as the great object of their lives."

OGDEN DISCUSSSES THE NEEDS OF KY SCHOOLS; TYPES, SUPPORT, ETC (Dec 1865)
Requests a copy of the proceedings in Freedmen's court on Feb. 14 and 15, 1866 in the case of Jennie Bell and Mary Moore against John L. Martz and Wm. Hipwell to be used in the Federal court in the case of Martz and Hipwell v. W. P. Thomasson.

The proceedings: "Jennie Bell and Mary Moore two colored girls on a Sunday afternoon were returning to their homes in the city after a visit to a friend (colored) living on the Portland Avenue. They were on Rowan street and in passing a crowd of 4 or 5 men among whom was Martz (a policeman). Jennie Bell brushed against one of them and he turned round and cursed her and called her a Damned black bitch—she answered him, she was no more of a bitch than he was—some words passed and Martz said to her go along and attend your business you Damned bitch or I will put you in the watch house, she replied she was no more a Damned bitch than he. Martz then took her to the jail from which she was released by the interposition of J. H. Price and she was told that if she was wanted at the Police Court next morning she would be notified. She was not notified and about noon next day came to the Bureau and made complaint as above. A letter was written to Chief of Police Thelman for Martz to appear next day at the Bureau. I do not now recollect how it was arranged but the hearing was to come off Wednesday morning. Tuesday after the adjournment of the Police Court and when there was no chance for a hearing that day Martz takes Hipwell and rearrests Jennie Bell and for the first time arrests Mary Moore and put them in jail and brought them out Wednesday morning and had them fined $10 each and held to heavy bonds to keep the peace. They were being hurried to the work house in default of no-compliance when the authorities were informed not to be too hasty in their action and it might better meet the ends of Justice that the two girls and the two policemen be brought before the Supt of the Bureau. The facts were accordingly brought and upon the facts so stated and they were not controverted. A fine of Ten dollars was entered in favor of Jennie Bell and a fine of Fifty dollars in favor of Mary Moore and also a fine of 10 $ against Martz and Hipwell for vulgar language and contempt of court. Martz even undertook to Bully the court. The fine and the costs were paid by the friends of Martz and Hipwell and they refusing to give bail for them good behavior and to keep the peace in recognizances without security they were ordered to the Military prison late in the afternoon in fact it was near sundown and were released about 9 o'clock by Genl. Palmer."

"The law gives no authority to arrest in such cases unless the offence is committed in the presence of the policeman or upon information if did, and they were not justifiable under any circumstances for rearresting Jennie Bell."

"The arresting of Mary Moore is without a parallel she had done nothing and no charge had been made against her. She was arrested and put out of the way so as to prevent her giving testimony and to gratify the malice of the policemen." Forwarded to Burbank with the endorsement (letter) within the Hipwell letter.
Material is dissappearing from the hosp. "Inventories of the articles so issued but invariably found that the number of article returned by Patients less than the number issued this in excess of what would be caused by the natural wear and tear of the articles being in daily use and that it is his opinion that many of the Blankets, Counter panes linen and cotton pillowcases & linen and cotton sheets, have been surreptitiously appropriated and used by colored Female Patients in the Hospital to make clothing for themselves and their children these having been heretofore no provision made for clothing such women and children many of whom were in a very destitute condition.

"It is also his opinion that at different times Patients have been in collusion with parties (unknown) living outside the Hospitals Premises and that they (the Patients) have at night passed blankets, pillows, counterpane s and other articles of Hospital property through the fence (or over it) to such parties.

Miss Mary Collon a patient verified Crosby's story and this was accepted by an investigatory board consisting of Frederick, A. B. Brown, and R. W. Roberts.

FREEDMEN WANT SCHOOLS: CAN'T GET LAND FOR SCHOOLS; WHITES REFUS, BLACK LAND HOLDERS AFRAID (Sept 1867)

The Freedmen were "exceedingly anxious" to establish schools "all of them, however, agreed that there would be danger in establishing schools in small towns or the country danger of malicious interference by white citizens... One difficulty of getting the establishment of schools is the difficulty of getting houses. The white owners of land refuse to sell lots where on to build school houses for colored persons, and those colored persons who own land are afraid to do it."
In April 372 patients attended the Dispensary. 331 were newcomers and 41 were remaining from March. # of prescriptions=1860. In March the # of patients was 233. Many cases treated at home by Octerlony and AA Sugreon McRialey.

"My experience here leads me to believe that but for the exertions of the agent of the Bureau the school at Lebanon would have been closed by these men the trustees who demand 'rent from the Bureau for themselves', and that when the Bureau gives up control of the school it will close because of these trustees of the Baptist church."
"The decision of the Justices presiding in the United States Circuit Court at Louisville that the Civil Rights Bill is constitutional has materially affected the right of colored men and for their advantage. The fact that a prominent citizen has been punished in the District court for the maltreatment of a colored girl has compelled that class of citizens who have hitherto disregarded the rights of colored persons to feel that there is a tribunal that will punish them. However, I do not find that our civil officers pay any more attention to the outrages committed upon negroes now than they did months ago."

"From appearances now there will be a number of cases before me this fall for breach of contract, last winter quite a number of unprincipled white men hired negroes and prevailed upon them not to have written contracts. The point of this is now becoming apparent. The laborer is being driven off & in no better condition than he was one year ago when he commenced the performance of his contract."
"I thought that when witness was sent to Louisville that I should not be troubled with criminal cases again soon... But alas! the fru**ty** of man & his, the white man's hatred of the negro compels him never to leave maltreating this unfortunate persecuted race!"

Last night three young men and a woman attacked a crowd of blacks on their way home from a school meeting. The whites had a pistol and struck the blacks.

A number of women and children inmates of the R & F Hospital are "quite destitute of clothing." Send clothes.
"I ordered a detachment of six (6) men of the 2nd U.S. Infty under command of Lieut P. K. Floyd to Midway Ky to arrest Mike Welch who shot and killed Nathaniel Scott (cold) and that they failed to arrest him for the reason that Welch seen [sic] the troops coming and affected his escape."

"($25,000) from the appropriations for rental and repairs of school buildings has been allowed to your State for the fiscal year ending July 1868."

The above is in addition to that you may receive from 'Confederate Property'."
"Please write an account of the college under the direction of Mr. John Fee at Berea. I wish to base my judgment of the institution upon your statement."

Inspection of the freedmen's school at Drakes Creek, 1/2 mile from Bristow Station. Taught by Mr. P. J. Thompson a native of Ohio. The school was under the supervision of a board of trustees (3 freedmen) who owned some 60 or 70 acres of land each and some houses. These trustees collected tuition from the parents and it was paid to the teachers at the rate of $25 per month. The remainder was used to purchase books. They donated the building for school purposes. The freedmen can not now pay tuition and the trustees can not afford to support the entire school. P. J. Thompson has taught three months and has received only $10.00 of the $75.00 owed to him. About 50 scholars can attend—they have the following books: 6 Goodrich First readers, 16 Goodrich second readers, 3 Goodrich third readers, 16 spelling books, 15 copy books, 2 Ray's arithmetic third book, 1 primary grammar, and 5 slates.
"The Civil Authorities in nearly every County in this Sub District have made arrangements to provide for the poor of their respective counties...."

Warren - Bowling Green - the freedmen are now paying $200 for two bldgs unfit for school. Thos. Calvert will give 1/8th of an acre of land for a school. Teachers will be required from abroad. Old gvt. bldgs can be purchased for $200 to $300 and moved to Calvert's property. No assistance will be given by the citizens.

Bristow Station - public sentiment here is indifferent to the education of blacks. No opposition and no assistance.
SCHOOL SITUATION: ADAIR CO, ALLEN CO, CAVE CITY, CUMBERLAND (Jan 1867) 2827

C F Johnson to Ely, Jan 17, 1867, LRACO, Box 9, RG 105 (Johnson was working out of Bowling Green) 2827

Adair Co.-"There are no suitable buildings at these localities in Par Creek, Cains Valley, Columbia purposes and estimates are not offered for the building of the same as public sentiment is so very strong in opposition to the education of the freedmen that it is believed that Bureau schools could not be sustained without military protection."

Allen Co.-"Scottsville. Neither buildings or land can be rented or purchased for school purposes for the benefit of the freedmen in this county, several attempts have been made and failed when the object has been revealed."

"The opposition to the education of the freedmen is so great and universal that a school could not exist unless a house, teacher and pupils were protected by an armed force."

Cave City-"There are no suitable buildings at this place, but Ned Triggs (colored) will give the land and the freedmen will erect the building (12 x 16 feet) if the materials are supplied by the government."

Cumberland-"There are no Government buildings nor any that are suitable for school purposes that could be procured. Robert Young will give a free lease of land for a term of years, also permission to cut the required amount of timber the freedmen will cut and haul the same and assist in erecting the building . . . which will cost the Government about $130.00 for materials and labor that they cannot furnish."

"There is no opposition by the citizens of this county to the education of freedmen but they will not attribute any funds nor render any assistance for that matter."

MANY BLACK WOMEN DESERTED BY MEN (Mar 1867) DAVIES CO

C D Smith to W James Kay, Mar 31, 1867, LRACO, Box 12, E.1068, RG 105

Quite a number of colored women poor who cannot support themselves because "they are in a family way having lived with colored men for a short time until the men became tired of them."

There is a better feeling existing towards becoming veteran Agar is prominent in Davies county.
FREEDMEN SUPPORT SCHOOLS; ASSISTED BY METHODIST CH (Jan 1867)
WESTERN KY; SMITHLAND,

w james kay to ely, jan 31, 1867, lracp, box 12, e.1068, rg 105

Four schools in this sub district. All supported by the freedmen except the one at Smithland, which is assisted by the aid of the Aid Society of the M.E.Church.

DESTITUTION: BIG SANDY RIVER AREA

r e johnston to runkle, nov 1, 1867, lracp, box 11, e.1068, rg 105

Sixth District (Reeves) "Several cases of destitution among these on Big Sandy River because they came from Virginia after the war and can not secure themselves comfortable homes."
HOUSE, SCHOOLHOUSE BURNED NEAR STANFORD, KY (Nov 1867)

"Lewis Landram reports that a house occupied by colored persons a few miles from Stanford Ky was burned by some unknown persons and a schoolhouse was also fired. A warrant was placed in the hands of a constable but only black testimony was available."

FB AGENT TRUE LOOKED FOR SUITABLE PLACES FOR SCHOOLS; WHITES OPPOSED BLACK SCHOOLS 5TH DIST (LEX)

Visited places in the fifth Dist to find suitable places for schools. Schools have not been established by freedmen because of opposition from whites. Homes can not be rented and therefore True advised the Freedmen to raise money to build such houses and assured them of the aid and protection of the U. S. Govt..
BLACK TESTIMONY "RECEIVED" IN 3RD DIST, COVINGTON AREA (Sept 1867)

r e johnston to ely, sept 30, 1867, lraco, box 11, e.1068, rg 105

Third district (Graham) "Colored testimony is generally received throughout the district. The mayor of Covington however persists in refusing to allow negroes to testify before his court."

FREEDMEN UNABLE TO PAY TEACHER IN BOWLING GREEN (July 1867)

A D. Jones (teacher at B.G.) to j c rodriquez, july 8, 1867, lraco, box 11, e.1068, rg 105, forwarded by Johnson to Burbank, july 9, 1867.

The donation system (paying the board for teachers by freedmen) has broken down at Bowling Green. There is a deficit of almost two months board. Under the present circumstances I will have to quit.

Jones is sick.
BLACKS IN NORTHEASTERN KY MTN COS; LESS INTOLERANCE THAN BLUE GRASS AREA (June 1867)

R E Johnston to Ely, June 4, 1867, Lraco, Box 11, e.1068, RG 105

Forwards enclosure: C. J. Tmue to Ely, May 31, 1867: Tour of inspection through the Mountain cos. of Northeastern KY: Lewis (250 blacks), Greenup (350), Boyd (250), Lawrence (250), Johnson (100), Floyd (150), Pike (125), McGaffin (60), Morgan (200), Carter (250), Rowan (50). Freedmen are in a good condition, treated and paid well by whites, are purchasing property (farms) - "this they are enabled to do because of the cheapness of land and the absence of that spirit of intolerance and injustice which prevails in the 'Blue Grass regions' of the State." Little can be done in the way of schooling because the freedmen are scattered out.
Ely School: 67 pupils all paying a tuition of $33.50. The bureau gave $40 a month to the school. There are 2 grades.

"A man came to me some weeks ago and said 'What am I to do with the woman I have hired, she wants to be a lady and I can do nothing with her without whipping her. Now Sir, she must be whipped and I do not want the "Bureau" on my back for doing so.' I asked him if the whipping of the negro woman was actually necessary for the well being of his plantation. He answered 'Yes Sir.' I told him to wait a few days until I could tell what it would cost him. He came back in a few days and asked about the woman. I told him I had under consideration the building of a wooden woman and painted black so that a few of the noble and highminded sons of the south who express Christian inclination to perpetuate the manners and doing of their fathers by whipping a Negro woman."
"Since the issue of rations to the very destitute colored people has been discontinued, much suffering exists among a certain class of the Freedmen. There are several old decrepit negroes who cannot work, and who have no one to care for them, several women are sick, homeless and friendless and in one or two instances have been found laying in vacant lots or delapidated buildings unable to help themselves." The county court and mayor refuse to help."

"Upon application to the Mayor in behalf of a poor forlorn, object and half crazed, he generously gave an order for $1.50 in provisions and has done no more ... They are ever upon the alert to collect the percapit tax that has been levied upon the colored man ... if something is not done to relieve the distress of these unfortunate people they must die like beasts on the streets, and I can see no way for their relief except through the channels of this Bureau."

"Medicined become valueless when the patient is without proper nourishment or even a shelter from the inclemency of the weather. To call upon the Citizens for any assistance would be worse than useless. They remark 'the Yankees freed them, now let them take care of them' or say that it is as they predicted, that the Negro cannot sustain himself in freedom."

"The schools are in a flourishing condition /but/ the teachers have many obstacles in their way. One of them is the ignorance of many of the Freedmen who are made to believe by the whites that to educate a negro makes him crazy."
ELY NORMAL STUDENTS PAY TUITION (June 1867)

a w lawwill to ely, june 30, 1867, lraco, box 12, e.1068, rg 105

All students at Ely Normal pay tuition; The tuition only amounts to $29.25.

ELY NORMAL NEEDS $175 TO BE COMPLETED (June 1867)

a w lawwill to ely, june 20, 1867, lraco, box 12, e.1068, rg 105

The Ely school could be completed with an appropriation of $175.00. "I think if the school could effect a loan of that amount it would be able to pay it back to the Bureau in the course of eight or ten months."
The Ely School is free to those who can not pay but costs $1.00 per month to those who can afford it. There are 85 scholars in all.

"The whites are doing all that lays in their power to hinder and disuade the negroes from having schools, not only by committing acts of violence ... but by refusing to rent houses or sell land to the negroes ... This can excite no surprise when one takes into consideration the fact that very few white schools exist in these counties of the Jackson Purchase area, and what few there are, are taught by persons who are entirely incompetent, and the childern like the parents are growing up in a State of ignorance."
Prosecution under the 1866 FB bill (Ky) is to be brought against True in the spring term of the Mason County Circuit Court. The case is Thomas Jackson vs. C.J. True before Judge L.W. Andrews.

"In conclusion I will say that the opposition to negroes testifying before the courts of the State is as intense now as ever . . . In my opinion a suit should be instituted under the provisions of the 4th section of the Civil Rights Bill in the U. S. Dist. Court against every judicial officer who shall refuse to issue his warrant for the arrest and trial of every person assaulting and injuring freedmen. The trial and conviction of one County Judge (or other Judicial Officer) together with the infliction of the penalties prescribed in the Civil Rights Bill will open the eyes of the Judicialry of the State to the Fact that the National Laws are supreme, and must be enforced when declared Constitutional by the Supreme Court."

"The administration of Justice (so called) in Kentucky so far as the freedmen are concerned is a farce, and disgrace to a civilized people."
Sixth Dist.: "work there is becoming scarce, and fears are entertained that there will be suffering among them the approaching winter at Cattlesburgh and other points along the Big Sandy River, and their greatest need will be a supply of clothing. About the 1st of January next several Iron Furnaces will begin operations which will furnish employment to a great many who are at present unemployed."

Third District: "Work is becoming scarce, and the prospects of hard times this winter is staring many of them in the face."
"The want of clothing among the freedmen of the 2nd dist/ is severely felt...."
NEED FOR CLOTHING: SECOND DISTRICT (Nov 1867)

r e johnston to runkle, nov 10, 1867, lraco, box 12, e.1068, rg 105

"The want of clothing /among the freedmen of the 2nd dist/ is severely felt...."

REPORT ON ELY SCHOOL: STUDENTS, TUITION (Oct 1867)

a w lawwill to runkle, oct 31, 1867, lraco, box 12, e.1068, rg 105

Ely School: 90 students all paying $22.50 tuition.
"immediately upon receiving the promise from the aforesaid authorities to refund the two dollars illegally collected I made the same known to the colored people, and instructed them to inform me if the money was not refunded. I have reported to have had no complaints as yet regarding it, and some have reported to me that they received their two dollars back, find that but few had paid their taxes previous to the aforesaid promise. . . ."

R & F HOSPITAL REPORT (Nov 1866) LOUISVILLE

ey to davis, nov 5, 1866, lraco, vol 15, rg 105,e.1068

Hospital-114 in the R and F in sept.-47 admitted; 161 totla; 23 discharged; 58 died; remaining at the end of oct. 122.
3295 rations issued at a cost of $515.42. "About 12 pc. of the inmates of the Hospital for the month of October were white refugees from Tenn. and Sec."

2852

2853
There are four teachers at Paducah under the "charge of the Chicago Commission. W.M. Barston is the agent."

The freedmen have been punctual in their payment of taxes yet the county authorities will not appropriate the money.
233 patients treated in the dispensary in March and 1165 prescriptions issued. We are preventing sickness from becoming serious enough to cause the patient to be admitted to the R & F Hosp.
"The School Commissioners are almost all Rebels, the County Judges and other Civil Officers of this State are principally from the Rebel Army and many wish the theory to prove itself that the African race is not susceptible of education and refinement."

The schoolhouse at Hardinsburg, the schoolhouse was locked up by a man named George Bleuford "who claims that he has a title to the lot on which the building stands." The teacher, Rev. Moses Hauley, consulted an attorney J. G. Huscoell who advised the teacher to open the building and continue the school because Buleford had no title to the property—it being originally deeded to the White Methodists and given by them to the colored Methodists. The teacher opened the building and has not since been disturbed. Buleford was intoxicated when he closed the church.
Paducah, Ky, a much better state of affairs and this due to the presence of troops there.

Many freedmen in Davies co. have purchased homes. There are a few however that need clothing and food and "the county authorities will do nothing for them."
"after much threatening and sharp talk on the part of the civil authorities they have acknowledged their error in the collection of taxes from the freedmen, and instead of collecting two ($2) dollars each for educational purposes and the maintenance of the poor, they will hereafter collect but two ($2) dollars for both purposes, and the sheriff promises me he will refund the two ($2) dollars whenever collected wrongly."

Clothing needed for March 1868: 45 trousers, 45 lined blouses, 45 men's brogans, 12 blankets, 39 men's hats, 6 overcoats, 36 wool undershirts, 36 men's drawers, 36 men's hose, 15 women's shoes, 18 women's hose.
25 syphilis cases who have been admitted twice and one three times. 11 males and the rest females. 8 pregnant without a husband. Of these 1 widow admitted twice. 18 illegitimate children.

The schoolhouse at Hickman KY. The freedmen need from $175 to $200 to finish it. "I have been thinking that perhaps it will be better for the freedmen to finish their house, and then for the Bureau to rent it... I think a white teacher could obtain board there. I know of no competent teacher in my District... if a good colored teacher could be obtained it might be as well for the school, and cheaper for the freedmen as far as board is concerned..."
HICKMAN AREA: FREEDMEN MUST PAY PER CAPITA TAX; NO SAY IN ITS USE

James F. Bolton (Ballard, Hickman, Fulton) to Runkle, Dec 31, 1867, LRACO, Box 15, RG 105, E 1068

The per capita tax: "all that has been received is a few coffins. I have relieved the wants of the sick and the destitute and so have the Teacher's here . . . The freedmen have to pay their taxes but can not have one word to say how or where they shall be applied . . . ."

FB AGENT PREDICTS DIRE RESULTS OF DISBANDING FB IN WESTERN KY
Ballard, Hickman, Fulton Cos, Dec 1867

Bvt. Capt James F. Bolton to Runkle, LRACO, Box 15, E 1068, RG 105, Dated 12-31, 1867

The effect of Howard's Circular dated Dec. 11, 1867 relative to discharging Officers and Agent of the Bureau on Feb. 15, 1867 "has already had, as to the Freedmen it had a very discouraging effect but with the whites, with a very few exceptions, it is the opposite. They make their boast that they will soon have things their own way, and then 'niggers' (as they still call them) will be glad to take back a great many things they have said."

It will "seriously retard" establishing schools for Freedmen, "if not wholly stop it." "The Freedmen are not willing to continue their exertions to establish schools if the Agencies of the Bureau are removed, as contemplated for the way they know it will be of no use and will be time and money thrown away for they express themselves that they are certain the whites will break up their schools if the Bureau is removed, which I am sure is the determination of the whites." Without the Bureau, freedmen will be completely subjected to outrages "it is evident that the whites fear the agencies more than everything . . . ." "Freedmen have no rights the whites are bound to respect, and that slavery is the best place for them."

Black school buildings already standing will be declared a public nuisance and destroyed.

"I am certain the people would not be anymore disposed to give the freedmen the right to testify in her courts of justice . . . ."

The per capita tax: "all that has been received is a few coffins. I have relieved the wants of the sick and the destitute and so have the Teacher's here. . . . The freedmen have to pay their taxes but can not have one work to say how or where they shall be applied . . . ."
CERTIFICATES RECOGNIZING CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ELY SCHOOL IN OWENSBORO? 2868
(May 1867)

a w lawwill to levi f burnett, may 25, 1867, lraco, box 12, e.1068, rg 105

Request the following certificate to be printed "like the marriage certificates from your office. You will please send your bill to the President of Ely School through this office when the bill will be paid."

"This is to certify that [name] has subscribed the amount of $[amount] to the 'Ely School' at Owensboro Ky, and by this act has shown himself a friend to the colored race and the true cause of advancement."

"This certificate to be given in duplicate one copy to be filed in the Archives of the Ely School for future reference."

TEACHER PAID FROM CAPITATION TAX (in B.G.?)(Mar 1868) 2869

a b brown (b.g.) to runkle, mar 31, 1868, lraco, box 15, e.1068, rg 105

"A. D. Jones (col, g) teacher yesterday received from the Colored Trustees the amount due him $117 from the $4.00 capitation tax levied by the Legislative Act of March 1867." (Jones or Johns?)
B.G. SCHOOL UNOCCUPIED: NO TUITION MONEY FOR STUDENTS (Mar 1868)

a b brown (b g) to runkle, mar 31, 1868, lraco, box 15, e.1068, rg 105

School bldg # 1 in BG is unoccupied because the children can not pay the tuition.

PUBLIC OPINION IN COLUMBIA WILL PROBABLY ALLOW A SCHOOL (Mar 1868)

lt. g. w. Kingsbury to runkle, march 30, 1868, lraco, box 15,e 1068, r g 105

Public Opinion at Columbia (Adair Co.) has changed for the better and "now one [a school] could be opened if the matter was conducted judiciously." Dr. Taylor of Columbia contributed and deeded about 1/3 of an acre to the Freedmen. Nothing has been done with it "its being so near the white school is perhaps its greatest objections [sic]."
Dr. Temple in charge of dispensary at Covington is "efficient and faithful and accomplishes a great amount of good not only as the physician but as the friend and advisor of the Freedpeople in that city."

The freedmen at Mt. Sterling "are not cared for properly by Dr. Drake in charge of the Dispensary. I learned that the Doctor has no specified time in which to attend the Dispensary and hence the uncertainty of finding him, deters the needy from calling for medical aid."

Dr. Tuggle in charge of Bureau Dispensary at Lexington is attentive and faithful... but he is somewhat careless about registering all the cases for which he prescribes....

"There is such a strong prejudice existing in this City [Louisville] against the Nigger Bureau's School House and board [ing] House built on the corner of Broadway and 14 [th] Street that I would advise them to put it up at Public sale and sell it to the highest bidder at once as somebody might buy it and alter it into a good dwelling house or church."
The school at Edmonton was taught by a white man who was chased out; at that time a black pastor took over, "but the treasured excitement against the school nominally against the white teacher but really because the Freedmen were learning to become valuable Citizens... could not be wasted upon the desert air, a sacrifice must be made and so the major part of the building was destroyed and the school was stopped."

B. G. Dist/
Proposes to establish a school at Cave City with 31 pupils who will pay 50¢ each per month if able. Also to establish schools on the same basis at Horse Cave, Edmonton (Metcalf), Green River (Hart), Scottsville, and Paces (Metcalf).
Trigg Co.: The freedmen "are completely under the control of the whites. From time to time a freedman [sic], the slightest opportunity being offered, must undergo a mock trial before a jury composed of white Rebels ever ready to 'damn a Nigger' as their phrase goes & be whipped or go to the penitentiary. The avowed object in such trials is simply to teach lessons to the colored people [and] generally to 'make them know their places'."

Cadiz: Freedmen "had often been told they had better leave that part of the country rather than start a colored school."
SMITHLAND: NOT ALL CAPITATION TAX REPORTED; SOME PAID TO WHITES

(Aug 1868)

A. B. Brown to runkle, aug 20, 1868, lraco, box 15, e.1068, rg 105

Smithland: The sheriff reports only $50 collected from the per capita tax "when the amount actually collected was $200. $25 out of which that $50 has been paid a Rebel Hotel keeper for keeping a sassy and sprightly colored boy."...

CARE IN HOUSE FOR DESTITUTE FREEDMEN & COLORED ORPHAN ASSYLM

(July 1868) LOUISVILLE

r a bell to runkle, july 17, 1868, lraco, box 15, e.1068, rg 105

"I deem six (6) attendants sufficient to take proper care of the inmates of the House for Destitute Freedmen & Colored Orphan Assylum / in / Louisville /, Ky. /."
J.S. ATWELL (A BLACK) LEAVES "COLORED ORPHAN ASYLUM" AS DIRECTOR
(Aug 1868)

J. S. Atwell (Agt in charge of the Col Orphan Asylum) to R. A. Bell,
Aug 10, 1868, lraco, box 15, entry 1068, rg 105

"Having received a call from S’. Stephen’s Episcopal Church, colored, Petersburg, Virginia / /, / & being fully assured that my services there will be more effectual for the elevation of my people, both spiritually & otherwise, I beg leave most respectfully to request of the proper authorities to accept my resignation as agent in charge of / the / Colored Orphan Asylum."

Atwell was from Pa and he belonged to St. Mark’s Episcopal Church.

AGENT IN B. G. DIST RECOMMENDS AN FB AGENT TO TRAVEL THROUGHOUT HIS DISTRICT TO ESTABLISH SCHOOLS (Apr 1868)

a b brown (b.g.) to runkle, Apr 31, 1868, lraco, box 15, e.1068, rg 105

Recommends the appointment of a special FB agent to travel constantly in this district establishing schools. A colored agent should be chosen because whaites will more readily rent a room to him than to the white A. B. Brown.
"The Bureau has provided means by Circular No. 8—Nov. 1867—by which criminal cases can be brought before the U. S. Courts, but in Civil Cases constantly arising—small cases—local prejudices & the total exclusion of black testimony denies them any chance to improve their condition." Frank H. Bristow has just been appointed U. S. Commissioner for Bowling Green. H. M. Higgen has resigned and there is one other, A. H. Clark, at Hopkinsville.

BLACK TEACHER, A.D. JONES, DECIDES NOT TO TEACH IN BOWLING GREEN

"After innumerable troubles in inducing A. D. Jones col. now teaching Methodist School to commence a school in the Freedmen's School Building purchased by the late Col. D. F. Johnson in Bowling Green from Bureau funds, I have at last learned from him that he does not intend to take it." Requests a white lady teacher paid at $25.00 per month with scholars paying 50¢ per month if able.
B.G. AGENT PLANS A SCHOOL IN EACH "CAPITAL" WITHIN HIS DIST
(Mar 1868)

a b brown (bg) to runkle, mar 31, 1868, lraco, box 15, e.1068, rg 105

"I intend to have at least one (1) school at each Capital, except perhaps Brownsville, Edmonton Co., where there are probably not twenty (20) children and no colored settlements of any size in the County. This County is represented to me as being quite loyal."

HARSH FEELING AGAINST BLACKS IN NELSON CO (Jan 1868)

ramsdell to j s catlin, jan 9, 1868, lraco, box 16, e.1068, rg 105

Bloomfield, Nelson Co. "the people there did not want any abolition Yankee, to come among their Niggers to make them discontented; they did not need education all they wanted was to be industrious, and to work for their living; they had already enough hign notions in their heads . . . ." This town was the chief haunt of Sue Monday and One Armed Berry "and there is a number of them still living in the place. With the harsh feeling known against the blacks "I advised them not to build at present, but to rent a house, or purchase one in some place where it would endanger somebody else if it should be burned."
8 SCHOOLS AROUND LEBANON: PATRONS PAY TEACHERS' BOARD, ETC
(Jan 1868)

James M. Fidler to Runkle, Jan 2, 1868, LRACO, Box 16, E.1068, RG 105

Eight schools around Lebanon. "In all cases the board bills of these[8] teachers are paid by the people who patronize the schools and in several places they pay rent for the building in which the school is taught in addition to the amount contributed towards paying for teachers & procuring free r. r."

There is no doubt that these schools would close without the Bureau. "Good teachers are not born in Kentucky, and under the present condition of affairs, without the protection of the Bureau, teachers could not be obtained from the North."

CITY OF LOUISVILLE REJECTS AID TO PAUPERS (Dec 1868)

W. A Bullitt to Runkle, Dec 9, 1868, LRACO, Box 15, E.1068, RG 105

Mr. Speed and myself consulted with the City Atty. in reference to the possibility of inducing the City to make some provision for colored paupers. The Pres. of the Board of Aldermen assured me that nothing could be done and suggested that the paupers be sent to the U. S. Marine Hospital. The city has no control of the pauper fund.
HARSH TREATMENT OF BLACKS; NIGHT RIDERS, IN JACKSON PURCHASE AREA EXCEPT HENDERSON (Sept 1868)

a b brown to runkle, sept 30, 1868, lraco, box 15, e.1068, rg 105

"The bad feeling on the part of whites toward the freedmen, and those showing an interest in their welfare, has reached its culminating point in several counties—Trigg, Ballard, Hickman, Fulton, McCracken, Graves, Marshall and Calloway, armed and masked bands of men exercise unlimited sway in nearly every part of this district. At one place only, Henderson, the civil authorities attempt to oppose them."

"In several sections of the 'Jackson Purchase' the colored population has almost entirely disappeared. Many of them have settled on the northern bank of the 'Ohio'."

NEW PADUCAH SCHOOL HOUSE WITHOUT FIRE INSURANCE (Sept 1868)

a b brown to runkle, sept 2, 1868, lraco, box 15, e.1068, rg 105

The schoolhouse at Paducah recently finished at a cost of $3000.00 is without protection against loss by fire. It should be guarded until it can be insured. A detail of 3 men of the 25th Infantry could do the job. (End. 966, Sept. 9, 1868 provided for this request.)
HENDERSON CO: ONLY THE PRESENCE OF TROOPS PROTECTS SCHOOL BLDGS
(Aug 1868)

a b brown to runkle, aug 31, 1868, lraco, box 15, e.1068, rg 105

Henderson Co.: Schools---"Wherever troops are stationed there is but little danger by daylight, but at night school houses under the shadow of the Flag are scarcely safe."

MONEY NEEDED TO BUY LAND AT CAMP NELSON (Mar 1868)

fee to noble, mar 23, 1868, lraco, box 16, e.1068, rg 105

"I do not want the fifteen hundred or two thousand dollars to pay for the 130 acres, but as pay for the buildings. I turn over to the trustees, and with that money I expect to finish or nearly finish paying for all the land."
"I have had Mr. Moss take off all 'liens' so that the title is clear, unencumbered on the ten acres." This is the land that the buildings shall stand on.

Brother Cutler is ready to begin the school next Monday."
"enclose a copy of the deed from Moses to myself. The title of one hundred and thirty acres is as good probably as any title in the State. Ray Moses occupied the land with undisputed title for more than 40 years. Twenty years residence under Ky law gives title if he had had no other title. His previous title was good."

"I have paid four thousand six hundred & fifty dollars next payment is first of April. Towards this I have on deposit & pledged by good men $700. If I shall get from you what I expect two thousand $2,000 than I shall take only fifty dollars of complete payment for the present payment of $4650.00. I can raise that with your aid I can pay all by first day of April the time this note is due."

"I have one hundred and 15 acres at Berea & 80 acres near to Marion Grant Co. Indiana on these there no encumberances. I can put lands within the reach of this people five times as cheap as in the neighboring villages-better land with better facilities for labor, wood, & coal cheaper and school far better."

"I am engaging lots-slowly. The purchases have not come up as Bro. Burdett expected. I warned him of this. I contracted conditionally-if I could not sell enough to complete the purchase I would not take the property. If I fail I do not violate contract . . . There is certainly an . . . enthusiasm in the colored people. They had been discouraged. They were told the land was 'in law' and a good title could not be made. This was true of a part which part I had set off by action of County Court & commissioners. Many had turned their means into hands of men who borrowed it. They cannot now collect."

"I write to know if you will appropriate to this enterprise two thousand dollars-fifteen hundred toward the purchase of the buildings, and five hundred toward repair, fixtures &c. for the school."

Deed of land, Mar. 13, 1868, certified by John A. Willis Clerk Jessamine Co. "I John A. Willis, Clerk of the County Court & for the County aforesaid do certify that John G. fee has this day lodged for record in my office made Joseph O. Harvey, attorney in fact for said John G. Fee & Matilda H. Fee his wife to John G. Fee, Gabriel Burdett, James O. Harvey, George Blakeman, Rev. T. K. Noble of Louisville Ky and Daniel T. Newton of New York as Trusteed of Ariel Academy seven acres of land with its appurtenances to be used by said trustees " . . . " for school purposes. Two and ½ acres are to be held "for the mutual aid and benefit of the school and church of Christ at that place."
J S CATLIN FEEL THAT A RELATIVELY SMALL PORTION OF FREEDMEN HAVE APPLIED FOR CHARITY (Mar 1868) Louisville?

J S Catlin to Runkle, Mar 2, 1868, Lraco, Box 16, e.1068, rg 105

"In view of the fact that no provision is made for the colored poor by the State or local authorities, I consider it a striking evidence of the general industry & frugality of the Freedmen that such a small proportion of them has applied for Government charity."

TEACHER DRIVEN OUT OF NEW CASTLE, KY BY MOB (Feb 1868)

J S Catlin to Noble, Feb 27, 1868, Lraco, Box 16, e.1068, rg 105

"During your absence in Washington D. C., the Teacher whom you directed me to teach the Freedmen's school at New Castle Ky. was mobbed and driven out of Town shortly after reaching his destination, and I believe before beginning to teach."
Third Dist., Graham—"condition of the colored people of his District as being much worse than last month, particularly in towns considerable suffering has been experienced from the want of Fuel, Clothing, Bedding &c." Work is scarce.

Marton Norton, chief agent, first district, established a school at Crab Orchard.
"the destitution now existing in the numerous counties comprising this Sub-District is greater among the colored people than has ever been known before, becoming free so recently but few have acquired and lain by any money. In almost every instance their earnings during the Spring, Summer & Fall months has been consumed by their daily expenses and winter has caught many out of employment and without means, and others who are old, decrepit and unable to earn a livelihood. The present high prices of all description of the necessities of life has placed it beyond the power of a great many to procure enough to keep soul and body together."

NEED FOR CLOTHING, FUEL: 3rd, 5th, 6th DISTRICTS (Dec 1867)

clothing is needed in the third, fifth, and sixth districts. Fuel is also needed for the destitute freedmen in the sixth district.
Second District. Quite a few freedmen out of work due to closing of hemp factories in the dist. More destitution than the previous winter. Also supplies Johnston with clothes to distribute in this dist.

"In the counties of Owen, Carroll, Trimble and several other Counties in my sub-District negroes are kept in a state of vassalage tantamount to the old system of slavery. In these Counties Negroes are not permitted to live in homes or houses of their own; are not permitted to live apart from the white owners of the soil."
"Every month improves the condition of the Freedmen." They are treated humanely. "In parts of the state, far away from the reach of the practical workings of the Bureau, lawless men still commit deeds of shameless outrage upon Freedmen." One such place is Meade Co. where there is a mob of robbers out to rob all people, both black and white.

"the 'Ely Normal School' corner 14th Street and Broadway in this City is the only Building in this Sub-Dist. that has been constructed from the funds of this Bureau during my own, or the administration of my predecessors."
Catlin proposed to start two new schools at Brandenburg and Meadeville in Meade county.

S.C. Hale, Asst Comm. for schools for (Eastern SubDist) his district, is attempting to get the civil authorities to support schools.
"The destitution prevailing among the Freedmen during the past winter, has never been known before in my District."

"The numerous Hemp and Bagging factories in the District are resuming their business again, and many Freedmen have obtained employment therein."
"I think I have a sufficient supply of clothing on hand to satisfy the demands for March. I would however, respectively request that two hundred (200) yards of white cotton and one hundred (100) yards of blue jeans be sent me for distribution to the children of the Colored Orphan Asylum in this City."
"all school buildings situated on lands owned by benevolent associations, corporate bodies, or boards of trustees which have been constructed or repaired by the Bureau and which are now borne upon its monthly returns, will at an early day, be transferred to the association, corporation, or trustees owning the land on which they are located . . . to be used perpetually for school purposes."

No suitable building for the inmates of the Orphan Asylum and Home for the Destitute and Insane can be procured in Louisville. We also visited New Albany and Jeffersonville Ind. In New Albany a building known as the Tabler House a former military hospital and now a hotel, could be rented for that purpose for $100 per month.

As long as the Bureau maintains a home for the destitute in KY the Civil Authorities will refuse to provide one. Therefore, the Home and Asylum should be moved from Crittenden Barracks to New Albany, Ind.
Crittenden Barracks was bought by the government and ordered to be transferred to the Bureau for $6,695.05.

New Castle, Ky.—White people will make sure the school is protected.
You are authorized to furnish and issue a limited supply of fuel in Louisville, Lexington, Covington, Lebanon, and Paducah.

Schools are doing well except in Breckinridge Co. "where the county authorities employed teachers by the month. After employing him they politely informed him that there was no money in the county Treasury to pay the 'Nigger Teachers.'"
Forwards petitions to the legislature (KY). These petitions were in favor of the distribution of the tax money and were sent to every Bureau agent to have the Blacks sign them. Later in the year reports of the tax being distributed began to surface. They were referred to the agents on Dec. 9, 1867 and forwarded to the Legislature via James Speed.

NEW SCHOOLS BEING ORGANIZED, BUT WITHOUT FB, DESTRUCTION WILL OCCUR 4 SCHOOLS BURNED; ONE BLOWN UP RECENTLY (Dec 1867)

"Twenty-three schools were organized during the past month. Arrangements have been made for starting as many more during the ensuing two months... the withdrawal of the Bureau... will leave the freedmen in a worse condition than before their emancipation... It is virtually closing the school-house doors upon a large portion of the 37,000 colored children who will have to meet by and by the responsibilities of citizens."

"Four school buildings have already been burned down and one blown up... even in this city the large school house in the process of erection is obliged to be guarded by soldiers day and night."
A lot of suffering at Maysville, Covington, and Lexington due to a want of food and fuel.

The number of black teachers increasing.

Twenty day and one high school. Has been able to supply these schools with teachers "with less difficulty than previously there appearing to be a larger number of colored persons able to accept situations as teachers."
10 NEW SCHOOLS STARTED IN MAY 1868

r e johnston to runkle, may 31, 1868, lraco, box 18, e.1068, rg 105

10 new schools for the month of May.

130 SCHOOL ADMISSION TICKETS ISSUED (May 1868)

r e johnston to runkle, may 1, 1868, lraco, box 18, e.1068, rg 105

130 tickets of admission issued in the district.
Nine new schools were opened in April. "the general prospects of the Schools throughout the District are encouraging."

Henry McClanahan, one of the trustees of the freedmen's school in Richmond, misappropriated Bureau funds given to the school and failed to pay the teacher.
Isaac M. Newton to noble, Dec 16, 1868, lraco, box 19, rg 105, e. 1068.

Newton and wife were sent out by the A M A to teach at Ariel College and opened the school at Camp Nelson on Nov. 30, 1868. The school had twice as many people in it as expected within a month and they had no desks, tables, blackboards or chairs.

Norton established a school at Crab Orchard. $15 a month was appropriated to it.
A W LAWWILL URGES CREATING SCHOOL DISTRICTS, BDS OF ED, ETC, TO PROVIDE REGULARITY (Jan 1868)

a w lawwill to runkle, jan 31, 1868, lraco, box 19, e. 1068, rg 105

"We know of but one way that the Schools can be made effectual and that is to divide the Counties into School Districts, appointing responsible colored men as board of Education, with printed rules and regulations to govern both them and the Schools."

SEDUCTION OF STUDENT BY TEACHER (Feb 1868) Owensboro

noble to runkle, feb 26, 1868, lraco, box 19, e.1068, rg 105

Enclosure Wm. Sykle to Noble, Jan. 6, 1868: "It is alleged by some colored men backed by a few disloyal whites that I seduced her [Fannie Young]. The girl's mother and father were acquainted with me and never brought any such charges against me." No accusation was brought for trial before the Bureau or the Civil Authorities. "The chief causes for this malicious treatment by these men are that a party of them wanted the school house properly deeded to the Colored Baptist Church of this place; this I objected to on the grounds that it would produce sectarianism. The disloyal whites wanted it to start a bogus school in for a share for the school taxes . . . this I fought against; Enclosure Lawwill to Noble, Jan. 6, 1868: Suggests the employment of a new trustees and names Henry Harrold, Marshall McLain, Frank Verrin. Fannie's father now agrees to prosecute Sykes. Enclosure Geo. Griffith to Noble, Feb. 15, 1868: "I find the trustees of ElY School will not pay at the end of each month according to contract." Enclosure McCleery to Noble, Feb. 15, 1868: "The trustees were granted power to collect tuition and will not do it. Thus Griffith is not paid. The trustees were appointed by the Bureau and should be dismissed by it."
Forwards evidence in the case of William Sykes v. Board of Trustees Freedmen's School at Owensboro KY. Lawwill told the trustees that the only way to get rid of the teacher Sykes was to refer this matter to Noble. "The Board seemed to think that I was partial to Mr. Sykes which to some extent was true as I had thought him a good man with the exception of the seduction of the girl. I think so yet ("Human nature is weak of itself") . . . ." George Griffith will teach at the Ely School now.

Enclosure-charges of the trustees: (1) "Indecent proposition to one of his female pupils. Fannie Young and illicit intercourse with her while he was her teacher and she his pupil." (2) Embezzlement of ticket money received from a festival held for Ely School. (3) Embezzelment of other moneys appropriated to the school.

Enclosure, James Wier to Lawwill, Dec. 27, 1867: The blacks belong to a society known as the United Order of Brothers of Friendship. Sykes was a member of this society and was a trustee of the school and the most learned of the trustees.

Confine your expenditures on schools including rentals, repairs, and construction from Sept 1 to July 1, to $25,000.
FB to provide $1,000 for Lex School, if community provides $5,000 (Aug 1869)

Ooh by Whitlessey to Runkle, Aug 11, 1869, lraco, box 21, rg 105, e.1068

Reply to Runkle to Howard, Aug 7, 1869 asking for $6,000 to construct a school in Lexington. Reply: $1000 will be appropriated provided the other $5000 can be obtained from the authorities of the city of Lexington.

(see End, 243, 69)

Prevent student transferring, when possible, in towns (May 1869)

Ooh by Alvord to Runkle, May 28, 1869, lraco, box 21, rg 105, e.1068

"take all possible steps to prevent scholars in large towns and cities from going from one school to another at least during one term."

In reference to grading the schools of Lexington. "opposition here has arisen from an unexpected source and unless you take decided action it will be impossible to carry out the grading. Mrs Harvey admits that the grading is a good thing, but is not willing to yield to any arrangement which will take any of her advance pupils and upon its leaking out that the Bureau would withdraw the appropriation unless she consented—she denied the authority of the Bureau to refuse to pay..."

"Mrs Harvey was employed to teach poor children and it teaching children who are able to pay and actually do pay."

"the KKKs are so bad at the orchard [Crab Orchard] that I am afraid to stay there they have threatened to whip all the colored people there and says they will hang me and under such threats I do not see safe..." Ms. Fielding was a teacher at the orchard.
The freedmen are, thanks to the Bureau, always treated well in Danville. "The terrible prejudice against any attempt to give the negro any rights or ideas above those of an animal is as strong as can be imagined."

"I am trying my best to induce all Parents who are able & when children are bright to look forward to sending them to some Normal School such as Berea & am meeting with good success. Twenty really well educated colored people will do more for the cause of education than two hundred carried no farther than the ordinary colored schools can carry them."

The school teacher at Crab Orchard was almost caught by Regulators but escaped to the country. "Ever since he has been there, white children have habitually cursed & stoned him in the street as he poked to & fro his duty."

"Lynching & regulating is on the increase here. In my opinion the way to stop it is to send 25 men with a commissioned officer to Lancaster the centre of the organization at once."
AMA SCHOOLS (Apr 1870)
cravath to runkle, apr 13, 1870, lraco, box 23, rg 105, c.1062

28 schools under control of the AMA not counting Ely Normal in Louisville, Berea, and Howard in Lexington.

SOME BLACKS HINDER EFFORTS OF SCHOOL TEACHER AT NICHOLASVILLE (Mar 1870)
c h thomas to runkle, mar 30, 1870, lraco, box 23, rg 105, c.1068

"At present as far as I understand there is a class of ignorant Colo. Citens [sic] in this place [Nicholasville] who are committing together for my destruction, and they are none other than those who are "fiends to the _____ Ku Kluck's." Thomas was the teacher at Nicholasville.
SCHOOL AT OIL WORKS, KY, MAY COLLAPSE (Feb 1870)

James and Frank McConnell to Keys, Feb 28, 1870, Ira Co, Box 23, RG 105

If the FB will not support the school building at Oil Works, Ky., it can not stay in operation any longer.

TEACHER RESIGNS EDDYVILLE SCHOOL BECAUSE OF POOR PAY (Jan 1870)

Frederick Schlercher to Runkle, Jan 31, 1870, Ira Co, Box 23, RG 105

The pay I receive from the Bureau and tuition in the school at Eddyville, Ky., does not support me and I am therefore leaving in March.
HENDERSON TEACHER DENOUNCES LOW PAY (Jan 1870)

Sascelle Gillchrist to Runkle, Jan 4, 1870, lraco, box 23, rg 105, e.1068

Teacher at Henderson, Ky. The people here are big on free schools and although the school is flourishing I am not because they allow me to charge only 50 cents per pupil a month.

FORMER "REBELS" MORE LIKELY TO SUPPORT "AME" CHURCH (Dec 1869)

Ben. P. Tevis to runkle, Dec 2, 1869, lraco, box 22, rg 105, e.1068

Shelbyville

"T. S. Baxter & Rev. Paris Tither, pastor of Methodist Episcopal Church (North as Rebels term it) have called upon me and requested that I write to you in reference to the removal of Baxter from his position here as teacher. Baxter has been quite an acceptable teacher, and his school is the one to be taught in the new building erected in part by the government for a Church and school. Baxter's school is connected with those colored people who belong to the Methodist Episcopal Church. One of the other schools is connected with the African Methodist Church, which has been much more in sympathy with the rebels, than the M. E. Church. The Southern Methodists (rebels) are far more friendly with the colored people of the African Methodist Church than with our own or with the colored people attached to our church."
TEACHER QUITTING AT POPULAR PLAINS BECAUSE SCH TRUSTEES REFUSE TO GIVE HIM MONEY (May 1869)

James H. Payne to Runkle, May 6, 1869, lraco, box 22, rg 105, e. 1063

Quitting teaching job because trustees of the school at Popular Plains would not give him FB money.

LEXINGTON SCHOOLS TO BE CONSOLIDATED INTO HOWARD SCH (May 1869)

Mrs. M. J. Hawey to Runkle, May 7, 1869, lraco, box 22, rg 105, e. 1063

J. G. Hamilton gave me verbal instructions to remove the Col. Johnston school to the Howard school for the purposes of grading them. He has never shown me a written order. The AMA is getting the taxes and charging tuition to keep the schools going. All Lexington schools are to be consolidated into Howard.
SCHOOLS CLOSED: STANFORD, CRAB ORCHARD (Mar 1869)

susan Robinson to runkle, mar 26, 1869, lraco, box 22, rg 105

Closed school at Stanford, Ky., because of the intense amount of prejudice against it on the part of both whites and blacks.

Mary Fielding to runkle, Apr 3, 1869, lraco, box 22, rg 105

Closed school at Crab Orchard because she did not feel safe there.

SOME EXPENDITURES AT CAMP NELSON (Jan 1869)

Isaac M. Newton to noble, jan 8, 1869, lraco, box 22, rg 105

"Yours of the 26th... was duly received also tonight a line from Gen. Runkle in reply to my school report of the 25 ult. Just what Geo. P. Blackman contracted to do I do not know but learn from him that the work he contracted to do cost more than he estimated—also learn that $150 was expended in building a stone wall under the Boarding Hall and that $30 was sunk in lime hill &c &c. Rev. J. C. Fee informed me that the Bureau promised that if $800 was not enough to complete the building they (the Bureau) would not stand about two or three hundred dollars. There are no seats belonging to the school house. I was informed that the Bureau would aid. I am boarding on credit not being able to pay last month's board. If we receive no aid all who do not pay tuition must be excluded. We have received thus from this month $3."

Camp Nelson.
The full amount due in taxes for the Paducah schoolhouse property owned by W. H. Marklands is $81.90 a year and it was paid in 1868.

Paid tax of $46.35 on July 11 for the land at Paducah, Ky., donated by W. H. Markland for the schoolhouse in Paducah, Ky.
"I have the honor to enclose herewith vouchers for services rendered in constructing Freedmen's school house at Paducah, Ky., by F. Rothe and Co. and a check on the U. S. Depository at Louisville, Ky., in their favor for $810.00."

Inspection of Stanford: Mr. Landram, the agent, reported the school to be in a flourishing condition, but in the country it was different. "Several" schools had been broken up by unknown parties.
Landram of Stanford reported that the school there was going so well that he will have to hire a larger building. The feeling of the inhabitants of the town to educating the children was pro while very negative in the county.

R & F Hosp: No unmarried pregnant women to be admitted; syphilis ward to be abolished (Mar 1868)

Hereafter no pregnant unmarried women will be admitted to the R & F Hosp, and the laying in ward will be abolished as soon as the patients there in can be discharged. The ward for the treatment of syphilitic cases and other private diseases will be abolished as soon as the patients now under treatment are discharged.
"The work at Ariel Academy has been suspended for want of money and will remain suspended until it arrives. This you will please make known to the proper authority. The hands are in great need and have to resort to some other employment."

Directs the education department of Ky to be closed "on or before" the 15th of July.
The trustees of the Ben. P. Runkle Institution of Paducah have decided to terminate their session on May 31, 1870. The primary dept. will continue.

Authorizes $1000 for a schoolhouse in Winchester. Also Hopkinsville, Georgetown, Paris, Princeton, Richmond, & Henderson.
See if the schools can be arranged in groups and turned over to the various benevolent societies. If this was done the rental would be paid with the present ten dollar rental arrangement with the societies. Thus simplifying our school system.

INSTRUCTIONS ON FOOD TO BE ISSUED TO FREEDMEN (Feb 1868)

By Burbank "to instruct you to issue disicated mixed vegetables and desiccated potatoes as far as possible in lieu of other articles to destitute freed people."

The Assistant Commissioner is also of the opinion that cornmeal could go farther than flour..."
"I fear there will be some suffering among them the approaching winter, these cases will be mostly confined to Callettes bug and other points along the Big Sandy River, and their greatest need will be a supply of clothing." About Jan., the Iron Furnaces begin and therefore shall provide employment for many.

SEEKS AMA HELP TO ESTABLISH A SCHOOL IN 6TH DIST (Nov 1866)

George Duff to R.E. Johnston, Nov 20, 1866, Ir-lex, box 47, rg 105

I have written to the AMA so far without success. "They do not refuse but say they have so many places they cannot pledge teachers at present stating that they expect their schools to average 50 scholars per school. That average cannot be reached in towns so small as they are in this Dist." I opened a subscription list "the amount subscribed was $19.50 (monthly)." The number of pupils was from 25 to 30.
George Duff to R.E. Johnston, Oct 20, 1866, Ir-lex, box 47, rg 105

Inspection of portion of the 6th District bordering on the Ohio and Big Sandy Rivers from Greensburg, Green Co., to Louisa Lawrence Co. No schools in the district so far. "The school at Greensburg was supported by public money but no more can be had from the same source at present the school committee believing that they have incurred as their share of the school fund arising from the tax on Negroes will liquidate. The school at Catlettsburg was supported partly by subscription and partly by the American Missionary Association."

R.E. Johnston to E.P. Smith, June 26, 1866, Ir-lex, box 46, rg 105

"Through the agency of the Freedmen's Bureau there has been established in this city four public schools for colored children, and that the number of pupils now attending these schools is about five-hundred. When these schools were first established I expected to be able to obtain sufficient money to pay the expenses of the schools from the funds of the Bureau, or from State Authorities, but a letter from Prof. John Ogden just received informed me that I must look to the charitable institutions... for there are no available funds for the purpose at his command." The amount we need is $200, "this I must receive from the charitable societies, or pay from my own pocket which latter I do not feel able to do."
"I was just completing a state plan for the management of Freedmen's schools in my when this change was made which plan was with a few alterations the same as the Colored Bd. of Lexington adopted. This Bd. has the matter of raising funds and the employment of teachers entirely in its own hands. It may however apply to any of the Freedmen's aid commissions for help. I would recommend that it apply to the Am. Missionary Assn. Cin. Rev. E. P. Smith, Secy."

I have recommended that the Association have the expenses of the Supt. at Lexington... Set as large an amount as possible be raised by colored people themselves. I know of no other means at present by which their schools can be sustained; and do not see why this may not relieve them."

Establishes a dispensary on third street between Walnut and Chestnut under Dr. Octerloney who will be aided by a competent druggist. It shall be open from 3 to 10 a.m. to treat all cases medical and surgical of sick and indigent refugees and freedmen who apply. Persons too sick to go to the dispensary shall be treated at their residence or will be sent to Crittenden Barracks. "Only those who are really indigent and unable to employ other medical attendance need be thus visited."
CONDITION OF NEGRO TENEMENT HOUSES (June 1867) where?

Levi F. Burnett to R. M. Roberts, June 27, 1867, LR-Lou, box 53, RG 105, EC 1208

"Call your attention to the condition of a negro tenement house and yard on Rose lane, near Floyd St. in this city. "

"Dr. Perry, City Health Officer, says that it is in a filthy condition, please have your men when out inspecting to cause this to be remedied as far as possible by the negroes who live there."

BLACK WOMAN TAKES SHEETS FROM HOSPITAL IN LOUISVILLE (Apr 1867)

R. A. Bell to C. H. Frederick, Apr 10, 1867, LR-Lou, box 53, RG 105, EC 1208

"I received information this morning that Hanna Crumb a freedwoman recently discharged from this hospital has in her possession sheets and pillowslips marked 'Hospital Property'...."
Shelbyville-Bartlett Taylor of that place pastor of a church has requested Bureau assistance. Twenty-five dollars a month shall be given provided that there is an average attendance of 75 pupils. "This money must be used for school purposes so as to make the charge for tuition as small as possible, and no children are to be excluded by reason of their relatives or friends being unable to pay for their tuition."

"It is desired to make this as near a free school as circumstances will allow."

Camp Nelson—it is almost impossible to find out the names of the people who robbed the blacks at Camp Nelson. Along with the guns was money and watches—taken by the robbers. They did claim that they were acting under authority of the Bureau and 15 to 20 were in the party.
An effort has been made in this Sub dist (Danville) to secure the necessary cash from the School fund, which provides $2.50 per scholar to those attending school three months in each year. If they are successfully registered this year the appropriation will be made in March 1868. It is not retroactive and therefore children attending last year as can receive no money.
"to instruct you to proceed to Camp Nelson, Ky., and make contracts for repairing Ariel Academy, lately purchased by the Disbursing officer of this Bureau."

The expenditure will be limited to $800; this is an old govt. bldg. that must become a schoolroom.

Authorization from Howard for you to issue 500 rations until May 1, 1868. "You will issue as much less than the amount above named, as possible, and only to very destitute colored people." The rations shall cease on or before April 30, 1868.
Capitation tax--The petition is in the hands of John Speed "and every effort is being made to induce the Legislature to amend or repeal the law."

Clothing--22 boxes and one bale of clothing "were received from New York January 13th 1868 and, immediately after receipt of the invoice, were distributed to the suffering poor of the State."
Louisville divided into 3 dispensing dists; dists described with doctors in charge

Dr. R. A. Bell to Dr. John A. Octerlon, July 28, 1868, Is-med.dept., vol 55, rg 105, e.1041.

"The city of Louisville is hereby divided into three dispensing districts for the sick and indigent freedmen..."
"Eastern district, bounded on the west by the east side of Clay Street, on the east, north and south by the city limits. A. A. Surg. E. A. Brown U. S. A. in charge. Dispensary 340 East Market Street."
"Central district, bounded on the east by the west side of Clay Street, and on the west by the east side of Eleventh St., on the north and south by the city limits. A. A. Surg. John A. Octerlon U. S. A. in charge. Dispensary on Third St. near Chestnut."
"Western district, bounded on the east by the west side of Eleventh St., on the west, north and south by the city limits. A. A. Surg. Charles D. Noble U. S. A. in charge. Dispensary at Home for destitute Freedmen and Colored Orphan Asylum, Fourteenth and Broadway."

6 Attendants sufficient at Freed's Home & Orphan Asylum (July 1868)

Dr. R. A. Bell to Runkle, July 17, 1868, Is-med.dept., vol 55, rg 105, e.1041.

"I deem six (6) attendants sufficient to take proper care of the inmates of the Freedmen's Home and Orphan Asylum; namely one Acting Steward who will perform the duties of Commissary Clerk and Wardmaster, one chief of Laundry, one cook and three nurses."
MT STERLING DISPENSARY TRANSFERRED TO OWENSBORO (May 1868)

The transfer of the dispensary from Mt. Sterling to Owensboro was made on May 1, 1868, by order of Burbank.

FB AGENT DESIRES A HOSPITAL IN PADUCAH (June 1867)

Desires to establish a hospital suitable for 12 beds in Paducah. A room could be rented for $15 a month.
"In consequence of the delay and inaccuracies in the monthly reports of A. A. Surg. Fred Hassig U. S. A. on duty at Paducah Ky as well as with a view to economy, it was deemed necessary after consultation with ... Burbank ... and Puleo ... to terminate the contract of Dr. Hassig to take effect the 31st inst. and adapt some other plan by which the indigent Freedpeople of Paducah Ky and vicinity could receive medical attention."

The civil authorities there agreed to give the medical attention if the Genl Corps would provide medicines. It is not intended to increase Dr. Hassig's issue of medicines.

Dispensaries established at Covington, Lexington, and Mt. Sterling in Dec. 1866.
HOSPITALS TO BE VERY SELECTIVE IN ADMITTING PATIENTS; NOT THOSE WHO WILL DIE ANYWAY (Jan 1867)

f 1 town to j c davis, jan 1, 1867, ls-med.dept., vol 55, rg 105

We are only permitted to admit those to the hospital who will be practically benefitted by treatment. Not those who will die anyway.

COMPLAINTS OF HARSH TREATMENT TO RETURNING SOLDIERS (Jan 1866)

fisk to bramlette, jan 24, 1866, press copies, ls-tn, vol 9, rg 105

"I am receiving a large number of complaints from Kentucky of the brutal treatment of returned colored soldiers and their families... "any of your citizens write to Washington complaining of my delay in protecting the freedmen. I have but one military supt. in all Kentucky. All others this far appointed are your own well known and well recommended citizens. I would prefer that all the Bureau does in Kentucky should be done by your own citizens but I fear that in Many localities troops will be an absolute necessity-unless the civil authorities will earnestly cooperate with me in securing justice for the freedmen... ."
POSSIBLE PROCEDURE FOR CARING FOR PAUPERS (Jan 1866)

fisk to john d black, jan 24, 1866, press copies, ls-tn, vol 9, rg 105

"(1) if they have old masters, who also have property, they have a lien upon that property for maintenance. (2) If they have no old masters, to whom they can rightfully look, than the Commissioners for the poor must provide for them. (3) If the Commissioners refuse to do it, you will be obliged to appeal to the charity of the Freedmen and of the humane white people, to provide relief. . . . with respect to be hiring out the orphan and abandoned children of Freedmen at from $2 to $5 per month, and appropriating the proceeds to the support of aged paupers, I know of no principle of law or equity to justify such a procedure."

EFFORT TO ESTABLISH BLACK ORPHANAGE IN LEXINGTON (Feb 1868)

Narrative Report. . . ., Feb 15, 1868, c.# 1071, rg 105

"efforts have been made to establish a black orphanage in Lex. A house has been rented and a school started. Dr. Bell has authorized a sufficient amount of stores to be issued. "It is my opinion that the same amount of money could not be expended for a better purpose."
MUCH DESTITUTION IN CITIES; NO NEED FOR SOUP KITCHENS; THOSE RECEIVING RATIONS CAREFULLY SCREENED (Feb 1868)

Narrative Report, Feb 15, 1868, c# 1071, rg 105, 3 x 2

"Destitution among the old and feeble freedpeople exists... at Louisville, Lexington, Covington, Newport, Mt. Sterling, Lebanon and Paducah. Some aid is needed in the way of subsistence. It would be well if authority could be procured to purchase and issue a small amount of fuel at each place. Many are reported as perishing by cold as well as hunger."

"There is no point in the state where it would be advisable to establish a soup house. The idle and profissious would take advantage of it and cease to labor. In every place throughout the state where rations are being issued, the Officer so issuing is instructed to investigate each case and satisfy himself that the person is worthy of aid."

DEPLORABLE LIVING CONDITIONS OF BLACKS: HOUSING, HEALTH, WORK, ETC (Dec 1868) Poor Med. Treatment

Submit official actions concerning the efforts to close the Home for Refugees & Freedmen in Louisville.

"Since my appointment as Surgeon in chief I have carefully guarded against the admission of any patients into the Hospital who did not come fully under the orders governing the admission of patients thereto and by frequent and strict examinations kept the patients in the Hospital reduced to the lowest possible number."

"I am called upon daily to visit the colored sick and find many of them in the most abject poverty. Infants striving to obtain sustenance from half naked, attenuated and sickly mothers. Huddled together in tenements through which the cold blasts of winter passed almost uninterupted. Youth, manhood and old age made and female congregated promiscuously in the most unhealthy parts of the city without any visible means of support. Much of this suffering I am satisfied is not the result of laziness on the part of the colored people but is due to scarcity of labor and the unusually small compensation paid for labor during the year about to expire. In this condition the poor freedmen are foretained by an early and severe winter entirely unprepared to meet its severities."

"But very few of the physicians will attend the colored people unless paid per visit in advance (from $2.00 to $5.00) added to this is the utter refusal of the druggists to credit them. Thus the colored man's condition is deplorable indeed."
runkle to burbank, lraco, M 752, roll 59, nov. 20, 1868, rg 105, vol 2987

"The success of the school system is due to R. E. Johnston, J. S. Catlin, F. Benson Brown and their relative assistants."

"As to the construction of school houses I have taken charge of that matter myself."

"In making appropriations for rent I have relied solely upon my own knowledge and the recommendations of the Chief Sub Assistant Commissioners. In the matter of lectures & advice to the freedmen outside of this City, the work has been chiefly done by Dr. Hunter, Capt. Brown's assistants and myself."

"Mr. Noble has procured a certain number of teachers and I cheerfully give him the credit due to him on this account. A large number of teachers are however required and remain unfurnished at this date."

"The Ely Normal School is not what it should be. The course of education has not been systematized in the schools under charge of the Bureau."

Recommendations: (1) the office of Asst Comr and Chief spt of schools be merged, (2) that J. S. Catlin be assigned to Burbank's staff and placed in charge of schools.

Noble to Burbank, Nov. 29, 1868

Runkle has done me a great injustice.

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SCHOOLS NOT REPORTING TO FB; 8 FREEDMEN'S SCHOOLS IN LOUISVILLE

(Apr 1866)

c h frederick to ely, apr 17, 1866, press copies, ls-lou, vol 139, rg 105, e 2988

"Last month I directed all the Teachers of the Colored schools in this City to send a report to this office on the 28th May and each succeeding month of the no. of teachers and the no. of scholars in each school."

"This was not complied with on the last day of April... and thus I was obliged to send an order, through the City to each Teacher to receive their verbal reports..."

Eight freedmen schools are in Louisville and only two reported.
Lexington Orphans to be Transferred to Louisville (July 1868)

"I have the honor to request that you send an Ambulance to the Lexington Depot tomorrow morning (the 18th) at 11 o'clock to convey the Orphan Children to the Asylum in Louisville."
"Outrages committed, or a fraud practiced upon a negro creates more indignation than if such things were practiced upon white persons, but it cannot be denied, that if a negro commits a wrong, there is a strong disposition on the part of the whites to take the law into their own hands and inflict summary punishment."

"I have given notice that they must be bound only as whites are and that through me as agent of the Bureau."

"Complaints have been made to me of some being bound without the consent of the parents. I have sent word to the parties to come in and I would advise them what course to pursue and in the mean time I would advise with you as to what course should be pursued through the law is plain."
SOME MINORS BOUND AS APPRENTICES UNDER KY LAW, NO REQUIRING SCHOOLING
(July 1866)

E C Ashcraft to Ely, July 30, 1866, Lraco, Box 1, RG 105, E 106:

"The minors that have been bound have been by the county court in accordance to the state laws which don't require any schooling."

BLACKS REPORTED VIOLATING CONTRACTS AT EMPIRE IRON WORKS
(June 1866)

Donovan to Ely, June 30, 1866, Lraco, Box 1, RG 105, E 106:

Empire Iron Works - "Affairs have been going on unsatisfactory. . . . "R. Hillman wrote me on the 14th that some of the Freedmen were quitting his employ in violation of their contracts. . . ." Donovan found that 20 of the 30 freedmen "had without just cause gone off in violation of their contracts, and that no proper efforts had been made by the agent Mr. Woodruff to prevent them. Others were indisposed to work and were threatening to go." There are between 300 and 400 freedmen under contract at Empire.

Mr. Woodruff is "incompetent... and . . . a detriment to the affairs of the Bureau."
DONOVAN: MOST FREEDMEN FULFILLING CONTRACTS (June 1866)

Donovan to Ely, June 30, 1866, Lraco, Box 1, RG 105, Entry 4

The greater number of freedmen "are generally speaking well disposed to do what is right in fulfillment of their contracts."

THOMAS CHEANEY, FB AGENT, ASKED FOR RECORDS ON CONTRACTS, APPRENTICES, ETC (June 1866)

Thomas Cheaney to Ely, June 8, 1866, Lraco, Box 1, RG 105, Entry 4

Cheaney was ordered to provide exact records of contracts, apprentices, &c. His files were not in order and he asked to be given until July to place them in order. "I have been a farmer all my life and not accustomed to systematic account keeping. I go to work and set the matter right."
FB AGENT BELIEVES SOME BLACKS STILL BEING HELD AS SLAVES IN LYON & TRIGG COUNTIES (June 1866) (W.C. NOEL, AGENT)

donovan to ely, june 1, 1866, lraco, box 1, rg 105, e.1068

Noel (Lyon and Trigg) reports that the citizens are "rebellious towards the operations of the Bureau". ... the rebel citizens and returned rebel soldiers are determined to treat the operations of the Bureau with contempt and will not submit without they are compelled to by force. Says that he is well satisfied they are holding some freedmen in slavery and treating them far worse than before the Government set them free."

FB AGENTS POOR ADMINISTRATORS (May 1866)

donovan to ely, may 4, 1866, lraco, box 1, rg 105, e.1048

"Lieut. James F. Bolton reports that on assuming control he found a citizen agent at Cumberland (Mr. Norton) who had neither Records, Papers, or Instructions of any kind relating to the business of the Bureau."
CASE OF LAD BOUND OUT AS APPRENTICE AGAINST HIS & FATHER'S WILL
(Sept 1866)

rice to re johnston, sept 28, 1866, iraco, box 1, rg 105, c. 1047

"Referring to my endorsement in the case of the boy William bound out to Mr. Miller by Mr. Reed at date Sept 27, 1866. I find that the wording of that endorsement does not properly set fourth the conclusion to which I came after investigation."

"That I intended in concluding my report was to say that either party would do well by the boy, but that as Combs had taken charge of the boy as his father and had placed him at waves in sebruary last I see no reason why the boy should remain with Mr. Mill r."

The case of Fieldin- Combs, Sept. 14, 1866. Affidavit of Fieldin- Combs-
"my boy William aged 13 years out to Mr. Price for $25 a year. Mr Price agreeing to clothe and school him. I told Mr. Price that I did not want the $25, and that he could use it to get the boy Sunday clothing."

"Last Saturday week I was absent from home, and while I was away Mr. Johnson Miller (former owner of William) went to Mr. Reed the office of the Livery at Versailles Ky and had my boy William bound out to him against the wishes of myself and William. I was never consulted about Williams being bound out to Mr. Miller."

"I have never abandoned support of the boy, and it is my wish to have him brought up in the family of Mr. Price where he was doing well before he was taken away from there."

Combs petitioned Davis for release of William on Sept. 13.

SUSAN CRUTCHER CASE: ALLEDGED ABUSE OF CHILDREN BOUND OUT
(Aug 1866) TAYLORSVILLE

R.W.Roberts to c h frederick, aug 16, 1866, iraco, box 1, rg 105, Susan Crutcher Case, c. 1045

Went to Taylorsville "to investigate the cases of two colored children allledged to be cruelly treated by a person named James L. Crutcher (white) in whose custody they were forcibly detained." Found the indentures in the Spencer Co. Clerk's office-two colored children female named Martha and Lucinda aged 10 and 3 years. "I had a private examination of the two colored children and found them looking hearty, and clean, and properly clothed, and on my asking them if they were whipped by Mr. or Mrs. Crutcher, Martha, the older said sometimes when she would not mind and was a bad girl, father said Mrs. Crutcher never hurt her much . . . ." Got plenty to eat, slept in the same room with Mr. and Mrs. Crutcher and on a good bed. "I found no just cause for complaint in reference to these two colored children."
donovan to ely, aug 3, 1866, lraco, box 1, rg 105, c. 1866

"In many cases the Civil Courts are apprenticing colored minors without... notifying the parents... and further that they fail to make any provision in the indentures for the education of the children. This method of apprenticing is no more nor less than a system of constitutional slavery."

"The children were apprenticed by the city Judge without the consent of their mother and to a mean master. The mother made application to this office to have the children delivered to her. The mother has been placed in the hands of a lawyer who has made application to the circuit Judge for the issuing of a writ for the delivery of the children to their mother. The application was made three weeks ago and it appears the court Judge has either neglected or refused to go out the application. "Should it appear that he has refused to do so, will I not be justified in having the children delivered by military force?"

CHILDREN FREED FROM APPRENTICESHIP IN HARDIN CO (Sept 1866)

chl frederick to ely, sept 19, 1866, lraco, box 2, rg 105, c. 1866

"I have the honor in compliance with instructions... 12 Sept 1866 in the lease of Cassa Thomas (cold) of Geo. W. Strickler (illegal binding of her child... to said Strickler by the Court of Hardin Co. Ky.), to report that on the 12 Sept. 1866 an order was dispatched to Geo. W. Strickler to produce Charles and Alfred Thomas (cold boys) together with their clothing and the money... d... them, in this Court without delay, they being indentured to him, unlawfully, and without the consent of their surviving mother."

"On the 13th Sept. 1866, Geo. W. Strickler, Cassa Thomas (cold) and Chester and Alfred Thomas (cold boys) aged 15 and 15 yrs. Appearing in court, said children were delivered to their mother, with their clothing, and ten (10 $) Dollars, the amount established by this Court to be owe... for the service... of the children."
WASHINGTON CO APPRENTICESHIP CASES: WHITES FORCED TO RELEASE 2 CHILD. (June 1866)

James M. Fidler to Ely, June 30, 1866, LRACO, Box 2, RG 105

"In Washington Co. two white men Rbt. Cray Representative from Washington Co. in My Legislature & Mrs. Simms refused to deliver two colored children to their parents & writs of 'Habeas Corpus' was [sic]... [issued] and the children obtained."

APPRENTICESHIPS ALLOWING RETURN OF SLAVERY (May 1866)

C. H. Frederick to Ely, May 31, 1866, LRACO, Box 2, RG 105

"If there is not an order prohibiting the County Court from binding out (cold) children I am confident slavery will be again organized... at least in this county... great advantage has been taken of the black by contracts under the State law."
"I am told that there are Blacks in the Southern part of Boone County still held in Slavery by their former masters. I am now well satisfied that the affairs of the Bureau cannot be fully enforced without a military force of 20 or 30 men."

LOCATION OF MOST BLACK RESIDENCES IN LOUISVILLE: SMOKETOWN (Apr 1866)

Most blacks are on Preston, Floyd and Jackson streets south of Broadway (Called smoketown), on 9th street and south of the Nashville rr Dept. "Allister", Greys and O'Neal's Alleys are also well re presented.

"The freedmen are determined to remain in the city as long as possible, many are certainly coming while very few are leaving."

"There is great need of authority to compel them to leave the city and obtain employment in the city."
"I find in my county some asperation on the part of some to take all the advantage of the freedman that they can and especially of the minors... I have in some cases taken the minors from persons that once owned them when I found they had made contracts by which the minor was shamefully afraid [sic]. And some parents are hiring their children and living entirely on what they work for."

1st dist-Boyle, Mercer, Pulaski, Lincoln, Rockcastle, Jackson and Laurel. Hdqtrs-Danville.
3d dist-Boone, Kenton, Carroll, Gallatin, Owen Grant, and Campbell. Hdqtrs-Covington.
"The freedmen do not seem to appreciate the importance of firmly establishing the relationships they held as man and wife previous to their condition of Freedom."

"Contracts in this part of the State even nearby are verbal and depend upon the testimony of white citizens for fulfillment."
PATERNAL ATTITUDE OF EVEN BEST CITIZENS AGAINST BLACKS
(Dec 1866)

jm fidler to ely, dec 31, 1866, lraco, box 2, rg 105, e. 166

"Many of the best of society are against blacks. "I find that many employers have an idea that because they employed a negro last year, the negro is under obligation to remain with them during the remaining years; that these employers are using threats... against the freedmen & men who desire to hire colored men for the purpose of retaining their old employers at reduced rates..."

FB AGENTS ACCUSED OF PUNISHING BLACKS HARSHLY (July 1866)
samuel McKee to ely, july 20, 1866, lraco, box 5, rg 105, e. 166

"Your agents here (John Evans and H. C. Howard) are in the habit of punishing colored men by beating them for alleged violations of their contracts. Two cases have been related to me of Capt. John Evans, Sub Agent... It is not better than the old system of slavery... Every rebel sympathizer here is delighted with the workings of the Bureau & I have not met a solitary Radical Union man who does not condemn its management..."
I am satisfied that it is moved here by the Agency to oppress and swindle the people on whose benefit it was created. The Agent here act according to your orders. Our orders are infamous and wholly unauthorized to give you a few instances.

1st Your agents compell all colored men to come to their office & set marriage certificates on who have wives in many instances when they have lived in wedlock for more than 10 years and exploit these people large sums of money for the certificate $5, $10, $20 or as much as they can make them pay. By what authority is this? The legislature of Ky has provided a mode for authenticating their marriages.

2nd They bind out the children of parents against their will and when parents are amply able to take care for them. on the payment of a certain sum to them by the parties who want the children.

3rd Your agents here are in the habit of punishing colored men by beating them for alleged violations of their contracts. Two cases have been related to me of Capt. John Evans, Sub Agent. The is no better than the old system of slavery. Every rebel sympathizer here is delighted with the workings of the Bureau & I have not met a solitary Radical Union man who does not condemn its management. Mr. E. C. Howard Chief Agent for this Sub-Dist was a Velliekanite & violently opposed to Lincoln in 1864 & voted last year for the Constitutional Amendment and for me and was honest in that vote and was honest in that vote but I greatly fear he is using this office simply & solely for his own pecuniary purposes.

John Evans was a captain in the 12th Ky but quit d
JOHN EVANS, AGT 4TH DIST, ACCUSED OF WHIPPING BLACKS
(July 1866)

Samuel McKee to Ely, July 20, 1866, lraco, box 5, rg 105, e.1065

John Evans (agent fourth district)
1. Samuel McKee to Ely, July 20, 1866, lraco, box 5. Accuses Evans of being pro-southern, of whipping blacks in order to coerce them into obeying their contracts, of binding out the children of black parents without the consent of and against the wishes of those parents and for his pecuniary benefit, and of charging exorbitant prices for marriage certificates and compelling the blacks to go to the Bureau for their certificates.

REPORT THAT FB AGENT, THOS CHEANEY IMPRISONED A BLACK FOR NOT WORKING ON SUNDAY (May 1866)

A. L. Robinson to Ely, May 24, 1866, lraco, box 5, rg 105, e.1c68

T.F. Cheaney has imprisoned Thomas Alvis (black) for refusing to work on Sunday and still holds him.
DELINEATION OF LEX-SUB-DIST, WITH HEADQUARTERS  
(Feb 1866)

ely to fisk, feb 19, 1866, iraco-tn, box 6, rg 105

Lex sub dst.
1st dist-cos of Mercer, Boyle, Lincoln and Rockcastle, Hdqtrs-Danville.
2d " - Jackson, Garrard, Madison-Hdqtrs Nicholasville.
3d - Clarke, Estill, Jackson Owaley-hdqtrs Winchester.
4th-Burbon, Montgomery, Powell, Wolf, Breathitt, Magoffin, Hdqtrs-St. Sterling.
5th d-Fayette, Scott-Hdqtrs-Lexington.
6th-oodfork and Franklin-Hdqtrs Frankfort.
7th-Carrol and Owen, Hdqtrs Carrollton.
8th-Grant, Harrison, Pendleton-Hdqtrs-Cynthiana.
9th-9th dist-Boone, Kenton, Campbell-hdqtrs Covington.
10th-Brecken, Mason, Fleming Nicholas hdqtrs at Maysville.
11th=Edath Rowan Morgan-hdqtrs at Owingsville.
12th-Lewis, Greenup, Boyd, Carter and Lawrence, Hdqtrs at Greenup.

"For the mountain counties included in G. C., No. 1, Current Series, from these
Headquarters, but not here in classified into numerical Districts, the Superin-
tendent of the adjoining District is hereby authorized to act in all cases that
may come before him."

NUMBER OF ORPHAN BLACKS IN OHIO CO; COMPLAINTS AGAINST FB AGENT  
(Dec 1866)

a w lawwill to ely, dec 24, 1866, iraco, box 5, rg 105, e. t. c.

Inspection report of Ohio county-"There are quite a number of orphan children
living among the Freedmen and are unwilling to be bound out. 
The Freedmen were prejudiced against the Bureau."

"The seems to be a great deal of complaint against C. J. Lawton late Supt.
of Ohio County. It is said that he charged the Freedmen $10.00 for making
application for back pay, bounty &c."

C. J. Lawton (Agent Ohio co)
1. Lawwill to Ely, Dec. 24, 1866, iraco, box 5, Lawton charged the freedmen
$10.00 for making application for back pay, bounty etc. and thus "the freedmen
were prejudiced against the Bureau."
2. Ely to Lawton, Sept. 17, 1866, iraco, vol. 15, "There is so small amount
of business in your county that it is not thought necessary to have a Supt.
there. You will therefore consider yourself removed." Forward your records
to Lawwill.
3. C. J. Lawton, Jan. 12, 1866, St. Jir in, vol. 24, Lawton was a citizen resident
of Ohio county (Cynthiana) when appointed.
"There was sometime ago an impression among the farmers who had freedmen working on the halves that they could adopt a system of prosecution & petty annoyances, and cause the Freedmen to leave their crops as they were near maturity."

"This I have corrected by giving all to understand that when parties could not agree three disinterested men should be chosen to appraise the crop and have it sold, one to be chosen by each party and the third by the Bureau."

"For some reason unknown to the Supt the courts have manifested a more liberal feeling towards the Freedmen for the last three weeks."

"Your written orders delivered through me to James Hight . . . to deliver up certain negroes held . . . in bondage has been totally disregarded."

"George Givens (colored) has two children who are held in absolute bondage by James Rice and William Baker of Webster County."
JAS NESBIT SAYS NOT HOLDING LAD IN BONDAGE
(Sept 1866, Webster Co)

James Nisbit to Davis, Sept 22, 1866, lraco, box 5, rg 105,

I brought the boy Mark up from childhood and he will not leave me. I have given him the chance to do so. The boy will not go with his father.

JAS NESBIT SAID TO BE HOLDING BLACK LAD AGAINST FATHER'S WISHES
(Aug 1866, Webster Co)

John payton to ely, aug 26, 1866, lraco, box 5, rg 105,

James Nisbit "has a negro boy in his possession who formally belonged to him. He is holding the negro boy in absolute bondage. The father of the boy applied to Nisbit to restore his son, but Nisbit refused to let him go."
ATTEMPT TO FREE CHILDREN BOUND TO JOS. MUSSEL MEN
(May 1867)

A. S. Bloom to Ely, May 14, 1867, lraco, box 7, e. 1068, rg 105

Another Habeas Corpus served on Joseph Musselman. This is the second such act by the Judge. These children were bound by J.W. Read. The same facts as in the Henry Case.

LITTLE SUFFERING IN HENDERSON CO
(May 1867)

Wells s bailey to ely, may 1, 1867, lraco, box 7, e. 1068, rg 105, e. 1068

"but little suffering & that among the aged and helpless & a disposition among the part of the civil authorities to aid in punishing outrages against freedmen."
"I have several cases of apprentices leaving their homes and going across the river to Evansville, Ind." What do I do? "it being out of State I am at a loss what course to pursue in regard to them." no answer.

"At Henderson Co, the Freedmen combined together & refuse to make contracts for less than $50, fifty dollars per month for labor in the stripping houses & Tobacco dealers refuse to pay $50, except to press hands and but little is being done at present in the factories. As a general thing in the country among farmers (now setting up for the year) are complying with their contracts & in fact in most cases making a better settlement that their contracts call for to induce the return of the men employed by them & I think after New Year a large number of contracts will be made."
Wells S. Bailey to Ely, Feb 26, 1866, Iraco, Box Y, RG 105, E. 1068

"I have not found it necessary to bind but one child without the consent of his parents & I had good proof both white and black that the child was ill treated by the mother & beaten by poker, chair, club, or anything that came to hand ... I have a number of complaints of ill treatment of children throughout the country & as soon as the roads will permit me & will investigate and report."

Ely to Fisk, May 15, 1866, Iraco-TN, Box 6, RG 105

"The State contains 110 Counties; of these 80 require the Bureau's Supervision; these 110 counties I propose to divide into 11 numerical districts composed of 10 counties each. Except the City of Louisville & Jefferson County which may constitute one district. For each of these numerical districts will be assigned a Superintendent with a clerk and an average of 3 agents.

"For each Sub-district, to wit, the Eastern, Middle & Western, will be assigned a chief Supt with an actg asst adjt General, and one chief clerk... if necessary."
KY INDENTURE SYSTEM SIMILAR TO SLAVERY  
(Sept 1867)

j s catlin to ely, sept 5, 1867, lraco, box 7, e.1068, rg 105

"There is a species of slavery yet in existance in this state which merits condemnation & should be interfered with by the Bureau if its jurisdiction or power can reach it, and in the event that it does not, to have the cases referred to or brought before the U. S. Dist. Court. I have reference to the system of indenturing colored children & youth, on exparte statements of rebels, without the consent of the Parents or Guardians and generally against the will of the persons indentured."

AGT BAILEY CANCELLED SEVERAL INDENTURES FOR NON-COMPLIANCE WITH CONTRACTS (July 1867)

wells s bailey to ely, july 31, 1867, lraco, box 7, e.1068, rg 105

"I have found it necessary to cancel several of the indentures of children bound to parties that did not comply with the requirements of the orders in regard to clothing, education, &c and in each case I have been sustained by the neighbors living near & knowing the illtreatment and neglect of the parties concerned."

Whiskey shops have sprung up all over Hardin Co. "and are depriving the families of the freedmen of the support they would get if these whiskey shops were broken up and that he [the agent] has no power to stop the evil but has conferred with the Judge of the County Court to arrest the traffic in whiskey among the freedmen."

"At present there are but two (2) counties Larue, and Hardin, supplied with agencies. All the other counties nine (9) in number are destitute of such local aid."
While in Madisonville Cheaney endeavored to investigate the charges made against Lewis Wilson as made by Peyton. The mother is lazy and is living in adultery in Caldwell with a worthless white man and it would be unjust to take the child from Wilson.

Case of J. C. Garrard v. G. W. Henry. The case went against Henry and the children were ordered into the custody of Garrard. Judge Donovan refused to grant a removal of the case to the U. S. Circuit Court and in so doing he violated the third section of the 1866 CRB. Bloom hired a lawyer, Jno. T. McClintock, to take the case through the Harrison Circuit Court. I need troops 15 to 20 men to administer Bureau affairs. "I suppose you are aware that this county has always been one of the lowest in the state and that J. W. Read was run off from here by a mob . . . ."
The Garrard v. Henry trial took place on May 10, 1867. Garrison filed suit for the possession of his two infant colored children "which he alleged had been apprenticed to him by the County Court of Harrison County & he asked for damages for their detention." He filed petition for the removal of the case to the U. S. Circuit Court for the district of KY "setting out the indentures entered into by Henry & J. W. Read Agt. & Supt. for Affairs of date May 29th 1866 as part of the petition." Garrison applied for a writ of habeas corpus which was granted and the infants were delivered up. He filed a petition under the act of Congress April 1866 for removal of the prosecution to the U. S. Circuit Court and was overruled, "the indentures entered into by Henry & Read were made without the consent of the mother (the father being dead)."

He attempted to show that when Henry and Read entered into the indenture that the mother was "improvident, reckless, cruel and inhuman to her children & that under such circumstances, the agent of the Bureau of Freedmen &c had the authority & it was his duty to apprentice said children to some provident upright person . . . ." The judge handed the children to Garrison. (see letter to Bloom May 15, 1867).

Aaron Dixon of Union Co. has three children in the hands of a Rbt. Dixon who refused to let them go. Manuel (24) Seder (12) and Jonathen (16). Bailey to Ely Oct. 19, 1867: Enclosure: The children were apprenticed by T. F. Cheaney in Jan. of 1866 at the request of their mother who was unable to take care of them. "Aaron is not the father any more than 20 other men that Mr. Dixon owned." Aaron did not have anything to do with the mother until a year before they were set free. Manuel is but 14 Segar 8. No mention of education in the apprentice: "she (Segar) will get two suits of clothes & 50 dollars in cash & that is better than she will do elsewhere."
The publishing of the Circular terminating the FB upon the work of establishing schools, so far as I can judge, it has already been prejudicial. The main evidence upon which I predicate this assertion is derived from colored men and from reports of Rev. Mr. Ramsdell. Since the issuance and publishing of that letter he has met with very serious opposition, especially at Taylorsville in Spencer Co., where his life was threatened and only saved by the interposition of two moderate gentlemen of that place named Cox and Davis. And the same causes which render the effect of this letter disadvantageous to the establishment of schools also intensifies the hostile feeling of the people towards the Freedmen. If the press of the State truthfully represents that feeling, no one can fail to see that this is so. Ninety per cent of these Journals are radically opposed to the Bureau.

As far as the freedmen establish schools alone the discontinuance of these agencies and the consequent discharge of Bureau officers very seriously dampen the ardor and cripple the exertions of the freed people in this respect.

"I have to say that the decisive action of the assistant Commissioner in arresting persons guilty of outrage or injury to Freedmen in this Sub-Dist has practically put an end to those oft repented instances of violence. But if the Bureau leaves them to the "Tender mercies" of these laws and courts the freedmen are in trouble. When they were slaves it was the master's pecuniary interest to see that they were protected. Since they became free and are no longer property chattels or property that pecuniary interest does not exist."

THOS CHEANEY CRITICIZES AGENT BAILEY
(Oct 1867)

"Bailey has neither sympathy or patience, he cares nothing more for the Negro than he does a hog."

"I will say nothing more at present than that he is shrewed, & knows how to take care of house, blows well when it comes to reporting to headquarters, when that is done he is willing to do nothing more, and does little more than whittle, make pretty pieces of furniture to adorn his parlor at Home."

"You will naturally enquire why I have said nothing before now, my reason of it is this, we have occupied the same office. I transacted nearly all the business for and with the Negro, I concluded to say nothing so long as this was the case."

"Amount of money received at this office by the Sub Asst Comr for indenturing children since the first of July last $110.00 which he tells me he has forwarded to you, none of these indentures have been recorded in County Court Clerks Office."

No money rec'd from Bailey since Mar. 1, 1867. From his reports he apprenticed 25 children. (Endorsement on letter.)
"there is a general disposition among the freedpeople not to enter into contracts for the period of 12 months and the farmers will not employ them for a less time than 6 to 12 months, they are flocking to the towns in great numbers, my Agent reports about (3) three thousand in that place. They can have good homes in the country and good prices for their labor. They come to town to work about (3) three days in the week the balance of the time in idleness and stealing, Several citizens have lost a number of hogs, eight were drove to this place a few days ago and were being slaughtered in day light ..."
1. Samuel A. Spencer (Green County)
   1. Spencer to Fisk; Dec. 31, 1865, Iraco-tn, box 9. Spencer was the judge of the County court.
   2. Spencer to Fisk, Feb. 22, 1866, Iraco-tn, box 9. Afraid that the letters sent by Fisk to the legislative committee will hurt his political chances in the future.
   4. Ky Ency. of Bib (1909), 697-698. Lawyer. B. Feb. 1803, in Charlotte Co, Va. d. Mar. 12, 1871, at Greensburg, KY. Moved to Ky in 1817 with his mother after his father died; settled near Greensburg, Greene co. Mother put him to learn the trade of harness-making at the age of fifteen and Spencer read in his spare time. After commencing business for himself as a saddler, he began the study of the law, and in due course of time was licensed to practice, and for many years devoted his energies exclusively to the practice of his profession. His reputation was especially high in the management of land cases. For the last quarter of a century he connected with his other business the collecting of pensions, and that, together with his other extensive professional interests, made him one of the busiest men in the country, and largely absorbed his whole attention. /698/ Served in the state senate for four years, was county judge for a term of years, was for a long time a justice of the peace; held many offices of minor importance connected with the town schools and other interests in his community. A member of the Baptist church, a superintendent of its Sunday-school at Greensburg.

BAD ACTIONS OF AGENT AT WARSAW, KY, HURT FB (Mar 1867)

w h merrell to ely, mar 4, 1867, lrac0, box 13, e.1068, rg 105

Inspection of Lexington Sub-Dist. - Gallatin co. - At Warsaw the former agent of the Bureau Mr. C. C. McNeely "has so conducted himself, as to render the Bureau obnoxious, as an Agent he was useless." The feelings of whites toward blacks in Gallatin co. is not satisfactory and "in my opinion the presence of troops will be required in that locality for some time to come."
FREEDMEN REPORTED NOT KEEPING CONTRACTS IN OHIO CO; AGENT NOT EFFECTIVE (Dec 1867)

A W Lawwill to Ely, Dec 31, 1867, LRACO, Box 12, E1068, RG 105

Ohio Co.-The freedmen have not kept their contracts "going from place to place, they at last find themselves in the middle of winter with nothing to eat or wear. This state of affairs is partially due to the unsettled condition of the Freedmen and partially from the fact that the lateupt. of that County did not enforce his contracts with either party, causing the whites and blacks to hold the Bureau powerless."

FREEDMEN WHO JOINED ARMY IN CW FROM 5TH DIST OFTEN DID NOT RECEIVE THEIR BOUNTY (Nov 1867)

Re Johnston to Runkle, Nov 30, 1867, LRACO, Box 12, E1068, RG 105

Fifth Dist: "A small number of freedmen have enlisted in the Army. The non-payment of bounty due them for services during the rebellion has caused much dissatisfaction, and created a feeling of distrust."
MANY ILLEGALLY BOUND CHILDREN IN KAY'S DIST (Sept 1867)

w James Kay to Ely, Sept 30, 1867, lraco, box 12, e.1068, rg 105

Throughout this sub-dist there are very many illegally bound children; Kay expected many suits.

REDUCED TENDENCY OF COURTS TO APPRENTICE MINORS WITHOUT PARENT'S CONSENT (Sept 1867)

w James Kay to Ely, Sept 2, 1867, lraco, box 12, e.1068, rg 105

The habit of County "courts to apprentice minors without the consent of parents still exists to some extent but "not so great as was carried on a few months ago." Some minors have been taken from masters by writs of habeas corpus "which has caused persons to be more particular in apprenticing the children of others in an illegal manner."
CHILD ILLEGALLY BOUND RETURNED THROUGH COURT ACTION  
(Aug 1867)  

w.james kay to ely, aug 3, 1867, lraco, box 12, e.1068, rg 105  

Received a written application from Selina Gordon asking that her child be returned from R. Brand to whom she was illegally bound. Referred to C. D. Smith with instructions to sue out a writ of Habeas Corpus. The case was heard before Judge F. V. Murray of the City Police Court and the court sustained Gordon's petition "directing that the child had been illegally bound, and returned him to his mother." There are several cases of like nature which I intend to prosecute.

MANY BLACKS BELIEVED CONTRACT SYSTEM ANOTHER FORM OF SLAVERY  
(Feb 1867)  

a w lawwill to ely, feb 28, 1867, lraco, box 12, rg 105, e.1048  

The freedmen "at last begin to understand the difference between a contract its binding force and the old system of slavery one of the greatest obstacles that I had was to dispel the idea that the contract system was but another name for slavery. I explained the matter to them by calling to their minds that while and Black men are alike bound to fulfill all contracts."
"The greatest number of complaints and controversies arising between the whites and colored are in relation to the apprenticing of Colored children to their former masters by the Judges of the different County Courts. They bind all colored minors without the consent of parents or without regard to the ability of the parents to care for and educate their offspring, and having children apprenticed in this way a species of slavery exists that should not be tolerated."

Introduces Philip Green the plaintiff in the case of Green v. Whaley. "Mr. Whaley seems desirous of giving the child up to the parent. I hope the case will settle the point as to whether these County Courts can indenture Freed children without the consent of Parents who are able to support them and at the same time decide that they are not entitled to the same rights as white minors under similar cases circumstances."
Schools at B.G.: "I find several appropriations lying idle upon the records of this office never having been applied to their designated purposes."

Apprenticeships: "Many complaints are made by parents for their children but when informed of the cost of a civil suit for their recovery they generally are too poor to incur the expense and so their children are too often left to the mercy of their often inhuman masters . . . ."

"Before the U. S. Courts the fees for the recovery of children is such cases is Twenty Dollars ($20.00) and in such cases as could succeed before a state court no lawyer I have yet found will prosecute for less than Twenty-five ($25.00) dollars . . . . I advise them in the most outrageous cases to entice them away from the master . . . ."

There is only one U. S. Commissioner in the B. G. District-Mack Huggins of Glasgow "whom I do not consider competent for his position for two reasons: 1st he is a boy of 19 years with no experience, 2nd he never has had an entire case since appointed . . . ."
During the month of Jan. 1868 "Several complaints were made in cases of illegal apprenticeship of children of Freedmen, and steps have been taken to investigate the facts in order that proper legal proceedings may be had to cancel the indentures...."
"The judge refused to hear the case, except to simply deliver up the child to his father Philip Green. He would not allow any costs against Whaley .... Philip can go up on the evening to get / him /.

J. Bond Thompson, (agent, Livingston Co.)
1. Merrall to Ely, Apr. 14, 67, LR, Box 13. "gave but little of his time and attention to the duties of his office. . . he was very incompetent and acted in a very injudicious manner and the interests of the Bureau and the Freedpeople both require his removal."

2. Petition enclosed in J. W. Bush to Davis, Feb. 4, 1866, Fraco, box 7. JBT lives almost two miles from Smithland and visits the place once a week for almost two hours. The blacks have no faith in him.
A. W. Lawwill (Chief Agt.)
1. Crockett to Ely, Apr. 14, 1867, Box 13. "Mr. Lawwill is one of the most energetic and industrious Officers of the Bureau in the State."
2. "19 to Rich, Apr. 1, 1866, WHC, Vol. 37. Lawwill donated for fund of Negro Fist to an agent under True because Lawwill was primarily connected only with free collecting bounty claims and did not establish an office.
3. S. C. W., Feb. 19, 1867, WHC, Vol. 57. Appointed out of Texas county in Nov. 21, 1866. He was a resident of each county.
4. S. G., Dec. 24, 1866, WHC, Box 16, e.1068, rg 105. Lawwill was a resident of the state and 'racing counties with headquarters at "Warville."

J S CATLIN SEES BLACKS IMPROVING "HEROICALLY" BOTH MENTALLY, MORALLY, ECONOMICALLY

j s catlin to runkle, mar 2, 1868, 1raco, box 16, e.1068, rg 105

"I see most gratifying evidences of their steady progress in all that is essential to make them useful & worthy citizens. More and more they realize and appreciate the true means by which all their rights as citizens are ultimately to be attained, suffering and struggling or heroically, oftentimes under the cruellest oppression and ostracism with their eyes fixed steadily on the star of their perfect disenthrallment & towards which they are steadily but surely marching."

Civilization-(1) the material condition of the Freedmen is satisfactory. They support themselves. (2) the moral condition is also steadily improving." Chrruces and lack of theft, "though their worship may not be surrounded by the pomp and circumstance of their more enlightened white brethren, yet its simplicity and spontaneity will be just as acceptable to Him who made all men of one flesh."
"The citizens complain that about five hundred freedmen are idling away their time in the city with the hope of obtaining, now and then, odd jobs in the tobacco factories while their labor is very much needed on the farms. All of which is not far from the truth." The freedmen say that they are employed to work as field hands for a share but are forced to work about the house for no compensation. Others find themselves in debt after paying employers for food and board.

"in view of the proposed suspension or withdrawal of the Bureau as announced in the Circular letter above named, and in view of the vigorous opposition and great prejudice against those already existing it has not been deemed practicable or even possible and therefore not adviseable to take any steps towards organizing Schools for Freedmen additional to those already existing . . . ."

"Without the Bureau "the Freedmen would not continue their exertions to establish schools."
James M. Fidel to Runkle, Jan 9, 1868, Lraco, box 16, e.1068, rg 105

With "the expiration of these [Bureau] agencies [on Feb. 1, 1868] all of the colored schools etc. will also. My opinion is that the schools at this point and Greensburg will perhaps continue—certainly more of the others." The amount of money blacks make will not permit them to support schools. There are but few black people in KY qualified to teach and teachers from the north will not come without Bureau money and protection.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR PAYING BOUNTIES TO SOLDIERS

Burbank to Confidential Letter of Instructions to all Agents for the payment of bounties to Colored Soldiers, May 4, 1868, Lraco, box 15, e.1068, rg 105

"Hereafter when a colored soldier presents himself to receive his bounty you will examine him carefully as to whether he has sold or disposed of his claim in any way. In case you discover that he has sold or disposed of his claim or any part thereof you will immediately return the receipts [sic] and money to Bt. Colonel Ben. P. Runkle Disbg Officer of the Bureau in this State, together with a statement of the name of the person buying said claim and the amount paid. You will send with this statement the affidavit of the soldier selling the claim."

"You will pay each and every bounty yourself in person and the contents of this letter will not be made known to any clerk in your office or any other person whomsoever."
A.B. BROWN BELIEVED THAT A SYSTEM OF LECTURES TO BLACKS WOULD GREATLY AID IN IMPROVEMENT (May 1868)
a b brown (BG) to runkle, may 31, 1868, lraco, box 15, e.1068, rg 105

"I am more than ever satisfied of the benefits which would accrue to the race, if a system of lectures to them was inaugurated. Since Chaplin Noble's lecture delivered a short time since in the Baptist church was so thoroughly appreciated."

RUNKLE ORDERED TO CLOSE HIS DEPARTMENT BY MAY 31, 1869

ooh to runkle, mar 5, 1869, lraco, box 21, rg 105, e.1068

"you are hereby requested to take the proper measure to close up the operations of your Department completely on the 31st of May."

"The schools of course will continue as by law but the Superintendents will report directly to this office for specific instructions. All officers of the Army will be relieved from duty on or before that date and all other employees discharged."

"The payment of bounty will be regulated by the Chief Disbursing Officer at Washington."
ILLEGAL INDENTURES STOPPED (Henderson area?)

James McCleery to runkle, mar 18, 1868, lracO, box 19, e.1068, rg 105

Apparently illegal indentures have stopped. The employers not willing to go before the U.S. Courts because of the expense.

AGENT KEY AIDS BLACKS WHO ARE NOT BEING PAID
(Jan 1868)

Key to runkle, jan 1, 1868, rg 105, lracO, box 18, e.1068

Freedmen are complaining of not being paid. "I advise the Freedmen to bring suit and do all in my power to assist them in procuring legal advice &c.&c."
I am confident the withdrawal of the issue of rations, medicines, clothing and fuel will cause a great deal of downright suffering among them this winter. We could not prevent suffering with these articles last year.

The bounty money already paid to many of them will be the means of relieving much distress and want this winter.

"It is contemplated to discharge all the officers & agents, except the Asst Comr the D o & the Supt of Scholls on the 15 of Feb."

"The medical dept will be turned over to such civil authorities as will assume it. If none will assume the charge of it, we may be obliged to continue it till July."

CLOSING DOWN AGENTS, MED. DEPT IN KY BY FB

(by Whit.) to Burbank, Jan 7, 1868, Lraco, box 17, e.1068, rg 105

(1868)
The people in this district "are bitterly opposed to the Negroes holding mass meetings, conventions, and the like, and will not allow it when the Bureau is removed."
The circular has greatly discouraged the Freedmen of this District. The schools will be broken up after the Bureau leaves. The freedmen will not be safe from outrage and injury. The development of Freedmen's schools would not continue. Blacks will not be allowed to testify and apprenticing without the consent of parents will continue.

WAGES OF BLACKS MAY 1866

You are instructed that $10 a month is too low of a wage to get for males—you are to raise it to $15.
The freedmen "have generally learned to initiate and emulate the virtues and
manners of the better class of whites around them and today were they permitted
by the dominant race to go along the even tenor of their ways they would be a
peaceable, frugal and promising race..." But the K K K interferes.

"You are authorized to issue a Circular directing the suppression of the
Negro Dame Houses &c in Paducah."
BIOG INFO ON BEN. P TEVIS, SHELBYVILLE AGENT OF FB
Dec 1869)

Tevis to runkle, dec 2, 1869, lraco, box 22, rg 105, e.1068

Ben. P. Tevis (Agent Shelbyville)

1. Tevis to runkle, Dec. 2, 1869, lraco, box 22. Described the M. E. Church as the pro
bureau church in Shelbyville. It was under attack by the African Methodist Church
which was pro confederate. The confederates attempted to fire a Baxter who was
attacking at the church - schoolhouse erected by the bureau - apparently both groups of
blacks were of the church.

DETRIMENTAL EFFECT OF THE TERMINATION OF THE FB
(Dec 1867)

a w lawwill to runkle, dec 28, 1867, lraco, box 19, e.1069, rg 105

In regard to circular: "I must say that the Rebel portion of this community
looks upon the discontinuance of the Bureau as a virtual surrender of the prin-
ciple that the Freedmen are to be made to occupy any other position than that of
disposed menials...."

"The effect that the withdrawal of the Bureau would have upon the Schools
would be to entirely stop the education of the Negro in this portion of the
State...."

"The feelings of the majority of the people towards the Freedmen has but one
channel and that is in what way they can get the most work out of them and not
pay him [sic] for it. They would be perfectly willing to educate the Negro
if his education would give him an exalted opinion of the system of human slaver-
y...."

The black will not be allowed in court and the tax will not be allocated to
him.

"In concluding this report I would say that the Bureau must be succeeded by
the Ballot. Amm the colored man with the Ballot, and then the education of
the African race will follow the path and tender spirit of every Kentuckian
will be touched and he will discover traits in the character of the African
...." that point toward progress.
"to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated June 16, 1866 relative to the case of Alice and Mary twin daughters of Minga Clements (Colored) of Livingston Co., Kentucky who have been apprenticed to Julius Nathan Sutliff of Crittenden Co., Kentucky and to inform you that there is no evidence to show that Minga Clements is their father."

"From the report in the case made to this office by W. E. Black Esq. of Crittenden County there is good reason to believe that they will receive proper care and a good home with J. B. Sutliff, for this reason they will be allowed to remain with him."

You have a black boy in your possession against the wishes of his Father. Give the boy to his father without delay. "Should you neglect to obey this order troops will be sent to enforce it."
CHILD APPRENTICED IN LOUISVILLE WELL CARED FOR
(Aug 1866)

... to Amelia Ford, Aug 21, 1866, vol 14, rg 105

CHILDREN APPRENTICED IN SPENCER CO WELL CARED FOR
(Aug 1866)

... to Mrs. Susan Crutcher, Aug 18, 1866, Isaco, vol 14, rg 105

Your sister's child, aged 5 years, living with Mrs. Mary T. Wallace in Louisville has been apprenticed to her. I enclose a copy of the indenture. The child is being well provided for. It was deemed necessary to apprentice her in view of the fact that her parents are both dead.

The children Martha and Lucretia at present living with Mr. James Crutcher in Spencer County are well cared for and therefore will remain with her.
PROBLEMS OF APPRENTICING; ORPHANS
(Aug 1866)

ely to davis, aug 15, 1866, lsaco, vol 14, rg 105, c. 1063

Apprenticing—"This is often done in opposition to the wishes of either parent or child. I recommend that measures be taken to stop this evil. There are a number of orphan children throughout the State who are too young to bind out. The authorities will not take care of this class of destitute orphans."

CHILD TAKEN FROM PROSTITUTE: APPRENTICED
(Aug 1866)

ely to A. L. Robinson, aug 10, 1866, lsaco, vol 14, rg 105, c. 1063

Silva Dixon is a woman of very bad character—a prostitute and unable to care for the children and therefore Jim Gibson (former owner) a suitable person to care for them will keep the children.
SOME FACTS ON T K NOBLE'S EMPLOYMENT WITH FB

1. Noble to Rev. Jan., 19, 1867, Issac, vol. 15, Noble reported for work on Dec. 12, 1866. During the month there was an increase of 2 schools on a decrease of 201 pupils.

2. Noble to Rev. Edward Homes, Jan. 21, 1867, Issac, vol. 15. One of Noble's first activities was to locate teachers for his schools.


FB TO PAY FOR BURIAL OF CHILD; IF NOT YET BURIED

(Dec 1866)

ely to c h frederick, dec 14, 1866, Issaco, vol 15,rg 105,c. 1863

Call upon the residence of Mary Rober (black) and see if she really has a child who is dead on her hands. If she is really too poor to bury the child see to it that the child is buried by Messrs. Boose and Big, the people who bury the persons who die at the 11th hospital. This office will pay the amount.
REASONS FOR LACK OF CONTRACTS  
(dec 1866)

ely to davis, dec 13, 1866, lsaco, vol 15, rg 105, e.1042.

**Reasons for lack of contracts:** (1) the insecurity of person and property from the abuses of outlaws, (2) changes of location among the freedmen and (3) want of confidence in employers especially in share cropping situations.

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DELINEATION OF WORKINGS OF FB IN KY  
(Nov 1866)

davis to ooh, nov 5, 1866, lsaco, vol 15, rg 105, e.1043

There are 21 Army officers on duty in this state not including the asst. com. consisting of 2 cols.; 1 major; 5 first lts; 2 1st cols.; 5 caps.; 5 second lts. There are 25 civilian agents-13 surts and 12 agents. Surts have charge of fro-3 to 11 counties each and the agents fro-1 to 3. Genl. instruction are provided by issuances of circulars from this office. All surts are required to furnish monthly reports. Principle area of difficult y is adjudication by bureau courts.
AUTHORIZATION FOR SCHOOL BLDGS IN FRANKFORT, VERSAILLES
(Oct 1866)

levi f burnett to j w read, oct 27, 1866, lsaco, vol 15, rg 105, e.1086

You are authorized to rent a bldg at Frankfort, Ky., for a school not to exceed $15 per month and a bldg at Versailles for a school not exceeding $15 per month.

DIFFICULTY IN DIVIDING CROPS ON SHARE SYSTEM
(Oct 1866)

ely to davis, oct 15, 1866, lsaco, vol 15, rg 105, e.1087

Cases of litigation will be more numerous in cases of share cropping because the employers and laborers can scarcely ever agree as to the quantity and value of crops and also because freedmen are frequently driven off by regulators.
"I have employed the Hon. James Speed, Attorney and Counsellor at Law, to test the validity of said Act / Ky indenture / in a case to be submitted to the U.S. District Court, District of Kentucky." The fee will be $100.

ACTIVITIES OF AGENT J.W. READ IN CYNTHIANA
(1866-67)

1. Fly to Read, "Mar. 9, 1867, Isaco, vol. 16. Read almost fired for not obeying orders to send information relative to the possibility of opening a school at Frankfort and Versailles.

2. "Appointments by Law Sub Dist. by 14, 1866, Lou. "Inc. records, box 56. Capt. Read of Cynthiana, Harrison Co., is unable to operate Court because of interference of the civil authorities. Capt. Read is reported as striking two messengers from the Circuit Court, S. W. Wilson, C. Pulaski St., Gen. A Ward, "Windy Ward."... Capt. Read's friends report that his clerk, A. P. Hartley, has had influence on him. The Court, papers & records are in a very bad condition."

3. J. W. Parker to Fly, "Mar. 20, 1866, Is-lex, vol. 122. Read applied in person at headquarters in Lex on the morning of Mar. 20 and secured a number of muskets and a small quantity of ammunition which they stored in his office for an emergency.

4. Collina, N., vol. 2 (?), 169. Read fined $4,000 by a jury in the circuit court of at Alexandria, Campbell co., upon two indictments charging him with preventing legal voters from voting in the August election of 1866. He was fined on or about Feb. 22, 1866.

5. Daily Journal, March 20, 1867. J. W. Read, indicted for falsely imprisoning certain persons during the war. The case was transferred from the Campbell Circuit Court to the B. S. Circuit Court and Read was adjudged not guilty on March 19, 1867.
FACTUAL INFO ON JAMES SPEED

James Speed (Att'y and A.'t.)

1. Fly to Davis, Feb. 13, 1867, Issac, vol. 16. Rogersons appointing an att'y to the bureau to prosecute cases of indenture under section IV of the 1865 apprentice law. It is too costly for the bureau to sue each individual employer without an att'y.

2. Rev. by Whittaker to Purlie, Oct. 28, 1867, Issac by, box. Appointed James Speed an Agent of the Bureau at "[2Exper.-ment]" to take effect Nov. 1, 1867. Grant and Fisk, Appleton's, 629-626. Sawyer. B. in Jefferson county, Ky., Nov 11, 1216. d. June 25, 1897 in Jefferson co. Graduated at St. Joseph's College Bardstown, in 1839, studied law at Transylvania and began practice at Louisville. Opposed to slavery and his opinions were so well known that they prevented him taking any part in politics until the opening of the civil war. He was then nearly 50 years old. He also held at this time a chair in the law dept. of the U. of L. /686/ An early friend of Lincoln. Was made att'y gen of the U. S. in 1867. A member of the legislature in 1847, and in 1848 was Emancipation candidate for the State constitutional convention but was defeated by James Guthrie. A Whig State Senator 1861-1863. Resigned as att'y gen in 1866 because of his opposition to Andrew Johnson's administration. A delegate to the Republican conventions of 1872 and 1876.

BLACKS REFUSING TO MAKE CONTRACTS FOR 1867?


"The fact of so many Freedmen refusing to contract their labor for the following year, I am satisfied, can be attributed to this disposition of many of their employers to take advantage of them."
In light of the fact that there are 100 persons to be transported from Louisville to Paducah the black community of Paducah should be called upon to contribute some of the funds.

The average rate of pay for the month of December was $16.41, with food and quarters.
T K NOBLE FEARS THE EFFECT OF THE REMOVAL OF FB FROM KY (Dec 1867)
noble to G.D.Elliot, dec 31, 1867, Isaco, vol 18, e.1063, rg 105

On the necessity of the FB in ky to the chairman of the house committee on freedmen's affairs. "I have had charge of the schools in this State since Dec. 30, 1866." The schools increase in attendance has been from 781 to 6490. "... the withdrawal of the Bureau from this State as contemplated on the 15th day of February 1868 will leave the Freedmen in a worse condition than before their emancipation... I speak only of its effect upon the educational work." "It is virtually closing the school doors upon a large portion of the 37,000 colored children who will have to meet by and bye the responsibilities of citizens... four school buildings have already been torn down and one blown up, evidently with the purpose of murdering the men, women, and children with which a few moments previous it was filled." Even in Louisville the school house has to be guarded by soldiers day and night. "The feeling of hostility it is true is lessening..." and in time the Bureau can be taken from the state but not yet.

CHILDREN ILLEGALLY APPRENTICED IN WESTERN SUB-DIST FREED BY COURTS (Nov 1867)
runkle to burbank, nov 15, 1867, Isaco, vol 18, e.1063, rg 105

Western Sub-Dist (Kay) A number of children bound out illegally by the county courts have been released by Habeas Corpus.
I am directed to direct you to "do all in your power to have the civil authorities of Bracken Co take care of and provide for the three colored paupers referred to in the letter of Bela Ogdens and J.R. Atkin."

The case of Dolly Proctor's (c) grand child. "There is but one way the children illegally bound by the State Courts can be restored to their maternal guardians."

The following is the opinion of James Speed. "minors of color who have been by the State Courts bound by indentures of apprenticeship that discriminate against them because of race or color are not bound thereby; and upon application should be discharged. If the local courts will not discharge them, the Federal Courts will."

Dolly Proctor should therefore apply to the U. S. Dist. court for a writ of habeas corpus—"Military force will not be resorted to except by request of the U. S. Civil Authorities."

I am directed to direct you to "do all in your power to have the civil authorities of Bracken Co take care of and provide for the three colored paupers referred to in the letter of Bela Ogdens and J.R. Atkin."
Obtain from the clerk of the Harrison Co. Court certified copies of the bond of indenture of said Court binding Wesley and Mary & Garrard to James C. Garrard and also copies of indenture binding out the children that Judge Danifran (?) is endeavoring to take from Joseph Mussehlenan. As soon as these are received steps will be taken to vindicate the laws of the U. S. and the acts of the Agents of the F. B. in this matter.

There are no troops available for you.

MINORS APPRENTICED MAR 1868

runkle to burbank, mar 13, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105, e. 1063

Minors apprenticed---5; 2 males and 3 females.
"I have the honor to inform you that I am prepared to prove that men are buying up the Bounty claims of colored soldiers. That one man at least, has brought claims in this section of the state, that he represents that he has not made arrangements for the payment of the claims, that he has a list of claims that have been allowed, and that he received the same as soon as the claim agent who prosecuted the said claims."

"I might further say that large sums of money have been offered myself and my officers have received propositions to enter into villainous arrangements to defraud the colored men, and that the man who made these propositions informed me that such things were being done."

"This is done in our names and therefore understand me when I ... request that no money be sent to pay bounty in Kentucky or at Cairo Illinois, except through me ... there is something wrong somewhere of which you know nothing whatever."

They are returning to the country except in the Danville District where "outrages and disorder is the rule."
PEOPLE BUYING BOUNTY CLAIMS OF BLACKS AT LOW PRICE  
(Mar 1868) 
runkle to burbank, mar 13, 1868, lsaco, vol 19, rg 105,  

Bounties—many complaints made by black soldiers that they have been defrauded by claims agents who pay them a part of their bounty after the claims agents have received the Treasury Certificate and take their receipt for the whole amount. Can not prove this charge against any one person.

DESIRE OF FATHER TO FREE APPRENTICED CHILD  
(Jan 1868) 
runkle to h c howard, jan 7, 1868, lsaco, vol 18, e.1063, rg 105

In relation to the child of Thos. Davis held by John Posey of Henderson, Ky. "Should I give him [the father] an order he might obtain the child . . . immediately upon the removal of the Bureau Posey could land probably would apply to a State Court which Court would restore the child and award damages. He should therefore employ an Attorney and apply to the U. S. Dist. Court for a writ of Habeas Corpus . . . this may cost him $20 or $25, but it would be the most economical in the end."
Oct. 1, 1867-# of officers of the Army in Ky FB-19; # since then assigned to duty-4; # relieved or mustered out-15; # on duty at present date-8.
Oct. 1, 1867-civilian agents-17; # since appointed-1; # discharged-17; # on duty at date-1.
Oct. 1, 1867-clerks-16; # during year 6; # discharged-3; to date 10.
Med Dept.- Oct 1, 1867-# of acting asst surgs-3; # appointed during year-2; discharged-3; on duty not-7.

JUNE 1868 REORGANIZATION OF FB IN KY

Med dept.- Dispensaries: East Liv-Dr. E. C. Brown, Central L'v-Octerlong; Western L'v Dr. CHAS D. Noble; S urg in chief- Dr. WM. Forrester. Other disp in Covington under Dr. J. J. Temple; Owensboro under Dr. R. B. Gilbert. This represents a cut down. The hosp is to be closed by July 31, 1868.
On June 9, 1868 I submitted to Speed the laws governing the disbursement of bounties to black soldiers it is "humiliating to me as an officer, to find that the law does not prevent men purchasing Bounties, taking advantage of the ignorance of, and defrauding the soldiers i. e. that although I am aware of the fact that the claim has been sold and know that the negro will pay the whole amount of the Bounty over to the purchaser, the law thereby being violated, I must pay the whole amount without question."

On April 30 Runkle was relieved from duty as Asst Comr and assigned to duty as Supt of Edu. Officers Johnson, Burnett, Brown, Catlin and Stone were relieved at that date.

"On the 30th day of April 1869, the Bureau was reduced to the Supt. of Education and one clerk with three officers to pay bounties. For two months and a half I struggled to pay bounties under this order but found it utterly impossible to keep the records or transact the business and accordingly at my earnest request the Commissioner allowed me three additional clerks who are constantly employed. Instead of decreasing the business of this office has increased since the 1st of January 1869."

The Sub Asst Comrs offices were discontinued on January 1, 1869.
"On the 1st day of Jan'y 1869 the operation of the Bureau in this State, except so far as relates to the collection and disbursement of bounties of colored soldiers and the management of Freedmen's Schools ceased."
AGENT AT CADIZ BEATEN UP (Jan 1869)
noble to Alvord, Jan 13, 1869, Isaco, Vol 21, RG 105, E. 1063

P.S. Reeves, chief agent, was beaten up at Cadiz, Ky, when attempting to organize a school there (this was after his sub-dist. was dissolved).

PROBLEM OF BOUNTIES; BLACKS CHEATED (Oct 1868)
runkle to Burbank, Oct 20, 1868, Isaco, Vol 19, RG 105, E. 1063

Bounties—there is a small class of discharged soldiers who are on the roles as having been enlisted as slaves and therefore are not entitled to Bounties under an existing law. These people are entitled to small claims agents. There is also a small class in the state who take claim money, keep it, and inform the blacks that the Secretary had this money.
j r lewis to fisk, may 15, 1866, Inspection Reports, tn, box 23, rg 105

William Mahan the Supt of Oldham Co located at La Grange "had a spring buggy destroyed in the night and his young trees cut down, because he was acting as agent of the bureau." He has no military assistance and has "resigned simply because of his inability to carry out his orders."

FACTUAL INFO ON R.W. THING, FB AGENT IN B.G. (1865-66)

R. W. Thing (Bowling Green)
4. Bowder, Diary, 51-52. Thing-assessed to reportedly allowed Bowder and James Harfield to whip Henry Bailey's (black) son on Feb. 13, 1866.
E. E. Farwell (Official Freedmen's Camp Destroyer)


2. Special Orders #47, Sept. 12, 1865, SO & Circ-tn, vol. 23. Farwell ordered to break up the contraband camp at Nashville.


COL D.C. JACQUESS ASSIGNED TO CAMP NELSON
(Aug 1865)

Special Orders #28, Aug 14, 1865, SO & Circulars-tn, vol 23, rg 105

Col. D. C. Jacquess assigned to duty as Supt of the Lex Sub-Dist with headquarters at Camp Nelson.
COL N.A. MC CALEBS APPOINTED SUP OF LOUISVILLE SUB-DIST
(Aug 1865)

Special Orders # 21, Aug 2, 1865, SO & Circulars-tn, vol 23, rg 105

Col N. A. McCalebs appointed Supt of the Louisville Sub-District.

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COL SAMUEL PORTER APPOINTED SUPT IN LOUISVILLE SUB-DIST
(July 1865)

Special Orders # 14, July 22, 1865, SO & Circulars-tn, vol 23, rg 105

Col. Samuel Porter was appointed Supt of the Louisville Sub-Dist.
Rev. C. Millard Chaplain 4th U.S.C.A. (Heavy) appointed Supt of the Refugees and Freedmen for the sub-district of Paducah inclusive of all that portion of Kentucky lying west of the Tennessee River with headquarters at Paducah.
"There is also a class of discharged Colored Soldiers who were borne on the Rolls as having been enlisted as Slaves, and who are not entitled to bounty under any existing law who when they are informed at this Office that they are cannot recover Bounty grumble and seem to imagine that their money is being withheld wrongfully from them, and in my opinion their complaint is reasonable... This class of claimants also become the victims of these small alwys who bleed them the fullest extent possible. I have every reason to believe that there is also a class of Claim Agents in the State who after receiving the Treasury Certificate 'Pigeon Hole' them and inform the claimant that their money is in the hands of the Bureau Officers and that they cannot get it out of their possession."

FACTUAL INFO ON BENJ. P RUNKLE

Benj. P. Runkle

2. 80 #55, Apr. 14, 1869, Isaac-Ky, box 21. Runkle relieved from duty as Asst. Comr. and assigned to duty as Supt. of Edu. in Ky. 2843752 CG 30.
4. Warner, Gen. In Blue, 592. Officers Brevetted as Major Gen. or brig. gen for services rendered during the civil war but not appointed to full rank.
Landram of Stanford stated that Judge Cook of the county court would apprentice children in compliance with FB standards. This was at the instigation of Landram.

Lexington- No colored children apprenticed for some time past. "The Colo el seems to be of the opinion that it is not worth while for the Brcy officers to apprentice children since the decision of the U.S. Court declaring such acts illegal . . . . " Fecline-i-the-country-is
In compliance with instructions of endorsement dated Nov 8, 1867 and in #115 Dunn proceeded to Henderson Ky to investigate charges brought forth in Letter from Thos. F. Cheaney.

Lt. Bailey indentured children without recording the indentures since Jan. 31, 1867. "I saw the indentures in the hands of H. George D. Payne and it had not been acknowledged before any civil officer. I am convinced that the papers in the hands of the other parties who made indentures are in the same unfinished state. The certificate of the court of clerks shows that none of them were recorded."

Per Circular #3 ACO dated June 26 1866 orders that binding of apprentices must be made by indentures and that these indentures shall be acknowledged before Civil Court and recorded as provided by law.

Cir #2 Feb. 11, 1867 orders that hereafter no copies of any kind are authorized except such amount as is necessary to any court or other revenue stamps affixed to contracts and indentures and for the acknowledgement and recording of indentures of apprenticeship in the County Courts. These expenses must be paid by the employee or person who received the indenture. This #1 is something less than $3.

Inspections in relation to T. F. Cheaney's letter from Henderson:

The records of the clerk of the court show that the indentures of colored children have taken place since Jan. 31, 1867. Lt. Bailey did apprentice children on or about the date of Cheaney's communication and in at least one instance Bailey advised the parties that it was not necessary to have the indenture acknowledged and recorded. In another nothing was said about having the papers recorded. The names: Geo. D. Payne, Joel F. Yarger, R. G. Beverly, illiam Ingram, A. F. Parker, A. T. Comer and Wm. Beckwith.

The charge of the dollars may have been made prior to receipt of Circular #2 OAC KY. but a proper acknowledgement should have been made as it costs only two to three dollars to record the indenture papers.

Bailey also charged Daniel Early $4.90 for cashing a bank draft.
THE TOP 11 KY BOUNTY SWINDLERS (Nov 1868)

runkle to balloch, nov 23, 1868, ls-disb. off., 41, rg 105, 2052.

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<th>Person</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Paid for in</th>
<th># claims</th>
<th>information from</th>
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<td>Bowling Green</td>
<td>money, wagens,</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Himself</td>
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<tr>
<td>T. C. Calvert</td>
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<td>Land, lumber &amp;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Negroes</td>
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<td>groceries</td>
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<td>Landers</td>
<td>near Martinsville</td>
<td>Farm produce</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M. Newitt</td>
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<td>Prewett</td>
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<td>Groceries</td>
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<td>Wm. M. Grubbs</td>
<td>Russellville</td>
<td>&quot; &amp; Drygoods</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Himself</td>
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<td>Jeffries</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>D1</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Mr. Weeks</td>
<td>Columbus</td>
<td>Grocers</td>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>Capt. Burnett</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marks &amp; Co.</td>
<td>Louisville</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>General Rept.</td>
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<tr>
<td>O. H. Burbridge</td>
<td>Covington</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>R. E. Johnston</td>
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KY STILL HAS A VERY MEAN CROWD OPPOSED TO BLACKS
(Jan 1866)

fisk to ooh, jan 6, 1866, Press Copies of Letters Sent to Howard and Staff, tn, vol 15, rg 105

"There are some of the meanest unsubjugated and unreconstructed rascally rebellious revolutionists in Kentucky that curse the soil of the country." They will not give up slavery. "But the majority of the people of Kentucky hail the dawn of universal liberty and welcome the agency of the Bureau. . . . " I return to Kentucky on the 10th inst by invitation of the Governor and shall meet the principle Planters of the State at Frankfort in Convention on the 11th,"
PARENTS WHO HAVE VOLUNTARILY ABANDONED THEIR CHILDREN MUST HAVE GOOD CAUSE TO GET THEM BACK (Feb 1866)

j e jacobs to R. P. Haley, feb 21, 1866, press copies, ls-tn, vol 10, rg 105

"parents who have voluntarily abandoned their children, and have thusly made it necessary for strangers to provide linens for them should not be allowed to remove them from these homes without good cause shown."

Haley is the supt of marshall co.

FREEDWOMAN UNABLE TO TAKE CARE OF CHILDREN MUST BIND THEM OUT (Feb 1866)

j e jacobs to j b gowen, feb 19,1866, press copies ls-tn, vol 10, rg 105

"A freedwoman unable to provide for her children must hire or bind them out. She cannot be allowed to become a pauper, and throw upon the public a family of paupers."
Col. D. C. Jacquess Placed in Charge of Camp Nelson; To Accept No More Refugees; Work Toward Closing the Camp (Aug 1865)


"You have been assigned as Superintendent of the Lexington Sub-District with Prof. Trues, at Camp Nelson and are specifically charged with the supervision and entire control of the Colored Refugees Home at Camp Nelson."

"I am directed by my superiors to close out the Camp at the earliest practicable day ... You will therefore not receive into the home another individual old or young except as humanity evidently demands it."

"There will be care for old and infirm people. You will ascertain from where they came and send them into the counties from where they have been sent to us and require their old masters to provide for them."

Agent Sought for Smithland (July 1865)

Fisk to A. D. Daugherty, July 27, 1865, Press copies of LS-tn, Vol 6, RG 105

A superintendent of affairs will soon be placed in Paducah "to give special attention to the condition of the freedmen at Smithland. Can you name me a good officer at or near Smithland who could be appointed as my agent at that place? I need men whose heads & hearts are all right."

Bowling Green Sub-Asst. Comr.

"At no time since the emancipation has there been more need of the assistance rendered by the Bureau than at the present." The whites will kill the blacks without the Bureau.

Runkle to T. D. Eliot, Dec 31, 1867, Eliot Papers, Box 19, Entry 18, RG 105.

The Bureau in Kentucky is not a "mere piece of party machinery . . . ." We feed and care for the destitute freedmen for the support of which Kentucky taxes the freedmen, "collects the tax, and then uses it for some other purpose, or at least fails for the purposes the law prescribes." We also provide for education and the same condition as above applies here.

"The first result of the proposed winding up of the Bureau in Kentucky was the blowing up of a school house with gunpowder, and but for the interposition of an overruling providence they would have elevated a large number of Freedmen in the true Southern style."
WILLIAM SYKES, AN OWENSBORO BLACK MAN, FEARS THE REMOVAL OF THE FB
(Dec 1867)

William sykes to t.d. eliot, dec 27, 1867, Eliot Papers, box 19, entry 18, r g 105

The Bureau is our only protection in Ky. The civil laws of the State deprive us of our every right. "every black man is threatened in the State by every rebel . . . upon the removal of the Bureau . . . he shall be paid up for daring to assert his manhood before that institution." Cites the blowing up in Breckinridge Co. at Hardinsburg of the black church and schoolhouses with gunpowder.

"it would have been better for us if the Bureau had never been thrown around us or any institution of protection at all, then to turn us over to the rebel democracy of Kentucky . . . ."

"We trust that the party who have stood by us and have done so much for us will still stand by us until we are able to contend with an unrelenting foe."

Sykes was primarily concerned with equality in law not social or political equality. He was from Owensboro. "I am a colored man born a slave in Kentucky."

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FREEDMEN'S SCHOOL AT HARDINSBURG BLOWN UP
(Dec 1867)

a w lawwill to runkle, dec 28, 1867, box 13, e.1068, rg 105

The freedmen's school at Hardensburg, Breckinridge co, blown up by powder.
factual INFORMATION ON DR. FRED HASSIG, OF FB IN PADUCAH

1. Kay to DeWitt, Apr. 9, 1867, lrc, hdqtrs, M 75?, roll 47. Has been in the habit of prescribing for the freedmen without charge and is the only physician in Pad., who can take the test oath.


4. DeWitt to Kay, June 17, 1867, Is-med. dept., vol. 55. H has a drinking problem according to F. D. Sewall—find out.

*ELIJAH MARRS: FREEDMEN NEED RIGHT TO VOTE & PROTECTION FROM OUTRAGES (Feb 1868)*

elijah marrs (LaGrange) to Mr. Stanton, feb 1, 1868, Eliot Papers, box 19, entry 18, rg 105

Freedmen need protection from outrages: "in such a State we cannot live." If we could receive the right to testify against whites we would be at some ease. Marrs a school teacher.
"A short time since instructions were received to have all civil suits brought before [the] Federal Court &c. . . . Their debts are small (from one dollar up to ten) and to take them to the Federal Court would Const the amount of the claim." Not a single school could operate in this District two weeks without interruption if the Bureau is withdrawn.

In my neighborhood the freedmen have had two schoolhouses burnt down and an attempt was made on the third recently. They also have a great amount of difficulty in collecting what is due them for their labor. Courts and the futility of taking a case to Louisville for a five to fifty dollar charge. Courts means testimony against whites by blacks is prohibited and leads to a less than beneficial state for the blacks.
OPERATION OF FB LARGELY INEFFECTIVE IN DANVILLE AREA
(Dec 1867)

speed s fry (danville, ky) to Eliot, dec 31, 1867, Eliot Papers, box 19, entry 18, rg 105

"The operations of the Bureau in this immediate vicinity, so far as I am concerned with them, have been very limited and generally of such minor importance as to attract very little attention."

During the greater time of its establishment, the agent was without a military force "and consequently was unable to do anything except in deciding and adjudicating differences that arose between the colored people and their employers." In matters involving life the agent was powerless. "the continuance of the Bureau is altogether unnecessary." The U. S. Commissioner will take over.

J W ALVORD ASSESSES EDUCATION IN LOUISVILLE IN 1870

j w alvord from Louisville to o o howard in washington, jan 28, 1870, in J. W. Alvord, Letters from the South, relating to the Conditions of the freedmen, 1870.

In this city the proximity of free institutions is very apparent. General education is far better appreciated than below. The colored people themselves have a species of public school system. Aided by the Bureau, and in connection with the several colored churches, some fifteen schools, under care of the colored assistant of General Runkle, are in operation. They are in good condition; teachers all colored, though the places in which they are kept are inconvenient. I took great interest in visiting these schools. They show what the people can do themselves. What is here accomplished, may become universal as soon as the Freedmen have, from their own color, a sufficient number of competent teachers.

The "Ely School," in care of the American Missionary Association, has seven teachers and 300 pupils, in the commodious house built mainly by the Bureau.

It was gratifying to find among the pupils a good degree of religious interest; teachers tenderly devoted to their welfare, and some recent conversions. The building, of brick, needs repair and better ventilation.

The entire number of Freedmen's schools in Louisville is about 95, with from 1,200 to 1,500 pupils.
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j w alvord from louisville to o o howard in wash, jan 28, 1870, in
j w alvord, letters from south relating to conditions of freedmen, 1870.

"The colored people of Kentucky," as the Hon. Bland Ballard
remarked to me "have no civil rights." The more enterprising
struggle manfully, but all are heavily burdened. In the first place
their property is assessed and taxed like that of the whites; then,
in case of the colored, is added a tax of two dollars per capita to
support their paupers, the whole of which tax actually goes for
that purpose; i.e.: they help pay for white pauperism, education,
&c., and then are obliged to support their own poor and schools too,
or remain destitute. At the same time, I was assured by the above
gentleman that the Freedmen are undoubtedly gaining in means of
livelihood and character. Their taxable property in 1868 was
$186,902. In 1869 $167,458, showing an increase of $19,456. This
increase is mainly on the part of the recently freed population.

The savings bank in Louisville has on deposit over $50,000. Met the
very intelligent committee in consultation at the Bank,
with invited colored preachers of the city. Some of the latter are
men of considerable education. I addressed them on the history of
our Savings and Trust Company, its benevolent object, careful
management and success. They resolved to make increased effort
throughout the city and State. It was also earnestly recommended
that we open a branch at Lexington. Mr. Horace Morris, (colored,)
cashier of the bank in this city, is an accomplished accountant; his
books and entire premises in perfect order.
ALVORD EVALUATES MORALS OF LOUISVILLE BLACKS FROM WEEKLY CRIME REPORT (1870)

j w alvord from louisville to o o howard in wash, jan 28, 1870, in j w alvord, letters from south relating to conditions of freedmen, 1870

p. 35/

The morals of Freedmen in Louisville compare well with other places I have visited. A late city paper in giving a weekly report from one of the police stations, says, "There were 42 cases of crime—21 being American, 11 Irish, 10 colored." Is it possible that this report does justice to the white race?

ALVORD EVALUATES THE BLACK SCHOOLS AT RICHMOND (1870)

j w alvord from Richmond to o o howard in wash, jan 29, 1870, in j w alvord, letters from south relating to conditions of freedmen, 1870

p. 36/

Find two schools here kept by colored teachers, with a local association of colored men in charge; very good specimens of this class of schools. The chairman of the committee, a man of some education, told us there was no special opposition to schools conducted by such teachers. These had been partially educated in Ohio, and with the allowance of Colonel Runkle, and what they obtain from tuition, have a fair support. They together number 70 pupils. It would be gratifying if, while waiting for better schools, only such as these could be carried on throughout all destitute regions of the South.
p 35/ Says there had been several blacks whipped near Richmond in recent weeks. "A feeble civil government and whiskey are the immediate incentives, though rebel blood and negro hate are the radical cause of such outrages."

"The Freedmen of this region seem industrious, and, to live, are obliged to be so." Wages are low, and few blacks can save money, and they are "still almost wholly in subjection to the whites;..." Also says there a great amount of "intemperance" among both blacks & whites.

The boys working in self-support greatly need shops and the privileges of skilled labor. Female pupils, in charge of lady teachers, take care, by turns, of the kitchen and table, (ninety boarders;) male students are now clearing away the sturdy forests. All labor with greatest cheerfulness.

The new college edifice, by the Bureau, costing $17,000, stands, three stories with attic and tower, upon the brow of the hill semicircle, sweeping out into the Glades, a most commanding position, and in all respects a noble and complete school structure.

It is pleasant to find the older pupils, who for years have occupied little shanties, often only the attics in these, now in comfortable though plainly furnished rooms; all are reddoubling self-reliant efforts. Inquiring of two fine looking colored fellows in one of the rooms, "How do you pay your way?" They replied, pointing proudly to their axes glittering from use, "We have each cut and piled two cords of wood to-day, (it was Saturday,) and on recitation days work all we can." I happened to know that this wood was the tough solid oak of these side hills. Such hard handed youth of whatever color, will surely, with trifling help, hew their way to manly character and good positions.
From Richmond, Alvord wrote Jan 29, 1870, that "Six or seven colored men near the town have been whipped and one killed within a few weeks." He said civil govt was "feeble" and whiskey plentiful. "An immense distillery in the suburbs of the town turns out, as the owner himself told me, 35 barrels of whiskey daily; ..." "Our landlord said 'It's lucky you didn't come last evening; there was a row in the streets all night, half the town was drunk.'" From Berea Alvord wrote: "I regret, however, to report threats and a species of guerrilla warfare still existing. A 10 o'clock last night we were startled amidst the darkness, with the loud cry, ringing through the forest 'Hurrah for Jeff. Davis.' 'Jeff. Davis was a white man,' &c. But 'ku-klux' know that every male student here carries a revolver—in line on the first alarm, and they did not choose to leave the beaten path." From Lexington Alvord wrote that the KKK "...were out in force on the road as we returned from Berea to Richmond. Three colored men were taken from their beds, cruelly whipped, dragged over the flinty road, until, with bodies lacerated and torn, it is doubtful if they can recover." In a Richmond hotel a crowd gathered with all sorts of rumors. "At this moment a fierce yell directly in my ear, wheeled me half round with its stunning force. ... Recovering, I looked the fellow quietly in the face and continued my conversation with bystanders." Says probably the rebel yell. Suspicious men around all night. In Lexington he still hears of outrages by the KKK. "A negro was hung just outside of the city last Sunday night, but there is much less danger here than in the country below.

In this city are about 12,000 colored population, in better condition than usual. Large numbers of them have plots of ground and houses of their own, generally one story with three rooms, many two stories with an increased amount of comfort. It is supposed that the aggregate of property owned by colored people in Lexington is about half a million of dollars. It need not be said they are industrious and saving. Besides all common labor, they are the cartmen, carriage-drivers, small shop-keepers, and mechanics of the city. I am told they were treated with unequal consideration while in slavery. This morning I met many on the road outside the town, with clean white aprons, going to the plantations for labor at "hemp-breaking."

Schools here are well arranged, but in poor buildings. The largest, with seven teachers and two hundred and fifty pupils, is in care of the American Missionary Association. This will, during the coming year, enter the new building, 60 x 45 feet, erected by the Bureau.
I need not recapitulate. A grouping of the general facts observed would be: Emancipation has been safe; Freedmen exhibit good conduct; have become industrious; save their earnings; are not "dying out;" are capable of being educated; are loyal to the government; are free from immorality and intemperance as the whites; schools of all kinds improve rapidly.

At the same time, the Freedmen are still, in some quarters, oppressed and ill-treated; a majority are poor and ignorant; many are immoral; intemperance is by far too prevalent; teachers are needed.

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PRICE FOR HIRING BLACKS: 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865

(Lived Henderson area)
Geo Wash Smith, Diary, Smith Family Papers, UK, SP COL,

Jan 1, 1861. slaves hired for $20 to $30 less than in 1860. Blacks are sold for 30% lower than they have been "for several years."

Jan 1, 1862. "... negroes hired as high this year as they did last..."

Jan 1, 1863. "... Negroes hired as high as they ever have done in this country I saw several negroes sold and the prices ranged from $8 to $1200 for men and women in proportion everything else seemed to bring good prices but I think the people have gone wild after negroes..."

Jan 1, 1864. "this was the annual hiring day for negroes but the day was so intensely cold I have understood there were but few in Henderson negroes though hired very high considering the times I hired a man from Youngs Estate at $235 this is a higher Price than I have ever Paid for a negro before and he will have to work hard to make his hire"

Feb 22, 1864. "Went to Henderson to day there was a large crowd in the city as it was county court day there was a good many negroes sold at the Highest bidder and good negro men and boys only sold from two to three hundred dollars everything seemed to wear a gloomy appearance and there was considerable apprehension that our Abolition President would soon issue another Proclamation setting all the slaves of the Border States free..."

Jan 1, 1865. "Went to Henderson to day this was properly the beginning of the year this day in Henderson was quite a contrast to what it was a few years ago or even last year to day there was a few negroes hired out but they were all hired without negotiation..."
KENTUCKIANS COMING, SLOWLY, TO ACCEPT EMANCIPATION AS INEVITABLE

(Oct 1863)

Frances Dallam Peter, Diary, Evans Family Papers, UK, sp col.

Oct 19, 1863/ "Emancipationists of Missouri with B. Gratz Brown as their head have called a meeting to be held at Louisville, Ky. on the 8th of January next giving all Kentuckians who agree with them an opportunity of displaying their sentiments. I for one would not be at all disgusted at having Ky. slaves emancipated. I don't know that many Kentuckians will be present at this meeting but it is an undoubted fact that we are much nearer emancipation now, than even last year. People are getting more accustomed to the idea, and do not think it near so terrible as they used to. It is rather significant that at the present writing it is considered nearly if not quite as cheap to buy negroes as to hire them. Clothing and food being so much higher than in former times. Everything is tending to decrease the value of the negro as a servant and to make a great many people look forward to the time when this state will be a free one. The time has not yet come for such a change; but unless the 'signs of the times' are very deceptive, it will be effectuated in due course of time."

KENTUCKIANS BEGINNING TO ACCEPT EMANCIPATION AS INEVITABLE

(Jan 1864)

frances dallam peter, diary, evans family papers, uk, sp col, mss

Jan 27, 1864/ Talks about a meeting on Feb 22, 1864, in Louisville of anti-slavery people from surrounding states and suggests that: "I suppose Kentucky ought not to be behind them. A Mr. Stephens preached at the Methodist church lately, who had just been travelling through a good many of the surrounding counties, and he said that everywhere he went the principal slaveholders seemed to think that slavery was destroyed and never would be restored; and the best thing they could do was to come to emancipation at once, for the negroes were dissatisfied and idle, and not content at home and it was best to settle the affair at once. In fact the negroes throughout the country are no longer the humble servants that they used to be. They are restless, impertinent and discontented, neglect their work, and run off in great numbers."
Jan 27, 1864/ "Not very long ago the Methodist minister, Mr. Dandy, lost two of his servants; two whom he thought a great deal of to whom he thought had been very kind and indulgent. One was a man and the other a girl who nursed his children This girl came to Mrs. Dandy one evening and asked to be allowed to go to the "singing" that evening, some of the colored people having agreed to meet together to sing, most likely to practice for the church as the negroes do sometimes. Mrs. Dandy asked what company she had, and said she might go if she had good company to go with her. 'Well' said Mrs D. 'you may go.' The girl left the room and after Mrs Dandy thought she was gone she went down stairs where she found the girl's brother. Mrs D told him she he had gone with his sister to the singing. 'Oh.' said he, 'she wouldnt let me go. she told me to stay and mind the children.' Mrs Dandy thought nothing of this, but next morning the girl did not make her appearance and was no where to be found and what was more Mr. Dandy found that his rockaway and man servant were gone also. It seems that Mr D's servants and those of another family took the rockaway and decamped the same night. Some of the men disguising themselves in women's clothes the better to escape detection. They did not take the horse, probably because he was well known in the neighborhood & most of the towns around here to recognize, but they stole three horses from someone's pasture to get off with. They were traced to Versailles and then all clue was lost."

Anna Dickelzn to Henry, Jan 26, 1861, Mt Drennon, Ky, Dicken-troutman-balke family papers, ms letter, uk sp col.

"...the excitement in our county, in regard to a discovered plot among the negroes, in this neighborhood; to burn down a village, and destroy the inhabitants."

"These things of course are being much exagerated, but this immediately appointed a patrol, that instituted a search and found in their possession, arms and ammunition, which they deprived them of at once, and they upon examination by their masters, acknowledged that they expected their freedom in March during the war, consequent upon a dissolution."
SOME KY BLACKS BELIEVE THEY WILL BE FREED MAR 1, 1861

Anna Dicken to Henry, Feb 10, 1861, Mct. Drennon, Ky., Dicken-Troutman-Balke Family Papers, ms, uk, sp col.

"I have never until the last few days realized, the dangers to which single families were exposed where the negroes have conceived the hope of freedom, upon the inauguration of Lincoln; they are constantly enquiring how long it will be until the first of March on our place.

WHITE OBSERVES ACTIVITIES OF BLACKS IN PARIS AREA (Apr 1863)

Anna Dicken Troutman to her mother, April 3, 1863, from Paris, Ky., Dicken-Troutman-Balke Family Papers, ms, sp col, uk

"Dont let a little indolence on their part worry you, for I can assure you that yours do more work than any in this region. Negroes here are so insubordinate I dont think they support themselves in half the cases. Most of ours are women and children they are not so hard to manage. We have three men but only two of them working for us, the other is hired out but one of those, we have at home told Mr. Troutman that he was now protected, and he would do as he pleased. Since then he has, for any attempt to have corrected him would have resulted in his leaving."
george d dicken to anna & frank/troutman/, may 24, 1864, dated springport, Henry Co., ky, dicken-troutman-balke family papers, ms, uk sp col.

Says prospects for crops poor because "... all of our Negroes Has left including Susan and all of her Children--from oldest to youngest. William Green & Levy makeing ten in all left" & others left... "I followed and done my best but could not over take them...."

LOUISVILLE AREA SLAVES DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF WAR (1860-61)

harry smith, fifty years of slavery, 1891

p 116/ Smith lived on a farm 16 miles north of Louisville, just before the Civil War. "the slaves were all talking and wondering what the war would bring about."
An educational convention in Lexington urged blacks to take greater interest in the education of their children. They should petition the legislature for greater support for black schools. They appointed a committee to circulate a petition. Convention met Nov 10, 1875. The Editoriał says: "But the first thing to be considered is, whether the of Kentucky, being able to do better, is willing to allow any portion of her population to be doomed to perpetual ignorance and degredation or not."
Great excitement existed throughout the city the whole of yesterday, in consequence of the arrest of a party of slaves, and the murder of her child by a slave mother, while the officers were in the act of making the arrest. A party of seventeen slaves escaped from Boone and Kenton counties, in Kentucky, (about sixteen miles from the Ohio,) on Sunday night last, and taking with them two horses and a sled, drove that night to the Ohio river, opposite to Western Row, in this city. Leaving the horses and sled standing there, they crossed the river on foot on the ice.+

Five of them were the slaves of Archibald K. Gaines, three of John Marshall, both living in Boone county, a short distance beyond Florence, and six of Levi F. Daugherty, of Kenton county. We have not learned who claims the other three.+

About 7 o'clock this morning the masters and their agents arrived in pursuit of their property. They swore out a warrant before J. L. Pendery, Esq., U.S. Commissioner, which was put into the hands of Deputy U.S. Marshal Geo. S. Bennet, who obtained information that they were in a house belonging to a son of J. Kite, the third house beyond Millcreek. The son was formerly owned in the neighborhood from which they had escaped and was bought from slavery by his father.+

About 10 o'clock the Deputy U.S. Marshal proceeded there with his posse, including the slave owners and their agent and Major Murphy, a Kentuckian, and a large slave holder. Kite was called out and agreed to open the door, but afterwards refused, when two Kentucky officers, assisted by some of the Deputy Marshals forced it, whereupon the young negro man Simon, the father of the children, fired a revolver three times before he was overpowered." One marshal was wounded.

In the house were found four adults, viz: old Simon and his wife, and young Sumon and his wife and four children of the latter, the oldest near six years and the youngest a babe of about nine months. One of these, however, was lying on the flour /sic/ dying its head cut almost entirely off. There was also a gash about four inches long in the throat of the eldest, and a wound on the head of the other boy. +

"The officers state that when they questioned the boys about their wounds they said the folks threw them down and tried to kill them."+ 

"The young woman, Peggy, and her four children belonged to Marshall, and her husband and the old man Simon and the old woman Mary to Gaines. Old Simon and Mary are the parents of young Simon.+ 

"The other nine of the party, we were informed, were put upon the cars yesterday, by a director of the underground railway, and furnished with through tickets."+

"Those arrested in Kite's house..." were taken before a commissioner in court. Gaines claimed his slaves; Marshall sent his son. The fugitives were taken to the Hammond St. Station, & kept overnight. A hostile crowd viewed the transfer to the station-house.

"Coroner Menzies held an inquest yesterday afternoon on the body of the murdered slave child. Its throat appeared to have been cut by a single stroke of a knife, and it died a few minutes after the arrest."
The article is taken from the Frankfort Commonwealth.

"We are at a loss to discover what was proposed to be accomplished by the mob who destroyed the printing material of the Free South, in Newport, the other day. If it was done inorder to manifest their aversion to the sentiments advocated by that vile Abolition sheet, the end could easily have been attained by refusing to patronize it, or by resolutions condemning the course of Bailey." Says mob action has the opposite effect of its original intent.

"Probably none of the numerous commencements in the city possessed more interest for the student of our social institutions than that of the Colored High School at Macauley's last night. The theater was crowded with an attentive and often enthusiastic audience. The success of those who participated in the programme was deserved and reflected credit both on the pupils and the teachers. Especial notice is due the address of young Charles Morris, the valedictorian. He possesses in a high degree a natural gift of the fervid oratory of his race. His language was well chosen and his manner impressive. He was frequently applauded. Morris is bright young fellow, and will no doubt be heard from in the future. Mr. F.H.Pope, Chairman of the Committee on Colored Schools made a few happy remarks in delivering the diplomas, concluding as follows. 'Your education is designed to improve home surroundings and social gatherings; to banish from your midst superstition in its varied forms; to make you patriotic, useful and noble citizens of this, the greatest republic in the world.'

"Dr. F.C.Leber, President of the School Board, addressed the audience, speaking of the system of education of the day, saying that he has always contended for a higher education of the colored race, and would so continue. This was greeted by applause. He said that next year an additional professor would be added to the school." Other parts of the program. Prayer-Rev. D. Hartwell; Salutatory-Julia M.Booker; Recitation "Edinborough After the Battle of Flodden" Mattie E.Fowler; Essay-"Life is What We Make It" Rachel J.Davis; Recitation-"Wounded" Arbella Silkman; Oration and Valadictory-"There's a Divinity That Shapes Our Ends" Charles S.Morris; Recitation "The Engineer's Story" Octavia C.Woods; Alumni Address-
REPORT ON BLACK SCHOOLS IN LOUISVILLE, MAY 1865

National Freedman, May 1865, vol 1, no. 4.

p 129/ Report prepared by Rt. Rev. B.B. Smith, Bishop of Kentucky, assisted by Mr. D. D. Dennehy. The Louisville assessor's books in 1864 listed /begin p 130/ 3,067 slaves, with the number of free blacks not accurately taken, but given at 1,400, and the number of "freedmen from abroad since," estimated at 2,000, giving a total of 6,467. Says that usually you have 1/3 to 1/5 of the total pop in common schools; thus they figure that there are 1,300 to 2,000 school age children in Louisville; they estimate 1,600. There are 6 schools in Louisville for blacks in May 1865: "1. Fifth Street, Baptist, Rev. Henry Adams, Miss Boxboro, and Mr. Adam's daughter, teachers. It has been in existence above 20 years, and numbers 112 scholars. (2) Centre Street, Methodist, Miss Laura Wilson, Miss Alice Woodson. Managed by trustees, and numbers 110. (3) Ninth Street, Methodist, Rev. Thos. Brooks assisted by his wife. Numbers 60. 4. St. Mark's Episcopal, Green Street, by Ninth, Mr. D.D. Dennehy (white) teacher. Numbers 40. 5. Quinns' Chapel, Walnut Street, Mr. Cook. Numbers 45. 6. Jackson Street, Methodist, Mr. Henry Miller. Numbers 47. + These numbers represent a fair average, 420." Says the best is Adams' school. Says Mr. Cook and Mr. Miller show promise as teachers.

"The interest expressed by the colored people themselves, in the subject of education, since the prospect of freedom has been clearly before them, is something really wonderful." Says Mr. Dennechy's night school at St. Mark's averages 60 to 80 during the four weeks of the shortest days of the year. The schools are "pay-schools ... averaging $10 a year for each pupil...." Smith & Dennechy suggested: 1. a suit of schools be appointed to promote education, 2. more qualified teachers need (an improvement of teachers already there), and 3. a "cheap frame school-house should be erected" during the summer, for free instruction.

REPORT ON LOUISVILLE BLACK SCHOOLS (June 1865)

National Freedman, June 1865, vol 1, no 5.

p 156/ D.D. Dennechy xxx sends this report:

"D.D. Dennechy, the general superintendent of colored schools, writes us that the schools are in a prosperous condition, and that the people show a disposition to do all in their power to help themselves. + "The Fourth Street Baptist Church (colored) are paying salaries to three teachers, and have placed them under my xxpmmmmxx (means 5th st Bap)+ superintendence. + "Quinns /sic/ Chapel and Centre Street Methodist Episcopal churches will each support a teacher, so that we will not be as great a burden on the Association as I thought we should. + "We are finding homes for a great many of the refugees in the city and vicinity. Gen. Palmer is doing a vast amount of good in this State; he is the right man in the right place. Trusting that God will bless all interested in this poor race." etc.
EXAMPLE OF GENERAL IMPROVED PROSPERITY OF BLACKS IN 1850s; 5TH ST.BAP.CH. RENOVATED CHURCH (1854)

ira berlin, slaves without masters, 1974

p 344/ Says in the 1850s a period of improved economic conditions existed for blacks. /begin p 345/ "In Louisville, the Fifth Street African Baptist Church completely overhauled its old hall so that even the white press admitted the church was 'one of the most handsome edifices of the description in this place.'"

FACTUAL INFO ON JOHN ROBINSON, GRAD OF BREA COLLEGE

Historical Register, Berea College, 1916

p 53/ John T. Robinson, A. B., lawyer; b 1849. Chicago. d 1924
"What shall be done with the Negro race? Did God mean it to grope in ignorance, and be the prey of other races? Or is it simply waiting help to be led into the light? The Anglo-Saxon race was once thought to be in a hopeless condition; now it leads in civilization. The chances are just as favorable for the Negro race. It has made great progress since freedom. Some say 'prepare the Negroes to be hewers of wood and drawers of water.' But the Negro has ability, patriotism, and courage, and important work is before. He must be free to decide his own destiny. Let him not be discouraged, but show himself possessed of noble principles, and controlled by high motives; so will he deserve and have respect. The Negro race must be heartily welcomed to all the rights of citizens."

COLORED TEACHERS' INSTITUTE, BEREA, OCT 10-11, 1884

Conference Oct 10, called to order by Jackson Million, County School Supt. Opening address by Prof L.V. Dodge of Berea, in which he praised "the cheering progress of the colored race, and the fact that most of the teachers were his former pupils." Miss L.A. Darling gave a presentation on teaching geography. G.W. Haynes followed Miss Darling, stating that history and geography should "be taught in connection." In the afternoon session J.A. Sullivan lectured on the teaching of history. M.D. Flack then discussed teaching the fundamental rules of Arithmetic. Prof. B.S. Hunting of Berea College then talked about teaching Mental Arithmetic. A prize was given for the best essay on School Government. A.J. Reed gave an address on school law of Ky. Sat Oct 11, 1884: P.D. Dodge of Berea Col. gave a lecture on Penmanship. Miss Kate Gilbert of Berea lectured on teaching English grammar. Mrs. L.M. Dodge spoke on the "Laws of Health." On Human body, etc, physiology. J.A. Sullivan gave an address on "Popular Education." Miss C.W. Haynes of Berea Col lectured on "Music in Common Schools." G.W. Haynes talked on "Methods of Teaching Reading." Pres. Fairchild gave a speech on "The Progress of Education Among the Colored People of Kentucky." Said: In 1869 only 6 or so white teachers teaching blacks in Louisville; 3-4 in Lex, and no black teachers in state. (incorrect summary). "About seven or eight years ago, a school system for colored people adopted." Says now about 800 colored schools taught by blacks. Teachers present: G.W. Haynes; G.B. Miller; C.J. Miller; C.S. Jackson; Alex. McBain; M.M. Perkins; C.T. Embree; C.G. McBain; A. Simmons; J.O. Whittaker; R.H. Royston; M.D. Flack; T.E. Jones; Amanda Harris; Betty Emery; Charity Peyton; Lucretia Miller; America Stepp; J.A. White.
People are asking what is going to happen since the Democrats were elected. "We reply, we expect both to be as secure as before. Though we did not vote for the Democratic ticket we cannot believe one half of the people of this nation are destitute of patriotism, nor are they the enemies of liberty and education." Fee quotes changing attitudes toward blacks:

One, a "very intelligent" attorney "in interior Kentucky" said: "Though a professing Christian I would take my gun and fight before I would see the colored man again reduced to slavery." Another democrat said: "I was, at the beginning of the war, the owner of forty slaves. To-day, if by turning my hand I could bring them back into bondage, I would not do so. We are better off without slavery than with it." Fee goes on to say:

"The colored people in this state experience no reverses—know no change—because of the election."

"An Association of colored teachers of Madison County, was held in Richmond, May 22 and 23." Addresses by W.C. Taylor; G.B. Miller; J.C. Lewis spoke on "Progress of Education in the State." C.J. Miller spoke on "Industrial Education," J.O. Whitaker on "Needed Reforms," J.A. White on "Health and Homes," Miss Lucretia Miller on "Parent, Teacher Pupil." Mrs. L.C. Cluke on "Possibilities of the Race." Säh) apparently said: "Ignorance hold the race in fetters. The prevalence of misery is due to the indifference of parents. Teach the children, and bear in mind yourselves, that no one can be respected who respects not himself. Save your money. Be enterprising." E.H. Woodford spoke on "The Ideal Teacher" A.W. Titus on "The Outlook."
P 1/ Held in Berea Aug 18-21, 1885, Called to order by Prof C.A. Leonard of Central Univ. Speeches on---Teaching Arithmetic" by J.O. Whitaker; a paper on "The necessity of improving our time" by Mrs. Mattie F. Dale; speech on "Theory and Practice of Teaching" by R.H. Royston; James A. White on "Methods of teaching Penmanship." G.B. Miller read a paper on geography; Prof Leonard conducted a "spelling match." Miss Ida Miles read a paper on Reading; W.S. Jerman on "Lessons in English Grammar." Mrs L.M. Dodge gave a lecture on "Physiology and Hygiene"; Mr. A.J. Reed on geography "in business life"; Miss Mattie Haynes won $2½ in gold for the prize essay; a discussion on "The use of the rod in the schoolroom" led by A.J. McBain. "Mr. J.A. Sullivan offered words of encouragement to the colored teachers, and gave some practical advice." Prof Leonard "showed" teaching hist can be fun. The conference discuss "Should education be made compulsory?" was discussed at some length."

RACE ISSUE AT BERE (1885) NO MIXED MARRIAGES

Berea College Reporter, summer, 1885 (only date)

P 2/ "By the regulations of Berea College no distinction is made between students on account of race and color." 3/5 of students are black, in 1885.

"We are often asked if the education of the different races and sexes in the same schools will not tend to mixed marriages. What may take place in a hundred or five hundred years from now, we cannot predict. Hitherto there has been no such marriage in connection with this school; and the same is true of Oberlin College, where the same relations of races and sexes has existed for fifty years." Written by E.H. Fairchild
Berea College Reporter opposes segregated schools (1890)

Berea College Reporter, April 1891, no 2, vol I

Editorial.

"Kentucky is moving for an amended Constitution. Among the propositions already urged is a clause prohibiting absolutely the attendance of white and colored children in the same public school." The Reporter objected strongly to this. Says such a law would cut off educational opportunities to blacks in counties where they constitute only a small number. Gives examples: 8 counties report less than 100 blacks; 10 counties less than 200 blacks; would be disastrous since those counties can't afford a separate school for blacks.

Report on Louisville Black Schools July 1865 (Rept by D.D.Dennehy, Genl Supt Pub Inst, Ky)


In comparing the average attendance for June with that of May, I find that 349 new pupils have been admitted during the past month.+

"I expect still further increase when the schools are reopened after the mid-summer vacation, as there is a great desire evinced by the parents in general to have their children educated."+ We have opened two new schools in the basements of the Fifth and Green Street Baptist churches. Both of these are well attended--the teachers; E. Hawsbon and T.N. James, being very zealous and energetic in their daily labors. A number of experienced and intelligent teachers are wanted in three of the schools, as I find the children are not improving under the present teachers.+ I have been compelled to overlook the inefficiency of many of them, but during the coming month I purpose /sic/ holding an examination of all the teachers, and only permitting those to teach hereafter who prove themselves competent. A new male and female school will be opened the latter end of August in the two frame buildings which Maj. Gen. Palmer has kindly promised to place at my disposal for the purpose. The General has taken a very warm interest in the education of the rising generation of colored people, and is considered by them as their best friend next to our late lamented President.+

"The adults evince a great desire to learn. The night school for them is closed during the summer, but will be opened again the first of September. Some evenings ago, in returning to my home I found a stalwart son of Africa, with a slate under his arm, waiting for me in order to have the rule of
Division explained to him. He had been one of my night scholars during the winter months, and now appeared, after working all day under a boiling sun, to drink at the fountain of knowledge. I explained the difficulty to him and he went on his way rejoicing. He was certainly one determined to pursue knowledge under difficulties.

"The Fourth of July, '65, will be long remembered by the colored people of Kentucky—s being their first celebration of the anniversary of American Independence."

"About twelve thousand formed a procession and marched with banners flying, drums beating, and children singing 'Rally round the flag,' to Johnson's Woods, about two miles from the city, where they passed the day pleasantly in partaking of a 'great' dinner prepared for the occasion."

"Maj. Gen. Palmer visited them in the afternoon and was received with deafening cheers. He addressed them, and told every man, woman, and child in Kentucky to go and work for the man who would give the highest wages, and enjoy the fruits of their own labor. The celebration was very creditable to the people, and was one long to be remembered." signed D.D. Dennehy, Genl Supt of Public Inst. Ky

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**REPORT ON LOUISVILLE BLACK SCHOOLS, JULY 1865, BY D.D. DENNEHY, GENL SUPT PUB INST FOR KY**


/p 189 cont'd/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>Number of days kept</th>
<th>Hours per day</th>
<th>Number on Register</th>
<th>Average attendance</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Over sixteen years</th>
<th>Under six years</th>
<th>Read and spell</th>
<th>Mental Arithmetic</th>
<th>Written Arithmetic</th>
<th>Geography</th>
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<td>118</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>9</td>
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Felix Walker wrote of his experiences with Boone in Ky in 1775. It was preserved by his son and published in DeBow's Review in 1854. He told of the beauty of Kentucky, saying they felt as if they had "...just arrived at the fields of Elysium, or a garden where there was no forbidden fruit."

A sad reverse overtook us two days after, on our way to Kentucky river. On the 25th March, 1775, we were fired on by the Indians, in our camp asleep, about an hour before day. Captain Twetty was shot in both knees, and died the third day after. A black man, his body servant, killed dead; myself badly wounded; our company dispersed. So fatal and tragical an event cast a deep gloom of melancholy over all our prospects, and high calculations of long life and happy days in our newly-discovered country were prostrated; hope vanished from the most of us, and left us suspended in the tumult of uncertainty and conjecture. Col. Boon, and a few others, appeared to possess firmness and fortitude. In our calamitous situation, a circumstance occurred one morning after our misfortunes, that proved the courage and stability of our few remaining men (for some had gone back). One of our men, who had run off at the fire of the Indians on our camp, was discovered peeping from behind a tree, by a black woman belonging to Colonel Callaway, while gathering small wood. She ran in, and gave the alarm of Indians. Colonel Boon instantly caught his rifle, ordered the few men to form, take trees, and give battle, and not to run till they saw him fall. They formed agreeably to his directions, and I believe they would have fought with equal bravery to any Spartan band ever brought to the field of action, when the man behind the tree announced his name, and came in. My situation was critical and dangerous, being then a youth, three hundred miles from white inhabitants. My friend and guardian, Captain Twetty, taken
p 223/ While writing about Lexington, this professor in the old Theological Seminary on West Second St, commented on slavery in Ky:

The slaves constitute about a third part of the population of Kentucky. They are said to be well treated, and have quite an independent air. On Sundays they appear dressed in the height of fashion, and very frequently are clad more expensively and gaily than their masters and mistresses. Still the system under which they live keeps them in great ignorance; and although there are many conscientious slave-owners, few general attempts are made to enlighten the descendants of Africans.

AUCTION OF A PREGNANT MULATTO WITH HER TWO CHILDREN IN LOUISVILLE
DESCRIBED BY FOREIGN TRAVELER (1825-26)

karl bernhard, travels through north am during 1825-26, II, 1828

p 133/
"I was furthermore witness to a revolting spectacle in Louisville, from which I escaped as quick as I was able. A pregnant mulatto woman was offered for sale at public auction, with her two children. The woman stood with her children on a bench at a coffee-house; the auctioneer standing by her side, indulged himself in brutal jests upon her thriving condition, and sold her for four hundred dollars!"
ARTICLE X.
CONCERNING SLAVES.

SECTION 1. The general assembly shall have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners, or without paying their owners, previous to such emancipation, a full equivalent in money for the slaves so emancipated, and providing for their removal from the State. They shall have no power to prevent immigrants to this State from bringing with them such persons as are deemed slaves by the laws of any of the United States, so long as any person of the same age or description shall be continued in slavery by the laws of this State. They shall pass laws to permit owners of slaves to emancipate them, saving the rights of creditors, and to prevent them from remaining in this State after they are emancipated. They shall have full power to prevent slaves being brought into this State as merchandise. They shall have full power to prevent slaves being brought into this State who have been, since the first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, or may hereafter be, imported into any of the United States from a foreign country. And they shall have full power to pass such laws as may be necessary to oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with humanity; to provide for them necessary clothing and provisions; to restrain from all injuries to them, extending to life or limb; and in case of their neglect or refusal to comply with the directions of such laws, to have such slave or slaves sold for the benefit of their owner or owners.

SEC. 2. The general assembly shall pass laws providing that any free negro or mulatto hereafter immigrating to, and a slave hereafter emancipated in, and refusing to leave this State, or having left, shall return and settle within this State, shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by confinement in the penitentiary thereof.

SEC. 3. In the prosecution of slaves for felony, no inquest by a grand jury shall be necessary; but the proceedings in such prosecutions shall be regulated by law, except that the general assembly shall have no power to deprive them of the privilege of an impartial trial by a petit jury.

DESCRIPTION OF BLACKS WORKING IN WAREHOUSE AREA OF LOUISVILLE (1869) BY FOREIGN VISITOR

william & w.f. Robertson, our american tour, 1871

All the porters and servants in the warehouse we visited were blacks. Some of them had been with their employers for twenty years, formerly as slaves, and know very little difference in their condition now that they are free. When any extra work is required they perform it cheerfully, but do not get any extra pay. The wage they are paid is twenty-five shillings a week all the year round, whether there is work for them or not. We were informed that, on the whole, the blacks here are working pretty well. One gentleman, a large employer of labour, told us that the South was much better without slaves; and this was the general opinion throughout that portion of the South which we visited.
p 102/ Clarke wrote W. H. Channing from Lexington, Ky., Nov 8, 1833, telling of his arrival in Ky and some of the attitudes he observed:

Thirdly. The opinions I have everywhere heard expressed on the subject of slavery are encouraging. The general, boldly expressed sentiment is, that slavery is a curse in every point of view to Kentucky, that there is no excuse for its existing a moment in this State. In the stage with me were two Kentuckians. We met four negroes chained, preceding a moving family. It was the first time I had seen such a sight. I expressed my disgust. So did these gentlemen, both slaveholders. One said that slave-dealers were held in such abhorrence that no effort could the power of their wealth ever bring them into respectable society, even after retiring from business.

p 81/ Rev. S. G. Wright wrote from Ky in Apr 1863, telling of the response of blacks to his religious service:

1st verse of the 5th chapter, a woman spoke out with surprise and joy, "why, said she, I have known that God has prepared for me a house eternal in the heavens, because many years ago, when suffering much because I was sold away from a comfortable home, and put into an old rickety house with no floor, all dirt, one day as I was praying to the Lord about my troubles, the blessed words were sounded in my heart like a bell, 'you have a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.' I believed it, and all my sorrow left me, but I never knew until this moment, that the same thing was in the Bible."
From Miss S. G. Stanley.

LOUISVILLE, April 3d, 1866

Some of the scholars possess a shrewd common sense, and a certain habit of thinking for themselves, that sometimes surprises me. Yesterday an officer of one of the Freedmen's Commissions of the North, called at the school, and was invited to address the scholars. He did so in a very pertinent and attractive manner, keeping the bright eyes of the eager listeners fixed upon him with interest and attention. In a very simple and forcible style he explained to them the importance of studying diligently while young in order to become educated men and women; that unless intelligent they would not be respected, and that ignorance is weakness, and knowledge is strength.

"Now, children," said he, "you don't think white people are any better than you because they have straight hair and white faces?" "No, sir," cried the children, with intuitive comprehension of the great truth uttered by Paul on Mars's hill "No, they are no better, but they are different, they possess great power, they formed this great government; they control this vast country; they invent telegraphs and steamboats; they construct railroads and war steamers. Now, what makes them different from you?" The answer, "education," seemed inevitable; but, instead, a chorus of little voices instantly responded, Money. "Yes," said the speaker, "but what enabled them to obtain it? How did they get money?" A simultaneous shout burst forth, "Got it off us; stole it off we all." A different answer might have been returned, but hardly a truer one as applied to the people of the South.

OUTRAGES AGAINST BLACKS: LEXINGTON AREA 1866

amERICAN MISSIONARY, JUNE 1866, NO 6, X,

OUTRAGES IN KENTUCKY.

"To Major General O. O. Howard, Commissioner Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, War Department, Washington, D. C.

GENERAL—In compliance with instructions received from the department, directing me to proceed to the city of Lexington, Kentucky, to examine into the condition of the freedmen in that part of the State, I have the honor to report that I visited Lexington and vicinity, and prosecuted my investigation for the period of about one month, adopting the following method: In all cases of extreme cruelty to the freedmen, I have relied upon the best and most reliable evidence I could procure, taken under oath. In regard to minor acts of cruelty, either to persons or property, and in reference to the economical, social, and moral condition of the race, I have been controlled by personal observation, aided by information received from intelligent and trustworthy sources.

From the depositions taken by me, and herewith transmitted, I have compiled the facts in the more extreme cases of cruelty and outrage, for reference, and make the same a part and parcel of my report.

An examination of the sworn evidence, or the abstracts made therefrom, will reveal to you sixty cases of outrage, in a limited district and period, unparalleled in their atrocity and fiendishness—culpability for which, in no instance, as developed by the testimony, is there the least shadow of excuse or palliation.

You will observe I have been able in most instances to give you the names of the injured; in many, the name of the offenders, with dates and localities.

I have classified these outrages as follows:

Twenty-three cases of most severe and inhuman beating and whipping of men, four of beating and shooting, three of robbing, five men shot and killed, two shot and wounded, four beaten to death, one beaten and roasted, three women assaulted and ravished, four women beaten, two women tied up and whipped until insensible, two men and three families beaten and driven from their homes, and their property destroyed, two instances of burning of dwellings, and one of the inmates shot. Of these victims twelve men were Union soldiers, and three women the wives of Union soldiers."
Blacks, along with women and the insane were a part of the prison system. Women were "confined in a small triangular section of the Frankfort prison." In 1871 there were only 35 women convicts, or 5.15% of the total. "Throughout the nineteenth century, Negro women convicts outnumbered white women prisoners, and in 1881,..." p 147/ "Negroes, chiefly men, totaled, as might be expected, a disproportionate number of the convicts in Kentucky penitentiaries. On Jan 1, 1868, Negroes comprised 38.5 per cent of the prison population. There was a rapid increase in the number of Negro convicts, and by December 30, 1879, they accounted for 54.8 per cent of the prisoners. Negroes constituted something over 50 per cent of the convicts for thirty odd years. The figure, in 1885, was 53.2 per cent of all convicts. p 151/ The penitentiary was always badly overcrowded.

"Evidence of discrimination against Negroes..." can be seen in the way in which blacks were "... were leased to contractors for work on the railroads. Although 53.2 per cent of all prisoners were Negroes, 62.7 per cent of all who were leased to contractors, for work outside the penitentiary, were Negroes. The prison physician's report on the death rate, in 1895, indicates, more probably, discrimination than the soundness of his explanation. He took great pride in the fact that only twenty-four prisoners at Frankfort had died during the year, and he offered as proof that white men had 'superior mental and physical fortitude in overcoming the ravages of disease' the fact that all twenty-four who died were Negro men."
"Head-quarters District of Kentucky, Louisville, Nov 13, 1863."

"It is hereby ordered that two negroes, belonging to Isaac Clark of Jefferson County, and subject to work on military roads, under General Order No. (?illegible), from these Head-quarters, issued Sept 2, 1863, shall work for Jeff. Williams of the County of Jefferson in getting out fire-wood for the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Co. Said Williams shall fully compensate the owner of the negroes for the services thus rendered, and the negroes thus employed shall be considered as impressed under Order (? illegible), above named, and therefore exempted from work on military roads while thus employed. +

"But should it appear to the authorities of the Railroad Company, or to the military authorities, that said Jeff Williams does not furnish the quantity of wood in the time specified as per contract with the Railroad Company, this Order shall be revoked, and the negroes will be ordered for duty on xxx other roads. +

"Officers charged with the drafting of negroes under Order No (?) will respect this order when presented to them by the owner of negroes." signed, etc.

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Black Members of the Louisville School "Standing Committee" 1886

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Reports, 1886.

p 216/ "Colored Schools—Cochran, Davis, Buckle, Godshaw, Crecelius."

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Reports, 1887

p.240/ "Colored Schools—Cochran, Davis, Godshaw, Crecelius, Atkinem."

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Reports, 1888


Louisville Annual (Municipal) Reports, 1889


Louisville Annual (Municipal) Reports, 1890


Louisville Annual (Municipal) Reports, 1891

p. 224/ "Colored Schools—Gray, Funk, Hord, Wigginton, Hoertz."
BLACK SCHOOLS & PUPILS: LOUISVILLE 1885-86
Louisville Annual (Municipal) Reports, 1886

p 222/ There were 7 black schools:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Grade 1</th>
<th>Grade 2</th>
<th>Grade 3</th>
<th>Grade 4</th>
<th>Grade 5</th>
<th>Grade 6</th>
<th>Grade 7</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fulton</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
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<td>Eastern</td>
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<td>116</td>
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<td>356</td>
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<td>Western</td>
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<tr>
<td>California</td>
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<td>116</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>475</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3894 total enrolled, 1885-86
2702 still attending when the report was made, the vast majority in grades 5-8
(kept made end of school year)
2534 average daily attendance (43.5 per ten

p 224/ There were 4 black principals, and an average of 54.2 teachers (include principals)

By comparison: WHITES
17,070 total enrolled
13,093 still attending when report made
12,777 average daily attendance
312.9 average teachers

BLACK SCHOOLS AND PUPILS: LOUISVILLE 1884-85
Louisville Annual (Municipal) Report, 1886

p 226/ There were 7 black schools:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Grade 1</th>
<th>Grade 2</th>
<th>Grade 3</th>
<th>Grade 4</th>
<th>Grade 5</th>
<th>Grade 6</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fulton</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>384</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>384</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3936 total enrolled
2385 still enrolled when report was made, the vast majority in grades 5-8
2304 average daily attendance (44.6 per ten

p 227/ Black schools:
5 principals 1884-85
46.7 average teachers

WHITES FOR COMPARISON:
17,125 total enrolled
12,830 still attending
12,360 average daily attendance
300.5 teachers
BLACK SCHOOLS, PUPILS: LOUISVILLE 1883-84

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Report, 1886

p 228/ 3822 enrolled
2290 still enrolled when report made
the vast majority in grades 5-8.
2482 average daily attendance (42.4 per cent)

There were 7 black schools: Fulton, Eastern, Central,
Western, California, Portland, High

p 230/ 6 principals, 1883-84
44.7 average teachers

WHITES FOR COMPARISON
16,685 total enrolled
12,546 still attending
293.4 teachers average

BLACK SCHOOLS, PUPILS: LOUISVILLE 1882-83

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Report, 1886

p 231/ There were 7 black schools: Fulton, Eastern, Central,
Western, California, Portland, High

3745 total enrolled
2076 still attending when report filed, with the vast majority
in grades 5-8.
2350 average daily attendance (48.9 per cent)

Eastern Colored Night School
250 enrolled
70 still attending

Western Colored Night School
336 enrolled
78 still attending

p 233/ 4 principals
44 average teachers

FOR COMPARISON: WHITES
16,386 total enrolled
12,164 still attending
292.9 average teachers

13,039 average daily attendance
BLACK SCHOOLS, PUPILS: LOUISVILLE 1881-82

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Report, 1886

p 234/ There were 6 black schools: Fulton, Eastern, Central, Western, Portland, "A Grade" Colored.

There was no California and no High School in 1881-82, but an "A Grade" Colored School.

3420 total enrolled
1952 still attending, with vast majority in grades 5-8
2278 average daily attendance (41.7 per tea)

p 236/ 5 principals
41.8 average teachers

WHITES FOR COMPARISON:
16,766 total enrolled
12,156 still attending
284.4 average teachers
13,112 average daily attendance

BLACK SCHOOLS, PUPILS: LOUISVILLE 1880-81

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Report, 1886

p 237/ There were 6 black schools: Fulton, Eastern, Central, Western, Portland, "A Grade" Colored.

3286 total enrolled
1771 still attending when report filed, the vast majority in grades 5-8
2112 average daily attendance (48 per tea)

The "A Grade" Colored School had 15 students.

p 239/ 5 principals
38.6 teachers

WHITES FOR COMPARISON:
15,903 total enrolled
11,963 still attending
255.9 average teachers
12,690 average daily attendance
BLACK SCHOOLS, PUPILS: LOUISVILLE 1879-80

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Report, 1886

p 240/ There were 6 black schools: Fulton, Eastern, Central, Western, Portland, "A Grade" Colored

3569 total enrolled
1825 still attending when report made, with vast majority in grades 5-8
3154 average daily attendance (51.2 per cent)

The "A Grade" Colored School had 13 students

p 242/ 5 principals
37.1 average teachers

WHITES FOR COMPARISON:
16,421 enrolled
11,936 still enrolled
255.8 teachers
12,897 average daily attendance

BLACK SCHOOLS, PUPILS: LOUISVILLE 1878-79

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Report, 1886

p 243/ There were 6 black schools: Fulton, Eastern, Central, Western, Portland, "A Grade" Colored

3215 total enrolled
1842 still attending when report issued, most in grades 5-8
1991 average daily attendance (48.5 per cent)

p 245/ 5 principals
36.2 average teachers

WHITES FOR COMPARISON:
16,269 enrolled
12,118 still attending
263.4 teachers
12,791 average daily attendance
The "A Grade" Colored School had 9 students.

There was no California School.

p 248/ 5 principals
33.0 teachers

WHITES FOR COMPARISON:
16,309 enrolled
11,755 still attending
256.55 average teachers
12,440 average daily attendance.

p 249/ There were 6 black schools:
Fulton, Eastern, grade 1=15
Central, Western
Portland, "A Grade" Col.
2=48
3=62
4=84
5=154
6=227
7=297
8=898

2983 total enrolled
1619 still attending
1794 average daily attendance (47% close)

The "A Grade" Colored School had 9 students.

There was no California School.

p 251/ 5 principals
35.0 average teachers

WHITES FOR COMPARISON:
15,542 enrolled
11,382 still attending
269.5 average teachers
12,070 average daily attendance.

Eastern Colored Night School
524 enrolled
64 still attending (beginning of and of season)
198 average attendance
Western Colored Night School
Louisville Annual (Municipal) Report, 1887

p 294/ There were 8 black schools: Fulton, Eastern, grade 1=49
      Lafayette, Central, 2=103
      Western, California, 3=169
      Portland, High Colored, 4=203
      Eastern Colored Night School 5=342
      156 enrolled 6=449
      74 still attending 7=472
      Western Colored Night School 8=1341
      172 enrolled
      86 still attending

p 295/ 4.9 principals
      60.1 average teachers

WHITES FOR COMPARISON:
16,521 enrolled
12,810 still attending
323.4 average teachers
19,208 average attendance

p 290 Standing Committee, Colored schools:
  Cochran, Darni, Godwin, Creelius, Atkinson

---

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Report, 1888

p 428/ There were 8 black schools: Fulton, Eastern, grade 1=70
      Main Street Colored, Central, 2=117
      Western, California, 3=147
      Portland, High 4=224
      Eastern Colored Night School 5=382
      106 enrolled 6=397
      66 still attending 7=585
      Western Colored Night School 8=1320
      179 enrolled
      95 still attending

p 429/ 5.9 principals
      69.2 teachers

WHITES FOR COMPARISON:
17,662 enrolled
13,685 still attending
336.1 average teachers
14,420 average attendance
Louisville Annual (Municipal) Report, 1889

p 350/ There were 7 black schools: Eastern, Main Street, Central, Western, California, Portland, High.

4608 total enrolled
3062 still attending
34.4% average attendance (41.2% per tea)

Main Street Colored Night School
191 enrolled
90 still attending

Western Colored Night School
185 enrolled
125 still attending

p 351/ 6 principals
78.2 teachers

WHITES FOR COMPARISON
17,990 enrolled
13,676 still attending
337.5 teachers
14,629 average attendance

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Louisville Annual (Municipal) Report, 1890

p 352/ There were 7 black schools: Eastern, Main Stree, Central, Western, California, Portland, High.

4829 total enrolled
3099 still attending
35.0% average attendance (41.6% per tea)

Main Street Colored Night School
286 enrolled
88 still attending

Western Colored Night School
197 enrolled
144 still attending

p 253/ 6 principals
78.3 average teachers

WHITES FOR COMPARISON
17,803 enrolled
13,807 still attending
349.0 average teachers
14,550 average attendance
The colored people seem to be particularly active in the line of associated effort. They have not only many lodges of Free Masons and Odd Fellows, but numerous secret or open societies, such as the United Brothers of Friendship, the Independent Order of Good Samaritans and Daughters of Samona, the Knights of Bethlehem and Sisterhood K.of B., Independent Sons of Honor, Grand Princesses of Honor, Independent Order of Imaculate Sisters, Mysterious Ten, Knights of Wise Men, the Sons and Daughters of the Morning, Sons and Daughters of Aaron and five other juvenile societies, and a remarkable number and variety of other organizations.

Preface/ Prentis took a trip through the south in 1881 and wrote letters back to the Atcheson Daily Champion. On April 10, 1881, from Louisville, Kentucky, which Prentis had seen during the Civil War; he wrote: Visited the Normal and Theological Institute on Kentucky Street in Louisville, "... which is supported by the colored Baptist churches. The surroundings, as I found them, were not inviting. The building had once been a stylish family residence in the center of a large enclosure filled with trees and shrubbery, but it had been suffered to fall into decay; the front gates were off their hinges, and the grounds looked disheveled and dirty. On entering the big, empty, dirty hall, I pursued my investigations till I finally found myself seated in the chapel, where the boarding pupils, some thirty boys, girls, young men and young women, were at service. The room had a double parlor at some time, and a handsome marble fireplace was still visible, but rough benches and blackboards had transformed it. The room was lighted with smoking kerosene lamps, the windows were thick with dirt, and the establishment had a black look all around. The principal of the school, a smart, portly, wordy yellow person, with a moustache like John A. Logan's delivered an energetic exposition of the story of the widow and her two mites. The duty exemplified, was, of course, that of giving--in worldly parlance, 'whacking up;' /sic/ and I have yet to attend a colored religious service when the contribution did not seem the most important feature. The congregation was sleepy and listless, until a hymn was given out, and then you heard it. Such voices, though all untrained, you could not find in one white congregation in twenty. A prayer by a young student, which seemed to me full of reverence, closed the exercises.
n l prentis, southern letters, 1881

/p 10 cont'd/

"I had some talk with the principal, who, though a man of education, did not please me. He wore a dressing gown, and seemed bumptous. I had, however, another talk with Mr. Marrs, a man of unmixed blood, a school teacher by profession, which was more satisfactory. I forgot about the dirt and the dressing gown and the grotesqueness of the surroundings, in hearing how these poor people had shouldered a debt of thirteen thousand dollars in buying the building; how they had kept up the payment of the property; how they had organized a band of 'jubilee singers' to lift at the wheel, and so on. I could not learn that the white people had done much for the school, but Mr. Marrs acknowledged their help in other matters, and spoke especially of the efforts of Rev. Dr. Stuart Robinson, of Louisville, in behalf of the colored orphan asylum. Dr. Robinson I had always regarded as the high priest of Bourbonism, but, like many another good man, his practice is better than his theories.+

"The lamps were shining in the streets when I took my leave of Mr. Marrs in the dingy yard of the Normal and Theological Institute, and here I will take leave of Louisville."

---

1886 REPORT ON SCHOOLING PROGRESS FOR BLACKS AT INDUSTRIAL REFORM SCHOOL

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Reports, 1886

p 345/ 72 under instruction at the beginning of the year.
33 received during the year
105 total

Of the 33 received:
8 did not know the alphabet
9 commenced in the primer
7 " " " 1st reader
6 " " " 2d reader
3 " " " 3rd reader

Math:
21 never studied math
12 studied primary math

Geography:
31 never studied geography
2 studied primary

Writing:
27 had never written
6 could write their names
YEARLY REPORT: IMMATES IN INDUSTRIAL HOME, 1886-91

Louisville Municipal (Annual) Reports, 1886

p 332/ The 21st annual report shows: total & this year
1,374 white males total; 175 this year
247 girls 63 " "
271 black males 105 " "

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Reports, 1887

p 245/ 22d annual report: total & this year
1,438 white boys total; 192 this year
239 girls 50 " "
294 black boys 102 " "

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Report, 1888

p 363/ 23 annual report: total & this year
1,486 white "boys" total; 161 this year
252 "girls" 47 " "
329 "colored boys" 100 " "

Louisville Annual (municipal) Report, 1889

p 359/ 24th annual report: total & this year
1,619 "Boys" total; 201 this year
296 "Girls" 71 " "
411 "Colored Boys" 123 " "

1886 REPORT ON SCHOOLING PROGRESS FOR BLACKS AT INDUSTRIAL REFORM School

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Reports, 1886

/p 346 cont'd/

Of the 79 residing at the Industrail Home of Reform:

  8 are studying history
  19 are in the 4th reader
  16 " " 3rd "
  12 " " 2d "
  19 " " 1st "
  5 " " primer

Geography

  30 studying introductory geography
  49 not studying geography

Writing:

  53 writing in copy-books
  24 " on slates
  2 not writing.
Louisville Annual (Municipal) Report, 1890
p 537/ 25th annual report

1,680 "Boys" total; 205 this year
325 "Girls" 74 " "
464 "Colored Boys" 125 " "

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Report, 1891
p 83/ 26 annual report

No total given; 147 "White boys" this year
65 "White girls " "
82 "Colored boys" " "

BLACKS ADDED TO INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL WITHOUT ADDITIONAL FUNDING; 3208
Head asks for more tax money
Louisville Annual (Municipal) Reports, 1891
p 84/

""When the department for colored boys was established, no additional
tax levy or appropriation was made, hence the expenses of its management was
made a charge upon the department for white boys and girls; and while both
have been maintained, the usefulness and benefits of both have been limited
and impaired. In view of these facts, we respectfully ask of the General
Council that the tax levy for the current year be increased to the limit
allowed by law, viz.: Five cents on the one hundred dollars, instead of
four cents, as heretofore."
Louisville Annual (Municipal) Reports, 1891

p 89/ "Of the colored children, five have lost both parents, seven their fathers, four their mothers, and the parents of four are living apart."

BLACK SCHOOLS, PUPILS: LOUISVILLE 1891

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Report, 1891

p 228/ There were 8 black schools:

- Maiden Lane Colored, grade 1=77
- Eastern Colored
- Main Street Colored, grade 2=114
- Central Colored, grade 3=219
- Western Colored, grade 4=247
- California Colored, grade 5=411
- Portland Colored, grade 6=587
- High Colored, grade 7=6,566

- Main Street Colored Night School
  - 284 enrolled
  - 72 still attending

- Western Colored Night School
  - 207 enrolled
  - 107 still attending

p 229/ 7 principles

82.6 teachers (including principals)

WHITES FOR COMPARISON:
18,222 enrolled
13,889 still attending
14,760 average attendance
"The Savings Bank for colored people, which was fully explained in this paper some weeks since, has commenced operation, in the building occupied as General Palmer's headquarters. Dr. Wm. H. Goddard is the cashier, and is admirably qualified for the post, both by his business capacity and habits, and his integrity and philanthropic sympathy for the colored race. The bank, for the present, will be open from eight to nine in the morning, and from four to six in the afternoon. This bank, it will be remembered, is a branch of the Freedmen's Savings Bank and Trust Company, chartered by Congress, and having its principal office in the city of New York. Our colored friends will, of course, be glad to hear that there is now a place where they can lay away their extra change, and have it not only safe, and where they can get it again whenever they want it, but be drawing interest on it whilst it remains in bank." The article continues to praise the idea of a bank.
Louisville Public Advertiser, Feb 9, 1822 (Saturday)

The first ad offers a $50 reward for the return of Phill, who ran away on Saturday night, the 6th. "...a bright mulatto man named Phill, about thirty years of age, slender made, and about 6 feet high; has rather the appearance of an Indian. He was formerly owned by Alfred Roberts. It is believed he has a scar on some part of his face. Any person who will deliver said negro to me in Shepherdsville, or confine him in any jail in this state,..." etc, will get reward. signed Nathan Miles Oct 13, 1821

$150 reward for Caesar, who ran away Saturday June 9. "About 24 years of age, 5 feet 6 inches high, slender made, a little stoop shouldered, quite black, well dressed, and probably has with him a number of clothes formerly worn by gentlemen. Said boy was employed for a considerable time as a house servant by Mr. A. Allan, tavern keeper, Louisville; is intelligent and speaks softly. He went off in company with a negro man named BUCK, who has since been taken and brought back. Said negro man Caesar was seen in Chillicothe, Ohio, about the 20th of June, and is probably lurking about thereat this time. His object it seems, when he started, was to go to Philadelphia, but he may change his route." etc. signed H. Hawley, July 3, 1822

Louisville Public Advertiser, Oct 23, 1822 (Wednesday)

$50 for Charles, 35, "stout built, has been shot in his right leg just below the knee, which has left a scar. He has also a scar on his throat, and another on the back of his head. He is an old boatman and a very artful villain." T. & W Bird & Co, Baton Rouge, Oct 9,

$25 reward for David "About 17 years of age, slender made, had on when he went away a tow linen shirt and pantaloons." Nathan Miles

$20 reward for Anthony "About 25 years old, 5 feet 9 or 10 inches high, slender built, dark complexion, but not of the blackest hue; with a countenance rather bold and impudent,..."
Ran away Nov 1, "...a negro girl, named Rill, or Marilla, about 15 years old, small of her age, and is yellow complected. Her mother lives at Mr. J. Edmondson's, in Louisville, and I think she must be somewhere in that place, or in the neighborhood." etc Elisha Athy, Dec 4
in 1815 by Elder Hinson Hobbs, who took care of it. It has a large African church under its care, supplied by an efficient and able minister, a colored man by the name of Adams. Elder John Finley is the stationed pastor of this church. J. L. Waller and W. C. Buck have their membership here. This church has been among the foremost advocates and promoters of Mission, Bible, and Temperance Societies, Sabbath Schools in this State, and is still actively engaged in these labors of love."

Of the 104 baptized, all of these were black and baptized by Rev. Henry Adams into the fellowship of the African church, which was under the care of the First Baptist Church. Of the total membership of 697 which was reported by the First Church in 1841, over 300 were members of the African church. They had put up a new brick building by their own means, and were paying their talented colored pastor, Elder Henry Adams, $500 a year.

This was the last year that colored Baptists were reported as part of the First Baptist Church, as they were constituted a separate church before the next report. The

General Info: Formation 5th St Bap Ch; Henry Adams

First Colored Baptist Church of Louisville was constituted in April, 1842, with 475 members, Henry Adams, pastor. He had been with the colored branch of the First Church since 1829. We are impressed with the increase of the colored Baptists, which began in 1822, when two colored persons were baptized by Philip S. Fall, and they grew so large under the ministry of Benjamin Allen, that Henry Adams was called as their own pastor. They first worshipped in a building on Market Street near Eighth, then moved to Fifth and York, occupying a piece of property, which was given to them by a white friend by the name of Benjamin Stansbury in 1834. Upon this lot the congregation erected a building, which it occupied until 1845, when the lot on Fifth Street between Walnut and Chestnut was purchased from the White Christian Church for $5,000.
1891 REPORT ON SCHOOLING PROGRESS FOR BLACKS AT INDUSTRIAL REFORM SCHOOL

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Reports 1891

p 110/
82 number under instruction at the commencement of the year
39 received during the year
121 total under instruction

Of the 39 received into the school:
4 did not know the alphabet
8 commenced in primer
7 commenced in first reader
9 " 2d
11 " 3rd

Arithmetic
21 never studied arithmetic
18 studied primary

Geography
28 had never studied
11 studied primary

Writing
19 had never written
20 could write their name

/p 111 cont'd/
14 in 2d reader
18 in 1st "
2 in primer

Geography
26 studying
43 not studying

Arithmetic
26 studying intermediate
29 studying primary
14 receiving oral instruction

Writing
34 writing in copy-books
27 writing on slates

Of the 69 boys now in school there are:
10 studying history
9 in 4th reader
16 in 3rd reader

1890 REPORT ON SCHOOLING PROGRESS FOR BLACKS AT INDUSTRIAL REFORM SCHOOL (LOUISVILLE)

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Reports, 1890

p 550/
72 in school at commencement of year
53 received during year
125 total

of those received
14 did not know alphabet
6 commenced in primer
9 " 1st reader
11 " 2d
6 " 3rd
7 " 4th
53

Arithmetic
28 had never studied
25 had studied primary

Geography
39 had never studied
14 had studied primary

Writing
34 could not write
19 could write their names

/p 550 cont'd/

Of the 82 boys now in school:
10 studying history & physiology
9 in 4th reader
14 " 3rd "
24 " 2d "
15 " 1st "
10 " primary
82

Arithmetic
10 studying practical
24 studying intermediate
28 studying primary
20 receiving oral instruction
82

Geography
12 studying modern
24 studying introductory
46 not studying

Writing
42 writing in copy-books
30 writing on slates
### COLORED DEPARTMENT

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<td>Received during the year</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Of those received:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Did not know alphabet</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comenced in primer</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comenced in first reader</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comenced in second reader</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comenced in third reader</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comenced in fourth reader</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>43</td>
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<td><strong>Activity</strong></td>
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<td>Had never studied</td>
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<td>Had studied primary</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>57</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>57</td>
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Of the seventy-two boys now in the school, there are:

**Reading:**
- 5 boys are studying history and physiology.
- 3 boys are in fourth reader.
- 1 boy is in third reader.
- 2 boys are in second reader.
- 0 boys are in first reader.
- 1 boy is in primer.

**Total:** 14 boys are reading.

**Arithmetic:**
- 5 boys are studying practical.
- 20 boys are studying intermediate.
- 20 boys are studying primary.
- 21 boys are receiving oral instruction.

**Total:** 72 boys are studying arithmetic.
1889 REPORT ON SCHOOLING PROGRESS FOR BLACKS AT INDUSTRIAL REFORM SCHOOL (LOUISVILLE)

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Reports, 1889

1888 REPORT ON SCHOOLING PROGRESS FOR BLACKS AT INDUSTRIAL REFORM SCHOOL (LOUISVILLE)

Louisville Annual (Municipal) Reports, 1888

p 377/
65 in school at commencement of yr
35 received during yr
100 total

Of those received:
4 did not know alphabet
5 commenced in primer
7 " 1st reader
3 " 2d "
9 " 3rd "
7 " 4th "

Arithmetic
23 had never studied
12 had studied primary

Geography
27 had never studied
8 had studied primary

Writing
19 could not write
16 could write their names

Arithmetic
7 studying practical
14 studying intermediate
24 studying primary
30 receiving oral instruction

Geography
12 studying modern
16 " introductory
49 not studying

Writing
52 writing in copy-books
19 writing on slates
4 not writing.
PUNISHMENT OF BIRD, A SLAVE, Mar 1846

Order Books, Barren Circuit Court, vols 12-13 (1845-48), p. 27

Bird, a slave, was ordered to be in Barren Circuit Court, next term as a witness for the Commonwealth. He is to be fined $50 if he does not show up.

Order Books, Barren Circuit Court, vols 12-13 (1845-48), p 225

Commonwealth of Kentucky vs. Bird a slave (Mar 14, 1846)

"This day came as well the att. for the Commonwealth as the Deft by his att. and the Deft was brought to the bar in custody of the Jailor. and thereupon the Deft saying nothing farther why judgment shall not be given herein. It is considered by the Court that the benefit of clergy be allowed him that the Deft be branded with a hot iron in the hand, in the presence of the Court, by the Jailor of Barren County. And that Deft be thence carried to the publick whipping post or some other convenient place, and received on his bare back 39 lashed well laid on by the Sheriff of Barren County. thereupon the Deft was remanded to jail. - And that after the infliction of the punishment above x the said Deft shall be released."

SLAVE BUFORD EMANCIPATED MARCH 1861

Bourbon Circuit Court, Order Book R, pm 49, March 13, 1861

Richard Hawes, executor of the will of Susan R. Brint, deceased, "...brought into court a slave, Ambrose Beauford, aged 22 years, 5 feet 6 inches in height, dark dark complexion and weighs about 140 pounds, who was emancipated and set free by the last will and testament of...." Brint, in accordance with the laws of Ky
Executive Journal of Gov. Owsley, April 9, 1846, State Archives & Lib, Frankfort. (p. 50)

"In compliance with the requisition from the Governor of Ohio for the bodies of Alexander C. Forbes and Jacob Armitage, charged by affidavit before a Justice of the Peace of Franklin County, in said State, with 'seizing upon and by violence keeping in restraint, with intent to transport out of the State of Ohio, one Jeremiah Finney', /sic/ said to be a free man of Ohio, but claimed as a slave in Kentucky, the Governor of Kentucky this day issued his warrant to all Sheriffs and Constables of his said State of Kentucky, commanding them to arrest sd Alexander C. Forbes and Jacob Armitage, if to be found in this State, and take them before some Circuit Judge of Kentucky who shall inquire into their identity and their guilt or innocence in the premises, according to the Statute of Kentucky approved 27th January 1820, in relation to fugitives from justice, and if they be identified as offenders against the laws of Ohio, and to be found not entitled to the benefit of the provisions of said Act, to deliver them up to William Johnston, Esq. who has been appointed Agent by the Governor of Ohio to receive and convey them to said State, or, in case said Johnston does not appear to receive them, to take such other course as the laws direct in such cases."

---

"Know all men by these presents that I James G. Birney of the said County of Mercer in the State of Kentucky after a careful & deliberate examination to ascertain my duty as a Citizen of the United States and a professed follower of Jesus Christ in relation to Slavery and having arrived at a very Satisfactory conviction that Slavery is inconsistent with the Great Truth that all men are created equal upon which as I conceive our Republican institutions are founded - as well as wish the great rule of benevolence delivered to us by the Saviour himself that in all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you do ye ever so to them - I do therefore independently of long and faithful services hereby and by virtue of these promises emancipate manumit discharge from the condition of Slavery my slaves Michael a black man about Forty years old his wife Hannah about thirty eight years old - & their three Children Mary Seventeen years old - Betsy nearly 16 years old & Edwin a Boy Fourteen years old - & also a Mulatto Girl between six & seven years old named Amanda who I brought with me from Alabama - In Testimony whereof I have hereunto Set my hand...." signed James G Birney
SLAVE THEODOCIA MURDERS CHILD, 1847

Commonwealth of Kentucky vs. Theodória, a slave, Franklin Circuit Court, File 713, June 16, 1847, State Library and Archives, Frankfort

She was the slave of one Anderson Taylor, & "found guilty of the murder of her infant child, by a coroners inquest taken before" judge, etc.

The Jury said she choked and stabbed the child, shortly after birthing.

ROBERT WICKLIFE WILLS LAND TO SLAVES AFTER WIFE'S DEATH (1850)

Muhlenberg County Court, Will Book 3, p 153, dated March 20, 1850 (Coleman has it dated July 7, 1850)

Wills everything to his wife at his death. "I will and direct that after the death of my Wife that all my property (Negroes excepted) be sold including my land the proceeds to be applied as hereinafter directed - "Item 3, I wish xxxxx to provide for the Comfort and happiness of my Slaves and wish the money arising from the sale of my other property as mentioned in Item 2d applied for their benefit, I wish to colonize them" xxxxxxx apparently in Liberia (I can't read this sentence) "I desire that they may be removed to that Country & the money raised from Sale of property as before directed applied to their outfit & Settlement in that Country. I hereby will xxxxxxxx & direct that at the death of myself & my wife all the Slaves now owned by me and their increase Shall be free and enjoy all the rights and privileges of free persons, but believing that they can do this xxxxxx but imperfectly in Kentucky wish them be moved (Iorlee sic) Country where they will be more advantageously Situated..." /p 154/ His executors were ordered to see that the above desires were carried out, keeping changing laws with regard to blacks in mind.
DELIA WEBSTER BUYS LAND IN TRIMBLE COUNTY 1854

Trimble County Court, Deed Book D, Feb 10, 1854, p 377, Norris and Elizabeth Day to Delia A. Webster, State Archives and Library, Frankfort, Ky.

p 377/ The deed was transferred to Delia Webster by the Days who were from Saybrook, Ohio, for $3,056.00. Acreage not mentioned.

ENLISTMENT OF BLACK SOLDIER 1864

letter from D. A. Cunningham, comnd 14 col inf "I" Co, to Adj Gen of Ky, Sept 7, 1865, dated Knoxville, tn, camp, 14 USC Infy. Military Records and Research Library, Boone National Guard Center, Department of Military Affairs, Frankfort, Kentucky (Recruiting/Soldiers)

LETTER REQUESTING INFO ON WHAT HAPPENED TO BLACK SOLDIER (July 1866)

Letter from Jno W Hazelrigg to Dear Sir, Mt. Sterling, Ky., July 10, 1866, in Military Records and Research Library, Boone National Guard Center, Department of Military Affairs, Frankfort, Ky. (Records of the Adj. Gen.)

Jacob Hazelrigg was a black soldier who was a member of company "C" 42d USC Inf. A letter arrived to military headquarters asking about Jacob:

"I want some information about Jacob Hazelrigg (colored Soldier) It is reported that he is dead that he belonged to the 42 second Colored Regiment under Col Pulman Company. I can not learn who he was. I desire you to inform me all about him who his Captain is - when and where & with what reason he died when & where he volunteered & under whom & when & where & by whom was he mustered into service by...."

Was this letter sent by loved one or former owner?

MARKS & CO: HANDLED CLAIMS FOR BLACKS IN CIVIL WAR; HELPED THEM ESTABLISH THEIR RECORD FOR PENSIONS

Military Records and Research Library, Boone National Guard Center, Department of Military Affairs, Frankfort, Ky.

There are numerous

letters in these records in the post Civil War period in which Marks & Co helped established some black soldier's record. "Exchange & Banking House, And U. S. Claim Agents, Marks & Co., No 62 Third Street, betw. Main & Market Sts." was the way they were listed in their stationary. Here is how they worked: In an undated letter to Col G. D. Lindsey, Adj. Gen of Kentucky they are asking. In a letter to Brig. Gen D. W. Lindsey Adj Gen of Ky, dated sept 21, 1866, Louisville, they say:

"In reply to your question in your letter of 8th inst. concerning the Correctness of our Statement, as to the Regt., and Company in which 'Aaron Moremen' enlisted, we bet to say that we addressed the owner and he replies, and says 'Aaron Moremen' enlisted in Co 'C' 72d Heavy U.S. Artillery - That he was mustered out 3 weeks before Christmas at Louisville, Ky. That he enlisted at Louisville 8th or 9th of May - That in calling the Rolls they would call him 'Aaron Owen' and that he answered to that name, instead of 'Aaron Moremen'"
Faney Wakefield to Adj Gen of Ky/ "Dear Ser" March 30, 1879, Springfield, Ky, Military Records and Research Library, Boone National Guard Center, Department of Military Affairs, Frankfort, Ky. (Record of the Adj. Gen.)

"Springfield Ky March 30th 1879+

"Mr Jas Dear Ser +

"Will you be kind enough to inform me the time My Father Henry Wakefield of Company / A / 100 Regt U s Colored Troops Enlisted and Died the name of Captain + "Faney Wakefield of Colored"

1877 LETTER FROM SAML CARTER OF SPRINGFIELD KY ASKING ABOUT XX XX DEATH IN C W


Letter asks about the time of Jefferson Renker's death. Samuel Carter is a claims agent. Renker was in Co 13, 100 Regt, US Col Troops. Also place he died.
INDIGENT OHIO BLACK MAN HOPES TO LEARN WHAT HAPPENED TO HIS BROTHER IN CIVIL WAR
(1875 letter)

Ed. K. Clemmer to Adj Gen of Ky, March 22, 1875, from Cincinnati, in behalf of "indigent
colored man" Mil Records & Research Lib, Boone Nat Guard Center, Dept of Mil Aff, Frankfor

"I write for an indigent colored man who says his brother was in the army in Company "K"
100th U.S.Colored Infty., his name was Sandy Hamilton. He has not heard from his brother
since the war and was informed he died in the army. Will you please write and let me know
when his brother died and where. I suppose you have the rolls of that Regiment in your
office." E.K.Clemmer

BLACK WOMAN DESIRES INFO ON HUSBAND IN ORDER TO COLLECT BOUNTY (1867)
(Harrison Co)

H.H.Hariland to Gen Lindsay, Adj Gen of Ky, dated July 9, 1867, from Harilandsville,Ky,
Harrison Co. Mil.Records & Research Lib, Boone Nat Guard Center, Dept of Mil Aff, Frankfor

"I am requested by a worthy Negro Woman of this place whose husband was a Soldier in
the Service...died whilst In the Army, to write this request you to give her the desired
information as She cannot or has failed to obtain It from other sources." Husband named
William, called "Bill Casey" Joined at Covington while one "Major Mitchell" was provost
marshal in either the summer of 1863 or 1864; sent to Louisville. Says she was informed
"by a returned Colored Soldier that he, her husband Sickened & died at Nashville Tenn. & that
he was a private in Company L 100 Regiment; or Company D 117 Regiment U.S.Colored Infantry."
Ellen Carter to "Hon James A. Dawson Adjutant General" July 17, 1873, from Springfield, Ky.

"Dear Sir will you be Kind to Inform me the time My Son Enlisted and Died" Says to return the information to R Brown "Attorney In Law" Signed "Ellen Carter of Colored"

Sallie Ellington to Adj Gen of Ky, dated April 12, 1886, Military Records and Research Lib, Boone Nat Guard Center, Dept of Mil Aff, Frankfort

"My brother Charles Nichols was a private in Co. F. 100. U.S.C.Troops promoted Sergeant and died in the service. I would be greatly obliged if you would Send me a statement showing when he enlisted and when & where he died. and the cause of his death. I write this for my mother who would like to know these facts."

Nichols
James Thomas to Adj Gen of Ky, dated July 5, 1870, Altoona, Pa., Military Record & Research lib, Boone National Guard Center, Dept of Mil Aff, Frankfort

"In July 1864, I enlisted in Co. 'D' 107th Regt U.S.C. T. in Kty (my Native State) for 3 years or during the War, and was promised One hundred Dolls (100.$) ('State Bounty, which I have /never/ Recd. I wish you would send me the Necessary blanks with instructions to fill up so as to enable me to procure it." Signed: "James Thomas, (Colored)"

Requests in
Lyttle Andrews
N. Cooper
James Churchill
Ralph Banton
W. Wells
Henry Banton

Claim Attorneys are such as
E. E. Arnold, Cincinnati
E. J. Young, Cynthiana, KY
1886 LETTER ASKING ABOUT BROTHERS WHO DIED IN C W

Lottie Jones to Adj Gen of Ky, dated Nov 22, 1886, Leavenworth, Kansas, Military Records and Research Lib, Boone Nat Guard Center, Dept of Mil Aff, Frankfort

"Dear Sir+

"Please be kind enough to furnish me a certificate of the service of my brother Benj Jones. he died in Co. 'D' 102th Regt U.S. Colored Infantry. he was born in Ky. enlisted in Ky. in 1864 or 5. Black Complexion Black eyes, Black hair, also Please look for my other /brother ?/ Silas Jones. Benj and Silas both enlisted at the same time and Place. X as I learn they both enlisted at Lebanon, Ky. & died in the U. S. Army. Neither of them were /sic/ married father & mother both dead. I am their sister. a stamp enclosed for reply. Direct your letter in Case of H. Planter, 103 main st. Leavenworth Kans."

Signed "Lottie Jones. Colored"

FORMER OWNER ATTEMPTS TO GET BOUNTIES TO GIVE TO OLD SERVANTS (1867)

H.B.Helm to Adj Gen, dated Mar 4, 1867, Elizabethtown, Ky. Military Records and Research Lib, Boone Nat Guard Center, Dept of Mil Aff, Frankfort

"Will you be kind enough to send me a descriptive list and muster in roll of my former slaves Abraham Helm, Joseph Helm and Isaac A. Helm." "I want to prepare my claims for compensation and to get the bounty for Joe and Isaac .... I am no claim agent but I am trying to get their bounty for two of my old servants."
BLACK REQUESTS KNOWLEDGE OF DEATH OF BROTHER (1879) 3242

Berney Bell to Adj Gen of Ky, Oct 18, 1879, Springfield, Ky. Mil Records & Research Lib,
Boone Nat Guard Center, Dept of Mil Aff, Frankfort

"will you Please to inform me the time that Henry Bell My Brother Enlisted and Died
he was Private in Company I (or D) 109th Regt u s Colored Infantry" signed Berney Bell
Also asked for a cause of death.

BLACK WOMAN WANTS TO KNOW ABOUT DEATH OF BROTHER IN CW 3243

Ellen Nicholls to Hon James A. Dawson, Adj Gen, March 30, 1879, Springfield, Ky,
Mil Rec & Res Lib, Boone Nat Gud Cen, Dept of Mil Aff, Frank

Wants to know about her brother; when he enlisted, died, names of captain; return
your letter to Samuel Carter. Signed"Ellen Nicholls of Colored."
Jan 10, 1833, Lexington Observer, and Kentucky Reporter

One lists an Alabama Slave and his wife, who might pass through Ky.

Ad: Bourbon Co slave, about 30, 5 ft 8 in, stout made, rode a bay mare which was described. $25.00 reward.

Ad: Runaway from 10 mi south of Lexington, age 30, named Dublin, has African marks on him, 4-5 marks on forehead, the same on the side of the face; described as low and heavy made.

Ad: Two runaways from Natchez Miss.

WILLIAM TUCKER, COLORED MERCHANT IN LEX (1834); GETS LETTER FROM BLACK KENTUCKIAN WHO WENT TO LIBERIA

Lexington Observer & Kentucky Reporter, Aug 13, 1834

In introducing the letter, the Lex Ob & Rep says:

"The following letter, addressed to William Tucker, a free colored man, a merchant of this city, is from a man who was liberated by the Rev. W.L. Breckneridge, and went out with the expedition from this state in the spring of 1833." Said they made a few grammatical changes.

The writer of the letter David Richardson, says: he and his family are in good health, live on the "waters of the St. Paul's." Have a farm of 10 acres, raising corn, potatoes, bananas which he is "very well pleased with." Believes he can make a fine living there. Sends his love to Mr. Blue and all his children.
SLAVE WOMAN AND CHILD FOR SALE (1834)

Lexington Observer & Kentucky Reporter, Aug 13, 1834

"For Sale, A Likely Negro Woman and Child. The Woman, about twenty six years of age—the child, a Boy about sixteen months old. They will be sold at a low price." Told to inquire at the office of the newspaper.

RUNAWAYS: LEXINGTON AREA 1835; ONE SAID TO HAVE FREE PAPERS

Lexington Observer and Kentucky Reporter, Oct 28, 1835

$50.00 reward for Daniel, 5 ft 10 in. "Daniel has free papers it is said, but if he has, they are given to him by some person who was altogether unauthorized.

$50.00 reward for Perry, 5 ft 7 in, described as "quite an indolent and lazy fellow when spoken to...." Ad by B. Heathman for both runaways.
"100 Dollars Reward. Ranaway on the 29th of September last a Negro man named, HOWARD, About 24 years of age, about 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high, well made, inclined to be a mulatto, but not bright; had large whiskers when he went away; rather slow spoken. He is a pretty good scholar, can read and write well; and no doubt has a free pass. He was hired the present year to Mr. Davis Thomson, of Garrard county, from whom he ranaway;..." Said was dressed pretty good when he left.

"NEGROES TO HIRE. On the 29th day of December, at the residence of Col. C.J. Sanders, will be hired to the highest bidder, for the ensuing year, between 30 and 40 Negroes, principally Women, Boys and Girls, belonging to E. E. Innis."
$200 reward for black named Barx Bartlet, about 24, 5 ft 11 in, ran away from about 7 miles south of Lexington. Weight about 180 "...has very large feet and hands, and a remarkable scar in the middle of his forehead, in a half circle, and near the size of a cut half dollar."

Ad for woman offering $100 reward; age not clear, 5 ft 6 in tall.

Ad for male runaway $20 reward, 5 ft nine inches tall, age 23, "believed to be lurking in the county."
GROUP OF SLAVES OFFERED FOR HIRE (Dec 1835)

Lexington Observer & Kentucky Reporter, Dec 16, 1835

"Negroes to Hire, On the 29th day of December, at the residence of Col. C. J. Sanders, will be hired to the highest bidder, for the ensuing year, between 30 and 40 Negroes, principally Women, Boys and Girls, belonging to E. E. Innis."

LARGE REWARD FOR RUNAWAY BLACK PREACHER (1838) LEX AREA

(Lexington) Observer & Reporter, Sept 12, 1838

"$250 REWARD! Ranaway from the subscriber living in Woodford County, Ky. near Midway on the 24 instant, a NEGRO MAN named HENRY, (Called himself HENRY CLARKE) five feet 9 or 10 inches high,..." "He is very religious, and sometimes preaches or exhorts. As he went off without any cause or provocation, (for he has not been whipped for 6 or 8 years,) it is very likely that he has prepared himself with a free pass." Age 35.
40 BLACKS FOR SALE (lexington area) (1838)
(Lexington) Observer & Reporter, Aug 29, 1838
Ad: 40 "Likely Negroes" for sale by David Flournoy.

YOUNG GIRL RUNAWAY TO FIND MOTHER (Oct 1838)
(Lex) Observer & Reporter, Oct 3, 1838
Runaway from Clarke Co, ky, 1st Sept, 1838, age 13-14, small for age, copper color, "she wears her hair very bushy." "She stated she was going to see her mother at Maysville." $50 reward.
RUNAWAY LURKING IN NEIGHBORHOOD (LEXINGTON AREA, 1838)

(Lex) Observer & Reporter, Dec 1, 1838

$10 reward for Danial, age 35 or so, "He has been heard of in the neighborhood of Bryan Station."  

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RUNAWAY: APPARENTLY SOLD AWAY FROM LEXINGTON, RETURNING TO LEX (1838)

(Lex) Observer & Reporter, Dec 1, 1838

Runaway, age 22, 5 ft 8 in tall, 150 lbs "remarkably well made, black" and "is cunning and artful." "He was purchased of the estate of John Bruce, Esq. of Lexington, and when last heard from was on his way to Lexington." Escaped from the "mouth of the Wabash."
$50 reward for M Betsy, 39 or 40. "The said woman was raised by Capt. Fowler of this city, and has a husband owned by and living at Mr. R. Wickliffe's farm on the Richmond road, where the said woman may be."

$150 reward for Anthony, 5 ft 8 in tall, 27 yrs old. "He will probably go towards Cincinnati, having been raised near that place."

$50 reward for Cynthia, about 20, dark complexion and tall, "and took with her a bright Mulatto girl child about 2 months old. She was bought of Jeremiah Morgan, living in Grant county, Kentucky, and it may be is making her way there, where she has relations."
Lexington Observer & Reporter, Jan 11, 1845

Nov.

A runaway, Henry, 21-22 yrs old, 150 lbs, 5 ft 10-11 in; Ran away in Nov "and was heard of at Cynthiana, inquiring his way to Maysville." Signed by W. S. Neale of Georgetown.

Lexington Observer & Reporter, Feb 15, 1845

$20 reward for runaway, about 35, about 6 ft, 175 lbs. Belongs to James Withers of Lincoln Co., Ky, but hired by Wm A. Pullum on 20th instant. "He has lived at the Red River Iron Works for several years." Says he will probably go home or to Red River Iron Wks.
TRIAL AND CONVICTION OF CALVIN FAIRBANK (Feb 1845)

Lexington Observer & Reporter, Feb 15, 1845

"On Thursday last the case of the Commonwealth vs. Calvin Fairbank, upon three several indictments for the abduction of slaves from their owners, was taken up in the Circuit Court of this county--his Honor, Judge Buckner on the Bench. He elected to be tried upon all the indictments at once, pleaded guilty to the charge, and threw himself upon the clemency of the Jury. He made a brief address to the jury, stating, in substance, that he was an abolitionist by education, that he had been reared to regard slavery as a crying sin, and that to relieve men from its bondage was a virtue, instead of a crime; that he was satisfied, however, that he had violated the laws of the State in the act which he had committed, and deserved punishment therefor; but in consideration of the facts stated /sic/, prayed the leniency of the Jury in his case. +

"The Jury after retiring for about half an hour returned into Court, with a verdict of guilty, and fixed his punishment at 5 years upon each indictment (fifteen years in all) in the Penintentiary."

REWARD AD: MULATTO WILL PROBABLY CLAIM OWNERSHIP OF TWO DARKE R COMPANION RUNAWAYS (Aug 1845)

Lexington Observer & Reporter, Aug 20, 1845 (Wednesday)

$150 reward. for Lige and Jacob who ran away Monday night. Brothers, Lige about 30, Jacob much younger, but they look very much alike. They have been working in the bagging factory. They ran away with another slave, Adda who belongs to Dr. James C. Cross. "Adda will most likely claim /Lige and Jacob/ as his property" since Adda is "a yellow, or nearly white man."
AD FOR SALE OF FEMALE AND CHILD (Dec 1846)

Lexington Observer and Reporter, Dec 2, 1846

"The woman aged about 40, the child about 4 years old. The woman is a good cook, washer and ironer, and a first rate dairy woman, and I sell her for no fault, having no use for her." Signed J.B.T. John B. Tilford.

AD DESIRING TO PURCHASE LARGE NUMBER OF SLAVES (Aug 1848)

Lexington Observer & Reporter, Aug 9, 1848

"I WISH to purchase a large lot of merchantable Negroes, for whom I will pay the highest market cash price. Persons having Negroes to dispose of, can find me at the Phoenix (Chiles) Hotel." L.C.Robards
Lexington Observer & Reporter, Aug 9, 1848

"It will be seen by reference to an advertisement in our columns this morning, that a large number of slaves made their escape from their owners in this city and the vicinity on Saturday night last. The number is not exactly ascertained, but it is stated that not less than from fifty to seventy-five have been ascertained to be missing. The plan has no doubt been concocting for several weeks, under the direction and advice of abolitionists from the free states. Several slaves are known, in fact, to have been approached by an abolitionist as long as two weeks ago, with propositions to take them to Ohio, and thus procure for them their freedom, who refused his kind offers in their behalf. The plan, as revealed to them, was to take each slave to a place of security for $10 each; that they were to be well armed to resist any effort to retake them, and to rendezvous at a given place on Saturday night week. The time was, however, changed; doubtless in consequence of the heavy rains at that time rendering it impossible to travel with expedition, but, more particularly, difficult to cross the small streams between this and the place of their destination which were very much swollen at the time. But a very large number were found more pliable than those to whom we refer, and the result is the wholesale escape which will be found noticed in the advertisement." Goes on to say the example of Fairbank has not been enough to stop the abolitionists; The state needs to set a more severe example.

AD FOR $5000 REWARD IN 1848 GREAT ESCAPE FROM LEX AREA

Lexington Observer & Reporter, Aug 9, 1848

$5,000 reward for 25 young "Negro Men." Apparently making for the Ohio. 17 men signed the ad. "They were seen travelling in the direction of the Ohio river, on the Cynthiana road, on Saturday night, some 6 or 7 miles from Lexington."
1848 LOUISVILLE CITY DIRECTORY LISTS H. ADAMS & HIS CHURCH

Gabriel Collins' Louisville and New Albany Directory, and Annual Advertiser, for 1848. Louisville: G.H. Monsarrat & Co., 1848


p 244/ "Baptist Churches—People of Color. +
"Rev. Geo. Wells, Green b Floyd and Preston, +
"Rev. Henry Adams, 5th b Walnut and Chestnut."

MEMBERS

BAPTIST CHURCHES—PEOPLE OF COLOR.
Rev. Geo. Wells, Green b Floyd and Preston, 200
" Henry Adams, 5th b Walnut and Chestnut, 650

METHODIST CHURCHES—PEOPLE OF COLOR.
Asbury Chapel, James Harper, preacher, cor Green and 4th, assistants, Levi Evans, Frederick Meyers, and George Clark, 300
John Wesley Temple, Peter Bogh, preacher, Center b Green and Walnut, assistants, C. Barber, Benj. Gant, Henry Henderson, H. Schoot, 550
Jackson Street Church, George Holland, Jackson b Jefferson and Green, assistants, Wm. Thomas, Henry Philmour and John Young, 100

Bethel, (colored people's) Walnut near 9th.
The Reverend Abraham Long, superintends the churches for the colored people.

1858-59 BLACK CHURCHES IN LOUISVILLE CITY DIRECTORY


        Colored, Center, bet. Green and Walnut.

p 318/ Under African: lists as follows:

Center, near Green.
Jackson, near Jefferson
Green, near Ninth.
Ninth, near Walnut
Walnut, near Ninth.
H. ADAMS' CHURCH LISTED IN 1844-45 LOUISVILLE DIRECTORY

Haldeman's Picture of Louisville, Directory & Business advertiser,1844-45

p 34/ Lists under Baptist Churches;

"Fourth Church, (colored people's,) Rev. H. Adams, Pastor; Fifth near York." does not list H. Adams in directory.

$100 REWARD FOR RUNAWAY IN LEX AREA 1838

Lex Observer & Reporter, oct 6, 1838

"Stop the Murderer! $100 Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber on Monday evening, the 1st day this inst. a Negro Woman named Hannah. Her age is between forty and fifty years, rather of a light black color, with a little knock on her forehead, or over her eye. . . She is of the chunky order, and of middle age. . . . The said Woman has poisoned three children, two of whom have died and as soon as the poison took effect she ran off."

$20, $50

Abram Lider (Bourbon Co.)
AD FOR MALE RUNAWAY LEX AREA (20 YRS OLD) 1838

Lex Observer & Reporter, Oct 6, 1838

"Ranaway from the subscriber, living in Jessamine county, Ky. A Negro man named Reuben. He is about 5' feet high, of a dark complexion, about 20 years of age. (7 miles from Lex. on Clay's Mill Road)      William L. Barkley

1838 $50 REWARD FOR 43 YR OLD RUNAWAY IN LEX AREA

Lex Observer and reporter, sept 15, 1838

"$50 Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber, on Saturday night, the 8th inst. two Negro men, one by the name of Simon. About 43 years old, with a scar on his forehead, and a large ankle, inclined to be knock-kneed. Lewis is 23 years old, stout and robust, with a scar on his upper lip, he has a very down look, and has no talk with any person without being spoken to. The older boy, Simon, has made two or three attempts to get to a free state..." James Sandres       William Parrott
1838 RUNAWAY AD FOR 19-20 YR OLD LAD LEX AREA

lex observer & reporter, sept 22, 1838

"$100 Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber (in Clarke County, Ky.) on Monday last a Negro boy named Edmund Grayson, about 19 or 20 years of age, about 5 feet 6 or 8 inches high, of a copper color, a dark splotch on ones of his cheeks. my residence in Gallatin...Tennessee"
Benj. Exum

$50 REWARD FOR RUNAWAY GIRL CLARK CO 1838

lex observer & reporter, sept 26, 1838

"$50 Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber and Clarke county, Ky. 1st September inst., a Negro firl named Maria but calls herself Mary Elizabeth: she is of a copper color, between 13 and 14 years of age, she wears her hair very bushy, she is very free spoken, but seldom speaks the truth; her ears were pierced but no rings in them...bare-footed; she is small for her age, very slendrily and very likely....to see her mother in Maysville." Sanford Thomson
"Fifty Dollars Reward. I will give the above reward... for the apprehen-
sion and securing in jail... my mulatto Boy named Preston, About twenty
years old, who runs away from me on the night of the 29th September, 1828
He is near or quite six feet high, rather slender made, hair black and
straight, ... and very fair skin for a slave; rather a down look when
spoken to... will try to pass as a free white man." John Roper (Oct. 10,
1838)

"$10 Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber living in Lexington, about five
or six weeks ago, a Black man by the name of Ben, the property of Mrs. Parker,
about 35 years old, thick set, very black, and has a very course voice." Thos. Bradley

Nov. 7, 1838: "A well formed and extension plan to aid the negroes in
running away from their masters, was detected in Boone county. ... Some
abolitionists from Cincinnati had insisted the negroes in the fields and
induced them to enter into an agreement that they would runaway from their
masters on Saturday night. ... A negro woman near Florence, who was taken sick on Thursday and who fear-
ed her husband would go without her, told her master of the arrangement.
... The alarm was given ... Six negroes, however ... made their
escape, and are probably in this in Canada. On searching the negro quarters
in the neighborhoods around, it appears every preparation had been made for
thin journey. Stolen goods even found packed up with their clothes. ... If one of them Negroes get across the river. ... The abolitionists
there have every convenience for secreting him and sending him to Canada."
(from WARSAW Ky. Patriot Nov. 2, 1838)
1838 VALUE OF SLAVE PROPERTY BORDERING OHIO RIVER DECLINING

lex observer and reporter, nov 10, 1838

"Already has the value of slave property depreciated 20 per cent in all the counties bordering upon the Ohio River." (Nov. 10, 1838) ed. by Wickliffe, D. C. Another ed. follows on Nov. 14th.

$10 REWARD FOR 1838 RUNAWAY MALE AGE 35 IN LEX AREA

lex observer and reporter, nov 3, 1838

"$10 Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber, living in Lexington, about four weeks ago, a Black man by the name of Daniel, the property of Mrs. Parker, about 35 years of age, thick set, very black..." B. Perkins
"$100 Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber living one mile from Winchester, on Thursday, the 8th instant, a Negro man named Jim, of dark complexion, supposed to be about 6 feet high, stout made for a man of his age, about 52 or 53 years old; . . . he is bald and turning grey. . . . He has on his hip a weaver about as large as a man's fist. He is a carpenter by trade." $25, $10 Wm. R. Massie

"Ranaway. From J. F. Williams on the 9th Nov., 1838, from Columbus, Lounde county, Miss., a yellow man by the name of Jacoh who was raised in Kentucky. . . . The boy is of medium size, well made, and handsome in person, dresses neatly: . . . it is supposed that he wears a wig over his head and has a dink and pistols about him - He will pass for a white." J. F. Williams
"There seems no doubt that a number of our citizens have persuaded themselves that it is proper and commendable for them to aid runaway slaves in escaping from their masters. In this persuasion, they receive them in their houses, secrete them, furnish them the means of conveyance from point to point through the state and thus facilitate and secure their escape to Canada."
"$100 Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber. . . A Negro Man named Lewis. . .
He is about sex feet 2 or 3 inches high, has a scar on his face about his
temple. . . about 50 years old and has a slow look." $20, 35
6 miles S. of Lexington H. S. Elgin

"$75 Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber, living in Bourbon County, on the
night or the 13th instant a Negro Man by the name of Essick, about 23 years
of age. Said boy is of a copper color complexion, about 5 feet 8 inches
tall, and weighs between 170 and 180 pounds." A. K. Luckie
1839 $50 REWARD FOR RUNAWAY FEMALE IN LEX AREA (age 24)

"Fifty Dollars Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber on the 18th inst. A Negro Woman named Sophia, 23 or 24 years old, about 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high, very stout built . . . she has a scar on the left cheek." $10, $20 Lein Bourn

1839 $75 REWARD FOR RUNAWAY FEMALE IN LEX AREA

"$75 Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber living six miles east of Lexington a Negro woman named Matalda . . . she is rather above the ordinary size, tolerably black, somewhat of a masculine appearance and a sulky look when spoken too." $20,35 T. M. Hart
1839 $100 REWARD FOR RUNAWAY MALE, AGE 30, WOODFORD CO

Lex observer & reporter, march 30, 1839

"$100 Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber, living in woodford county, Ky. about 7 miles from Versailles... a Negro Man named Bill. He is smartly bow-legged and stout made, about 30 years of age, not very tall; he is very fond of spirits, and not very freely spoken, rather of a sulky look. $50 or $500 if stolen."

David Rice

April, May are virtually free on Runaway notices. - 1839.

1838 AD FOR 13 MEN, WOMEN, CHILDREN FOR SALE IN MT. STERLING

Kentucky Gazette, march 22, 1838

"Negroes for sale. Will be sold in the town of Mt. Stuling on the 1st Monday in April next, for cash in hand, 13 Negroes, Men, Women and Children. Title good and sale without reserve. Kentucky paper will be received in payment. Jos. Bondinant, Agent"
Kentucky Gazette, jan 4, 1838

"The negro man, Burrell, was executed near this city on Monday last, according to the sentence passed on him for the murder of Mr. Conner. Gabriel was respited by the governor for 30 days."

lex observer & reporter, june 28, 1838

"$160 Reward.
Runaway from the subscriber living in this city on Saturday 16th inst. a Negro man named Dick, about 37 years of age, 6 feet high, dark complexion, very likely in appearance somewhat lame in one of his hips... quick of speech, when spoken to, commonly calls himself Dick Coleman and as he can write very well, has in all probability, written for himself a free pass. It is highly probable said boy will make for New Orleans, as he has a wife living in that city. . . .

The boy Dick when he ran off took with him a black Horse. . . ."

Drake & Thompson
1839 $150 REWARD FOR RUNAWAY MALE, AGE 27 LEX AREA

Kentucky Gazette, aug 24, 1839

"$150 Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber, on Saturday night last, a Negro Man named Anthony About 5 feet 8 inches high, 27 years of age, and rather stoutly made." $50 John Cornwall

1839 $50 REWARD FOR BLACK MALE LEX AREA

Kentucky Gazette, may 29, 1839

"$50 Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber in Lancaster, Ky. on the 24th of May, a Negro Man named Cain, a trim , well made fellow, about 5 feet 9 or 10 inches high, very Black complextion, several small scars on his face, very white teeth, . . . and a very remarkable voice, deep and fluttered, and a peculiar manner of saying 'Yes Sir'." $25 in state.
Benjamin Proctor
"$100 Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber living on the Nicholasville Turnpike, 5 miles from Lexington, on the 21st of June a Negro boy named Alfred, but commonly known and generally answers to the name Foot. He is about 14 years old, dark complextion, heavy built, very low forehead, flat face, large mouth, very flat nose, very flat foot, his hair comes very low, nearly to his eyes. . . When spoken to quickly rather given to stammering."
1838: 6 NEGROES FOR SALE LEX AREA JAIL

Kentucky Gazette, Aug 23, 1838

"Negroes for Sale. Six likely Negro men for sale" Thos. B. Megowan, at the Jail, Lexington (Slave Jail)

1838 $10 REWARD FOR RUNAWAY, AGE 23, LEX AREA

Kentucky Gazette, sept 13, 1838

"Ten Dollars Reward. Runaway from my employment, a few days since, a Black Boy, named Wm. Ross, belonging to Mrs. Breckinridge. . . . He is about 23 years of age, about five feet four inches high; stutters . . . ." John P. Innes
"To Planters and Owners of Slaves." (July 4, 1839)

"Planters, living in any section of the United States, having slaves rendered unfit for labor by the following diseases and who wish to dispose of them on reasonable terms, will please address Dr. J. King No 29, Caup Street, New Orleans, stating disease, age, and where to be seen, which will meet with immediate attention. Yaws, Scrofula, Ulcers of all kinds, Chronic Piarrhea, Venereal, Mercury disease, Negro Consumption, sometimes called Negor poison, Fever and Ague."

"$25 Reward. Runaway from the subscribers about, the middle of June a Negro boy named Silas, about 5 feet 6 or 7 inches in height, 16 or 17 years of age, very black, with a long visage, and a very thick under lip. He speaks slow, and in walking his knees bend forward. . . .

We will give $15 for his apprehension and delivery to us if taken in this county, or $25 if taken in any other county." Swift & Neat
1839 $100 REWARD FOR RUNAWAY MALE IN LEX AREA

Kentucky Gazette, sept 12, 1839

"$100 Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber, living four miles from Lexington, Kentucky on the Tates Creek Road about the 20th of August a Negro Man named Spencer, about 23 years of age, about 5 feet 10 inches high, straight and well made, of dark color, although not a yet black, talks well when spoken to ... He was lately purchased from Mr. Horace Buckner of Bowling Green, Ky. and will probably attempt to make his way to that place or Louisville to Mr. Samuel Dickuials where he formerly livied," $50 in state; $100 out. B. A. Atchison

1839 $100 REWARD FOR RUNAWAY MALE (45-50) LEX AREA RETURNEE

Lexington Intelligencer, Oct 24, 1839

"$100 Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber, living in Cass County Georgia ... a negro man named Jess. He is a dark mullatto, 45 or 50 years of age, badly ruptured on one side, a small piece bit off one of his ears in fighting, a scar on one side of his forehead caused by the kick of a horse, and right shin bone has been broken, also by the kick of a horse, the toe on that foot turns a little out when walking; his hands and feet, are litter more bonier than common, and his joints somewhat larger than usual, for a man of his size.

The said man was raised in Lexington, Ky. ... where he will doubtless endeavor to go, as he was seen on the road, 18 miles above Knoxville, Tenn." James Freeman
Kentucky Gazette, Jan 9, 1838

"$100 Reward. Ran away from the subscriber, residing on the Richmond Turnpike, about four miles from Lexington, on Thursday morning, Dec. 28th, a negro woman named Jenny. She is between 30 and 35 years of age, looks young, is neither very dark or light; is large and fleshy. . . is a very likely woman with a fine countenance.

Whoever will return said woman to me . . . shall be entitled to a reward of $10 if taken in the county, $20 if taken in the state and $100 out of the state." John R. [Signature]

Lexington Intelligencer, June 29, 1838

"$100 Reward. Ran away from subscriber 5 miles from Lexington on the Versailles Road on Monday, 25th of June, a negro man named Sindrach; about 45 years old, low in stature, heavy made, a little stoop shouldered, complexion a shade lighter than the common run of negroes.

. . . . $30 dollars if taken in the state and out of Fayette County, and $20 if taken in Fayette county." John Neet
1838 $150 REWARD FOR RUNAWAY MALE, 23, "QUITE INTELLIGENT" LEX AREA

Lexington Intelligencer, june 12, 1838

"$150 Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber about the 12th May, a negro man named Aaron. About 23 years of age, 5 feet 11 inches high, of very dark complexion, and quite intelligent. He has probably a pass or paper authorizing him to hire himself to work. . . 30 dollars if taken out of the county, and twenty dollars if taken in the county." Henry Gilbert

1838 AD FOR RUNAWAY MALE FROM LEX AREA

Lexington Intelligencer, april 27, 1838

"Ranaway. From the subscriber on Sunday the 14th. inst. a Negro man named Jack. . . . He is about 5 feet 8" inches high, stout built. . . . shall be suitably rewarded." W. M. Runyon
1838 MEETING OF LEXINGTONIANS TO DISCUSS INSUBORDINATION OF SLAVES

Lexington Intelligence, Oct 12, 1838

"... called together for the purpose of taking measure the mere effectually to suppress a spirit of insubordination which has been manifested to some extent of late, in this section of the country among the slaves.

Whereas, An incendiary spirit has manifested itself amongst the negroes of this part of the country, which we believe has been caused by the late appointment of a patrole, since which time some of our citizens have had some of their property burnt; and whereas, such a state of things tends to destroy the peace and safety of this community. Therefore, 5 resolves/

2d. Resolved, That we approve the course pursued by our worthy patrole. . .

3d. Resolved, That we shall consider all white persons who may hereafter oppose the lawful acts of our patrole, as enemies to the peace and welfare of our community, and deserving the contempt of every good citizen."

1838 $10 REWARD FOR RUNAWAY 25 YR OLD LEX AREA

Lexington Intelligence, oct 23, 1838

"Ten Dollar Reward for Stephen. Ran away from the subscriber living in Lexington, the 2nd October, a bright mulatto Man, about 25 years old, 5 feet 10 inches high, with long strait [sic] bushy hair. . . He is the property of Levi Prewitt. . ."
"Ran ayay from the month of the Wabash on the 22d. October, a negro man named Lawson, about 22 years of age, about 5 feet 8 inches high, weighs about 150 lbs, remarkably well made; black, has a small foot and ankle, no marks recollected except those on his back, is artful and cunning. He was purchased from the estate of John Bruce, Esq. of Lexington and ... was on his way to Lexington. Liberal Reward."

Mulatto named Yates was killed by a white man named Marsh "on the plea of the latter that the negro used spells and charms upon him. . . ." The ball with which Yates was shot "bore upon 1/5 surface certain marks" to make it effective."
"For sale - a likely woman and three healthy children, two boys and a girl - The woman is a good washer and cook." (mention of race)
"100 Dollar Reward Runaway from the subscriber, living in Clarke County Kentucky. . . on the 20th inst. a Negro man named Harry about 21 years old, nearly six feet high, he is peculiarly marked, being very much spotted with white and black spots in his face, short knappy hair, yellow teeth, - there is a scar over one of his eyes, and also a scar on one of his thumbs; has a down look when spoken to, his body is very nearly white and also his arms. He was originally Moorish black, and has turned spotted within a few years back. I suspect he will make for Ohio. I expect his wife, a free woman of color, she is a very light negro."

$50 in state, $10 in county

William Hoaton

"Several Negroes have been ... charged with having fired the town of Mt. Sterling."
"$100 Reward. Ranaway on the 8th inst from the subscriber (of Erie, Green co. Alabama on his return from the Olympian Springs in this state, to his residence) while at dinner at Frost's Tavern; near liberty, Jessemaigne county, Ky., a Negro Man of yellow or copper complexion named Claiborne about 21 years age, about 5 feet 10 inches high, rather of a pleasing countenance, and a femine voice; he is stout and active, for a boy of his age, and well made, with the exception of being a little bow legged . . . make for the State of Ohio" Isaac C. Snedecor

"$150 Reward. Runaway from the subscriber on the 12th inst three Negroes to wit: John Dorum, Grace, and Mary. John Dorum is about 45 years of age, 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, stout made, quite black, rather dull or stupid in his conversation; has a down cast look when talking to any person. Grace is the wife of John Dorum, about 26 years of age, tolerably spare made, bright mulatto, and her hair is tolerably straight. Mary is the child of Grace, about 8 years old, thin or spare made, very bright mulatto, with straight hair. +

" The above Negroes took two horses . . . . $100 in Ky. - 12 miles from Winchester" W. Edwards
1838 $20 REWARD FOR RUNAWAY FEMALE, 28, LEX AREA

"20 dollar reward. Runaway from the subscriber, on the 31st of August last, a Negro Woman named Patsey. She is about 28 years of age, about 5 feet in height, of brown color, quick motion, and smart of speaking. On Versaillees road, six miles from Lexington." Patrick Dokey.

1838 $100 REWARD FOR RUNAWAY, HENRY, 35-40, LEX AREA

"$100 Reward. Runaway from subscriber, living near Benton, Yazoo county, Mississippi ... a negro man named Henry, about 35 or 40 years of age, full six feet high, tolerable stout built, black complexion, with his left eye out, and some scars from a on and under his left arm, and much scared from the whip. He can speak broken French...." (bought in Ky.) Wm. Overstreet.
1887 REPORT ON SCHOOLING PROGRESS FOR BLACKS AT INDUSTRIAL REFORM SCHOOL (LOUISVILLE)

Louisville Annual (Municipal) report, 1887 (It gives the 22d annual report on colored inmates of the industrial school)

p. 258

COLORED DEPARTMENT

Writing

Read never written

Could write their names

Total

Of the sixty-five now in the school, there are:

Studying History

In Backpack

In Third Reader

In Second Reader

In First Primer

In Second Primer

Total

17

18

16

10

5

1

45

WRITING

Studying Introduc

Total

17

16

10

5

1

45

Writing on slate

Not writing

Total

17

7

24
The Colored Schools, under the wise administration of the Committee on Colored Schools, continue to make gratifying progress. The teachers generally manage their classes with skill. They possess good teaching ability, and are ambitious to succeed. The pupils are studious and attentive, easily controlled, and eager to learn. The attendance compared with last year shows a marked increase. The number of pupils in the High School and in the Intermediate Department is gradually increasing. The Board has not been able heretofore to procure a sufficient number of competent teachers for these schools. This trouble, however, will be removed in the future by the establishment of a Normal Class for the graduates of the High School, which in a few years will furnish not only all the qualified teachers needed here, but will supply, also, in some measure, the demand for them in other places. The Colored Schools are very much in need of more school buildings. The Eastern and the Western Schools are greatly overcrowded, while the Central School, in order to find room for the High School and the Intermediate Department, has been compelled to send the pupils of the third and the fourth grades to the Eastern and the Western Schools. This arrangement, while unavoidable, is a great hardship to many children of poor parents, especially during inclement weather, who have to walk a long distance to attend the nearest school. Diligent but unsuccessful efforts have been made by the members of the committee and others interested in the schools to rent buildings in which to establish new schools. Suitable buildings are scarce, and when found the owners are averse to their being used for

the purpose though extravagant rents have been offered them. Two twelve-room houses judiciously located, one in the eastern and one in the western parts of the city, would afford relief for a time. The Portland School needs to be enlarged, and a new and large building should be erected in a more convenient locality, to take the place of the Fulton Street School, which floated away during the flood three years ago. It will be advisable in a short time to have two Intermediate Departments, more conveniently located for the pupils of these grades, in the place of the one now in the Central School.
Louisville Annual (Municipal) Report, 1886 (Rept of supt of ed Geo H. Tingley, Jr, Aug 1886, in 21st ann rept on ed)

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The average daily attendance for the seven months was as follows:

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<th>Month</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
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<td>January</td>
<td>127</td>
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<tr>
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<td>109</td>
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<td>March</td>
<td>47</td>
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<td>April</td>
<td>244</td>
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<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>194</td>
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<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>222</td>
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<td>Average</td>
<td>166.3</td>
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FIRST BLACKS MOVE INTO ORLEANS, VIRGINIA AVENUES, BETWEEN 36 & 37th STREETS, LOUISVILLE, 1880-91

In 1880 John Thomas and his wife, Mary, bought the first lot in Orleans Avenue, between Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh. In the summer of 1891 the settlement began with the building of houses in Orleans and Virginia Avenues and Thirty-eighth Street by John Thomas, Joe Grider, John Gibbs, Tom Rogers, Alonzo Roberts, N. D. Davis, Iveson Smith, Louis Cohen and Mary Scott. Later in the year Rev. R. H. L. Mitchell founded what is now the Virginia Avenue Baptist Church, in the John Gibbs house in Orleans Avenue and in 1892 Rev. Jacob N. Ross started the first school in the same house.

George Dancy was the first carpenter.

John Thomas and Joe Grider opened the first grocery which was in Orleans Avenue. In this street was John Thomas' Hall, and at the end of the street was Em Grove Park, owned by Alonzo Roberts.

The first Colored children born in the settlement were Maria Evans and her brother, John Jackson, who are still living. Dr. F. G. Fowler was the settlement's first physician. The place has had four names. The white people first called it Homestead, then Parkland. Afterwards it was called "Needsmore" by the colored residents. Colored folks from up in town, who went to Thomas' Hall called it "Little Africa," which name is becoming widely known.
j w alvord, 4th semi-annual report on schools for freedmen, July 1, 1867

p 86/ Says a report was drawn on the "unfortunate classes"; they should be admitted to state institutions, etc, on an equal basis.

/p 87/ Statistics on Ky: (report's nomenclature)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>blind adults</th>
<th>deaf &amp; dumb adults</th>
<th>idiotic adults</th>
<th>insane adults</th>
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<td>16 11 2 1</td>
<td>1 2 - -</td>
<td>9 11 2 1</td>
<td>6 11 - -</td>
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<td>(30)</td>
<td>(3) (23)</td>
<td>(17)</td>
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JAN-JUNE 1867 FB EXPENDITURES FOR SCHOOLS, ASYLUMS, SCH BLDGS, TEACHER TRANSPORTATION

j w alvord, 4th semi-ann report on schools for freedmen, july 1, 1867, 1867

p 6/ Lists FB expenditures in Ky for schools, asylums, rental for school buildings, and teacher transportation. Then gives monthly totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JAN</th>
<th>FEB</th>
<th>MAR</th>
<th>APR</th>
<th>MAY</th>
<th>JUNE</th>
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<td>$740.68</td>
<td>619.51</td>
<td>410.55</td>
<td>1,423.73</td>
<td>1,097.24</td>
<td>1,121.50</td>
<td>$5,413.22</td>
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</table>
The (Indianapolis) Freeman, July 28, 1888

"Dear Cooper--Your very excellent paper came to me last week. I am much pleased with it, though it has the sound of Democracy more than independence. I presume it feeds upon the unadulterated Jeffersonian Republicanism which both parties have gotten a long ways off from. The more I read the Declaration of Independence the more I adored Thomas Jefferson; and had this Government caught the ideas he intended when they were making their liberation from the English Government they would have liberated every Negro in the Colonies at the same time and had a free Republican form of government. I am strongly in favor of the Negro disseminating among the various political parties, as I am of the opinion that it is for his best interest, local as well as National; though a large number of the race are opposed to such a movement and will persecute those who think differently and if need be murder them. The Negro is being thrown upon his own responsibility by the Republican party. He is no longer mentioned as a parties' ward for whom they must wall around them the military and pass laws to protect him. Of course the Democracy of the North and West are entirely different from that of the South. The Democracy of the North and West look upon the Negro as a man, while the Democracy of the South look upon him as a hewer of wood and drawer of water, a creature to be servile to their whims and wishes to say nothing of their prejudices. What may be consistent in the North and West would be inconsistent in the South. In some portions of the South the people are more liberal and less prejudiced while in other sections they are worse. You are a forcible writer, my dear friend, and a deep thinker, so steer clear of either party, and be wholly independent, look forward for the race's interest exposing the fallacies of all the political parties who tamper with the suffrage of the Negro. The Negro must be sure that he will be in good hands and that he will better his political condition before he leaves the camp of

BIOG OF WM J SIMMONDS; ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The (Indianapolis) Freeman, Feb. 2, 1889

"Rev. Wm. J. Simmonds, /sic/ A.B., A.M., D.D., Editor of the American Baptist, was born in Charleston, South Carolina, June 29th, 1849. Born a slave, surrounded by poverty and indigence, it little occurred to those who locked upon the wretched slave boy of the early fifties, that the time would ever come when he would make for himself a place amongst the 'princely few,' of the powerful Church to which his name is inseparably connected. Yet such is the case. Like Longfellow's hero, he has left the past, with its tear-dashed memories, its hideous realities, and stifling situations, far behind, and with the eye and mien of a leader and a conqueror, he is still pressing on toward the mark of highest calling. Early in his life, through the instrumentality of some good men and women, he found a home with his mother and two sisters in Philadelphia, the 'city of brotherly love.' At the age of sixteen he was apprenticed to a dentist in Bordentown, New Jersey, where he remained two years, becoming quite proficient as a tooth 'carpenter.' The great civil war for the maintenance of slavery being under full headway at this period, he could repress himself no longer, but broke the legal bonds that environed him, and enlisted as a soldier in the Forty-first United States colored troops. The 'pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war' thrilled and aroused him as nothing in life had done before. That he made a brave and daring soldier, goes without saying. Present at the surrender of Gen. Lee, he had prior to this event been a dashing participant in the battles about Petersburg, Appomatox Courthouse, Natchez, Bull Run, etc. After receiving an honorable discharge from the army, he returned to Philadelphia and worked at his profession for a period. He became a Christian in 1867, under the administration of Rev. J. W. Custis (white), of Bordentown, and immediately joined the Church. Through the
philanthropy of the New Jersey State Educational Society, he attended the Madison University of New York, taking an academic course, graduating in 1868. Shortly afterward he entered Rochester University, but owing to affected eye sight remained but one year. He next turns up at Howard University, Washington, D.C., in 1871, graduating as an A.B. in 1873. Taking a prospecting trip west after graduating, as far as Arkansas, he remained but a short time, returning to Washington and was teacher of a school until June, 1874. The following September he went to Florida, going into the real estate and orange raising business. Was ordained a deacon in Oscala, Fla., in 1879, and licenses to preach at the same time. He was successively principal of Howard Academy, Dept. County Clerk and County Commissioner. Returning to Washington he shortly afterwards received a call to the pastorate of the First Baptist Church of Lexington, Ky. In 1880 he was appointed to the presidency of the Normal and Theological Institution, conducted under the auspices of the General Association of Colored Baptists of Kentucky. He was elected to the editorship of the American Baptist in 1882. As an editorial writer he has obtained a national reputation for a pungent and aggressive style. He is an unremitting champion of right as against wrong of any kind, and has a bluff, straightforward way of expressing himself on all occasions, that is as refreshing as it is startling at times. He was or is President of the American Baptist Company, and has been more times than once, and is to-day President of the Colored Press Association of America which meets at Washington City the next day after the inauguration of Harrison the 5th of March. Dr. Simmon's/sic/ chief literary work, 'Men of Mark,' is very popular and is enjoying a great sale.
The ten years through which he passed battling against poverty and race caste. He completed the common branches and entered the collegiate course, graduating in 1875 with degree of A.B. +

"With the exception of a little aid received from a few friends in the North, he worked out his entire expenses, board, books, clothing, etc., at a cost of $1,250. In his 18th year, he was converted and led to feel that his life should be spent in doing good. +

"In his chief desire to be guided by Divine Will he was made to realize his call to the ministry. In 1875 he was appointed principal of the public colored schools of Richmond, Ind. On the 25th of November of the same year he was married to Miss Louisa E. Shaffer, and consummated their long engagement made while they were both students of Berea, and held inviolable through nearly seven years. His amiable wife has done more by her unflagging devotion, her loving disposition and womanly vigilance to brighten his life and cheer his heart in the midst of his busy labors than all other earthly supports. They have three children born to them.+ "In 1878 he entered the traveling ministry of the A.M.E. church, under Bishop Shorter. Since that time he has held some of the poorest and some of the best charges in the States of Ind., Mich., Virginia and Ills. +

"In 1884 he was a delegate at large from the State of Illinois to the National Prohibition convention in Indianapolis. He is now pastor of St. Paul A.M.E. church in Springfield, and on January 8th was elected chaplain to the 36th General Assembly over his opponents, R.O. Post of the Congregational church and Dr. D.S. Johnson of the Presbyterian church."

STATE UNIV IN LOUISVILLE; OUT OF DEBT; NEED FOR HISTORY OF

The first half of the page pictures leaders, teachers at State Univ.; one building. An article continues: Caption: "A Great Jubilee. The State University of Kentucky Out of Debt and the Outlook for the School Promising--Portraits of Some of the Workers--Facts and Figures." Then the article:

"The State University of Louisville, Ky., has just celebrated with a grand Jubilee, and proudly does it boast of being out of debt--an unusual thing for colored schools and churches. The history of this great school would be interesting, indeed, if written, and we opine that Dr. Simmons will yet write it. So we cannot give the readers of The Freeman a history of the University and they must be satisfied to read a few facts and figures between the lines and look at the portraits of those who have contributed to its success. The American Baptist in its report, says: +

"This Jubilee was in commemoration of the fact that the institution has paid every dollar of the property debt. It was the last great effort to raise $2,000 of the $5,000 floating debt. We are out of the woods. When '89 closes we hope never again to assail the public ear nor beg a miserly hand. The heroes and heroines are trotting in now for the honors. What was a fragile, weak and sickly child has grown up to be a great big strong whopping fellow. Who has nurtured him? Who has fostered him most is the question now. Some claim one, some another. The president, the trustees and the people have done the work. It is like that piece in the Bible about the members of the body. All have been necessary, all have been essential in the prosecution of the educational work. The origin /sic/ of the work is shrouded in darkness. We would like to know all the facts concerning the affair. If any man has authenticated evidence please submit it. We are going to write the history of the State University some day. It is an educational feature of our race."
This addition of The Freeman, as had recent issues, dwelled on famous, successful blacks. (Miss Mary V. Cook (Grace Ermine)

"Whatever honors have come to Miss Cook are the results of persevering industry. She has edited the Woman's Department in the Tribune, S.C., the Woman's Department of the American Baptist, Ky., and the Educational Department of Our Women and Children in such a manner as to attract much attention to them. Her writings are lucid and logical and of such a character as will stand the test of time. Aside from journalistic work her life is a busy one. She has appeared on the platform of several national gatherings and her papers for research, elegance of diction and sound reasoning were superior. She holds the professorship of Latin in the State University, her Alma Mater, yet, however great her mental ability, it is overmatched by her character. Her life is the crystallization of womanly qualities. She moves her associates by a mighty power of sympathy which permeates her writings. She is a good news gatherer and is much quoted, is a native of Bowling Green, Ky., where her mother, a generous hearted woman who sympathizes with her aspirations, still lives. Miss Cook is interested in all questions which affect the race."

"To the ready pen of Miss Mary E. Britton, (Meb.) is due many of the reformatory measures which have given the race equal facilities on railroads in Kentucky. The energy and resolute vim of her character is traced in her writings, especially when advocating woman's suffrage and the same moral standard for both sexes. She has studied language from the standard English and American authors and her diction is remarkably chaste. Miss Britton was editor of the 'Women's Column' of the Lexington Herald, contributes special articles to the Courant—the Kentucky educational journal—the Cleveland Gazette, the American Catholic Tribune, the Indianapolis World and Our Women and Children Magazine. Her own ambition to excell prompts her to inspire others and nearly all her articles have this savor and was exhibited in those written for The Ivy, the children's paper. The local papers of Lexington, Ky., her home, and the Cincinnati Commercial have published and commented on her articles."
"There is a dash of freshness, a breezyness in Miss Wood's writings, a clear, decided ring which will yet be heard in louder tones. She has pronounced views on total abstinence /sic/ and is an enthusiastic member of the Woman's National Suffrage Association. She contributed several stories to The Ivy and now edits the Temperance Department of Our Women and Children magazine. Miss Wood will make a clever reporter. She is now tutor in Greek in the Kentucky State University."

Caption: "The Nat Turner Club, of Louisville, Ky." Then the story:

"The Nat Turner Club, of Louisville, Ky., appropriately celebrated his birthday by a banquet at the residence of D. H. Fitzbutler. There was a sumptuous repast spread for twenty-six guests. The following toasts were responded to:

"'Nat Turner,' by Isaac Curtis.+
"'Abraham Lincoln,' Dr. R. Conrad.+
"'John Brown,' W.O. Vance. +
"'Don't Bite Off More Than You Can Chew,' M. Watson.+
"'Education,' W.T. Peyton.+
"'Africa,' J. Merriweather.+
"'Our Hero,' Rev. M. F. Robinson.+
"'The Ludicrous Side of the Colored Ministry,' Rev. L. M. Haygood.+
"Rev. Jameison, Dr. Fitzbutler and others also spoke. This was the most representative gathering of colored men ever assembled for a like purpose. It shows that at least in one city of the Union the Negro is not unmindful of his own heroes, and is not without a proper appreciation of the same. Other cities might well emulate the example set by Louisville."
"The Pelican Club, consisting of the married men of Louisville, gave their first reception last Thursday night under the most flattering auspices. Prof. W. T. Peyton is President of the Club, which accounts for its brilliant success. There were present the elite of the city, who were royally entertained. Hoefer, The Caterer, served the edibles, which consisted of every conceivable article in that line. There were just one hundred guests and exactly one hundred seats. Since all were seated at the table, it is at once apparent why they lingered so long, but notwithstanding the long stay there the supply never gave out."

Born Lex, Ky., July 1, 1846, "of poor, uneducated, but respectable parents. He was of Scotch, Irish and Indian descent on his father's side, and African-Arabian stock on his mother's side. His education was picked up from such private schools and teachers as could be obtained in those days. His family moved to Louisville later on, and he entered the law firm of Kirkland & Barr, after which he opened a Freedmen's school at Hardinsburg, in the same State. In 1869 he was licensed to preach as an M.E. minister, and then began his upward career." Was preacher in a number of states from time to time, got a D.D. degree from Tennessee College in 1879, chosen editor of the Southwestern Christian Advocate in 1880. Died in Indianapolis, June 1888. Wrote Universal Reign of Jesus, Life of Downey, the Negro Evangelist, Plantation Melodies, and Life of Mrs. Amanda Smith, the Missionary. His widow and 3 children live in Indianapolis.
BRIEF BIOG OF JOS S COTTER (1889)

The (Indianapolis) Freeman, March 9, 1889

"J.S.Cotter was born in Nelson county, Ky., in 1861; and was brought to Louisville at an early age. He went to school so early that he could read before his fourth year, and continued to go until he reached the third reader. Then poverty compelled him to stop; and at that tender age he went into the brick yard to earn his bread by the strength of his muscle and the sweat of his brow. The whole of his boyhood was such that he would not live it over again were it possible. From his eleventh year until now he has been constantly blessed with the luxury of hard manual labor. +

"He has shoveled dirt, worked on a farm, made a hand in a distillery, rolled cotton and tobacco on the Louisville wharf and driven team, which position he now holds. +

"In his 22d year he entered the Louisville Night Schools, and began where he left off when a boy--with the Third Reader. There he found a friend in the person of Prof. W. T. Peyton. He had never dreamed of writing verse. Prof. Peyton asked him to write a composition in prose. He selected a subject and was thinking about it, when all at once his thoughts ran into rhyme; and he actually composed his first verses while driving his team through the streets of Louisville. He knew no more about prosody than he now knows about Volapuk, but Prof. Peyton took great care to teach him and also to encourage him in his compositions. Mr. Cotter has written for the Cleveland Gazette and other race papers, and is destined to do much in the field of poetry and song."

1889 C H PARRISH ON COMMITTEE AT NAT. BAP CONVENTION WHICH DENOUNCED OUTRAGES AGAINST BLACKS IN GEORGIA

The (Indianapolis) Freeman, Sept 21, 1889

A committee of one member from each state represented at the "colored Baptists of America" drew up a petition to the President of the U.S. and the Attorney General denouncing treatment of blacks in the South in general and Georgia in particular. A copy was wired to the Pres.
In 1867 Ohio Lodge No. 1188 of Cleveland sent a delegation Louisville to open a Lodge in that city.

"On the evening of June 10, 1867, the first lodge of Odd Fellows was opened in the State which was called Union Lodge No. 1341. From this lodge eight other lodges, two Household of Ruths (for females) a Past Grand Masters' Council and one Patriarch have been instituted." Mr. Alexander Lilly began a movement to build a lodge, and a "...committee found a two-story brick building on Green street near Fourt, with eight rooms upon a lot 40 by 150 feet." The St. Luke lodge No. 1371 cooperated in this hunt for a building. "The two lodges were incorporated August 24, 1880." The Union Lodge paid $400 and the St. Luke lodge $300 for the property, as first payment. The total cost of $1,326.40 was paid in half the allotted time; the various lodges paided themselves rent and eventually all the lodges had a share except one. Upon accumulating $2,500 in rent money they began thinking of buying a new building. The board purchased a new hall for $10,000; it was dedicated Dec 27, 1885, and is located on the corner of 13th St and Walnut St. It is 3 stories high. Some of the rooms were rented out. On March 27, 1890 a tornado destroyed the building while one of the lodges was meeting. The room was torn off but nobody was killed. $700 has already been subscribed for rebuilding.

"The firm of Page, Yancy & Co., of Louisville, brick makers, does a business of $45,000.+

"The most remarkable businessman in Cleveland is Daniel Seals. He is said to have made thirty-four trips across the continent by rail"; he is an attorney who settles claims growing out of real estate transactions. Is worth $250,000. "The Rev. James Ramsey, of Hancock County, the largest individual holder in the bank, of Findlay, is worth $150.00. I believe these last two are in Ohio, though listed under KY."
"The third annual commencement of the city public schools was a grand affair. It took place at the opera house, on the evening of May 29th, and the exercises began at 8 p.m. It was under the supervision of Prof. J. W. Bate, principal, and Misses Susie E. Henry, Louisville, Ky., Mamie B. Smith, of Danville, and Miss Lizzie E. Green, of Danville, Ky. The exhibition of the primary and the intermediate department was given May 29th. The trustees, J. G. Green, chairman; O. Tinsley, and A. Burnsides. The success of the school is due largely to the excellent work of Mr. Bate and his able corps of teachers. Mr. Bate has lived in Danville for the last nine years and has a reputation beyond reproach. He is a graduate of Berea College, of Madison Co., Kentucky. He was born in Louisville, Ky., in 1855 and his early boyhood was spent in that city. He was married in 1887 to Miss Eda Lindsey, of Lexington, Ky. He is a christian gentleman, and a member of the Congregational church of this city. He has the confidence and esteem of all the citizens of this place, regardless of politics or color, in fact, his success has been wonderful. By close application and industry he has accumulated property to the amount of $4,000, and is one of our best citizens." signed G. Danville, Ky.

"J.J.C.McKinley, Journalist, Pedagogue and Rounder--A Prominent Lodge Man and District Secretary of the Odd Fellows of Kentucky. Written expressly for The Freeman." Born Russellville, Logan Co, Ky, 1852. His mother, Mrs. Millia Bibb, moved to Louisville when he was 6 mos. old. He entered Berea College, at Berea, Kentucky, at eighteen, in the intermediate department in 1870, and reached the preparatory department, by close study, in four years. He was forced to leave school in four years, on account of the stringency of his finances and his mother loosing in the Freedmans Bank what money she had amassed by years of economy and care. In the fall of 1874 he accepted the principalship of a school at Danville, Ky., and in 1875 he accepted a position as teacher in the public schools of Louisville, where he has taught every since. Mr. McKinley has not only been a very able writer for the press, but also an untiring, assiduous student and reader of the current literature of the day. He made his debut in journalism in the fall of 1875 as Louisville correspondent to the American Citizens, published in Lexington, Ky. In 1878 he was correspondent for the Western Review which was edited by the Hon. George W. Williams, known to fame as a lawyer and historian. The Chicago Conservator secured his services in 1879, and as 'Mack,' his name, became a household word in the west. In 1880 he became one of the associated editors of Louisville Bulletin, and remained with that paper until it sold out to the American Baptist. In 1885, through the persuasion of Ewd. E. Cooper, he wrote for the Indianapolis World, during this time he was editor, under the none- de-plume of 'Heft.' When Mr. Cooper retired from the World, Mr. McKinley retired from journalism, and has since devoted his leisure time to the
collection of facts and statistics pertaining to the social and industrial progress of the colored people of Louisville. The correspondents of the American press, who furnish pabulum for the reading public are divided into two classes. To the first-class belongs the speculative, brooding thinker whose mission is to point out the follies and inconsistencies of the day. To the second-class belongs the painstaking, patient news-gathers, whose ambition is to inform the people of the great changes, events and things happening every day. Mr. McKinley belongs to the latter class. His correspondence is marked by apt sayings and convincing illustrations. He uses only the most familiar words, but knows how to give them a new meaning and force. He understands the art of condensing whole paragraphs into a few short pithy sentences and is often brilliant, but never dull." He is "one of the most prominent Odd Fellows in the State. ...In 1881 he was elected District Secretary of kentucky...."

"Mr. McKinley cares but little for politics or government offices. He was solicited to apply for a position in the treasury department, under the Hon. B.K.Bruce. In 1882 he visited Washington and viewed the places where diamonds are allowed to loose their luster and brilliant minds decay, so he took no further steps for a place."

"As changes were coming about and better feelings existed between the colored and white people in 1878 he was a member of the convention which memorialized the State Legislature for better school facilities, and was one of the committee to present the resolutions drafted. In 1882 he was also a member of the convention which petitioned to the legislature for equal per capita for colored children. Both of these memorials were adopted of and granted to the colored people better schools and better pay for the teachers." signed: Albert White, Louisville

THE INDIANAPOLIS FREEMAN CARRIED ARTICLE OF PERSONAL NEWS FROM KY PERIODICALLY

It would be things like who is visiting Owensboro, the movement of ministers in Danville, who is off to college, etc. Mostly 1890-91 period

They are signed "Kentucky Girl"; "Ah! Cee";
Says Albert Mack is a young man with a motive. The need of a YMCA for blacks (the whites rejected black membership, apparently) was seen by Mack. "In 1885 Mack organized a Christian Association in Louisville with such a purport, and the beginning was started, which has resulted in the national Y.M.C.A.'s of the colored race. The path of rectitude was opened up and explained; the scums and disreputable resorts, and dens of the gamblers were entered by this young man and his disciples. Reading rooms were established, where congregated the once vicious and unconcerned. In 1888 this association extended its labors and resolved itself into national organization, holding its first general convention, June of that year. In 1889 a disturbing element arose, yet, undaunted, he persevering pushed right ahead and even with a small following laid plans for the erection of a building for the association to cost $130,000. The convention of this year will be held in New Orleans Oct., 26 to 30 and much interest is centered in its deliberation. ... The life mission of the man is to help humanity, to teach true manhood and to elevate the deprave /sic/ young men of his the Negro race." signed Damon.

Albert Mack, "Chief" of the YMCA wrote the Freeman from Louisville: Mack said it had been a very difficult task getting the national YMCA off the ground; then wrote:

"Perhaps a short history of the National Y.M.C.A. will not be amiss to the many readers of your paper and doubtless many have read without knowing its true origin. But as a pioneer in the said work, let me inform them that in 1887 a committee comprising three, Albert Mack, Albert S. White and John W. Bernes, issued a call for a National Convention in the city of Louisville, which did not meet with a very favorable response, and the idea was adjourned and a call made for a National Convention to meet in the same city in 1889, which was more flattering and which secured the attendance of twenty delegates who lent every effort of success. The convention adjourned to meet in the city of New Orleans in 1890. We are proud to say now that the National Y.M.C.A. is on a firm and business-like basis, and has been incorporated according to the laws of Kentucky, with corporate powers and privileges." Mack went on to point out that the expenses for the 1888 Louisville meeting were $152 with only $25.40 collected, making him responsible for the remainder. The second Louisville convention cost $150 and raised only $75, the remainder donated by Mack. To date the Assn has "paid out $239.15 and has collected only $148.20, and the amount paid out over the amount collected is $89.95. The indebtedness of the association is now only $58.30, due to the Snider Publishing Co., of Louisville, and $3 to the Central Traffic Association, of Chicago, Ill." Mack believes prospects for raising money for a permanent building are good and he hoped The Freeman would "...allow us the privilege of starting a fund through the columns of your paper." signed"Albert Mack, Chief."
Correspondent "Kentucky Girl" writing from Maysville, Ky., said that a recent article in the Cincinnati Post had discussed the immorality of the black people in that city. "Mr. Rudd, editor of the Catholic Tribune, thought it originated from the immoral and godless public schools. Mr. Peter H. Clark being once principal of Gaines's High school took offense at this clause and needs must heap the blame on Kentucky. He speaks of it being a hot bed of crime; I will say just here, that Kentucky with her record of blood and crime, is not so bad as she is painted. If Mr. Clark would take the trouble to look up statistics he would find that there were more murders committed in Hamilton and adjoining counties in 1889 than in the whole state of Kentucky. Now where does the hot bed lie?" He refers to duels, horse racing as evidence of evil. Kentucky Girl denies the bad influence of racing and says "Where will you find on the face of the globe a more loyal, big hearted and generous people than in Kentucky?"

RACE DEVELOPMENTS IN LOUISVILLE (1891)


"We had occasion to visit this city and after we had failed to transact the business which brought us to the city, went out to see the town. We were here just ten hours and here is what we learned and saw: Louisville, while a typical southern city, possesses considerable northern push and enterprise. It has fifteen railroads running into it, and lays /sic/ opposite the great falls of the beautiful Ohio river. It has a population of 200,000, about one-fourth of whom are colored people. The races get along very nicely--seemingly like water and oil--the whites at the top and the Negroes at the bottom. It occurs to us what splendid opportunities here are open to colored men for commercial and political recognition. With 50,000 colored people, what an excellent place for Negro merchants. Not a drug store, not a dry goods store, not a shoe store, not a tailor shop or clothing store, not a colored policeman or fireman. Where are the leaders and what are they doing? And yet we have never met a brainer, finer set of men than we meet in Louisville. They only have to learn the lesson of unity. THE EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK. +

"We did not visit the schools, it being Saturday, but we know of their efficiency and high rank. The largest public school in America for colored youths is in charge of Prof. Maxwell here, and in the very large corps of colored teachers are found some of the best educators in the country. Indiana is well represented here by two Normal School graduates, Prof. W.H. Perry and A.E /sic/ Meyzeek, both of whom hold principalship. Ohio is represented by Profs. Maxwell, Peyton, Simpson and others, while Prof.
McKinly, Annis, Tsylor and a score or more of beautiful young women represent Kentucky. NEWSPAPERS+

"There are three colored journals published here. The American Baptist, The Ohio Falls Express, and The Champion. The American Baptist is one of the oldest race journals published, and is now edited and published by Wm. H. Steward, who is prominently connected with the State University and Sunday School work in this State. The Ohio Falls Express is also a land-mark in race journalism. It is more than ten years old, an is owned by Dr. W. H. Fitzbutler, who is also a practical surgeon and president of the Louisville National Medical College. The Champion is a New Richmond in the field, so to speak, and has just celebrated its first anniversary by donning a new dress. It is published by a company of active men, most of whom hold places under the government, and it is therefore an administration organ. Louisville is an inviting field for journalism, and some of these days will develop a man who is bigger than any faction, bigger than his enemies, and with the real interest of the race at heart, will issue a really great journal. RAMBLING +

"We paid the Louisville National Medical College a visit, and entered just in time to hear an interesting lecture to a class of twenty bright students of both sexes by Dr. Conrad. This school is a success. It has purchased its own building for $5,000 and is well patronized. Its leading backers are Drs. W. A. Burney, W. H. Fitzbutler, Porter and others. Dr. Burney lives in new Albany, /sic/ Ind., just across the river from Louisville, and has the largest and most lucrative practice of any physician in that city.+

"There are a number of first-class saloons and barber shops here. The boarding houses and restaurants are also numerous, but they do not advertise, preferring to place their lights under a tub. The new postmaster has treated the race exceptionally fair, by retaining all of the old colored force, and appointing a great many new ones.+ "The legal fraternity is also well represented by Messrs. Black and Harper and J. H. Lawson who is a graduate and a fluent speaker. Messrs. Harper and Black have a large and growing practice. In the real estate and loan business we found an exceptionally bright and successful young man in the person of Mr. Solomon Stone, who, without assistance and previous training has accumulated a snug fortune. +

"We met Dr. Garnett, the new president of the State University, and at his invitation visited the school. There was a marked change in our visit of a year ago and this one. Then we met in the president's office, Dr. W. J. Simmons and Miss Lucy Wilmot Smith and had a pleasant chat. Dr. Simmons was just putting the finishing touches to his monument=='Men of Mark.' He was the picture of health and energy. Miss Smith had finished her education and was just beginning to win fame as a writer. They have both joined the 'great caravan.' To-day in the same room sat Prof. J. J. C. McKinley and the writer. The room was changed. The furniture and desk of Dr. Simmons had gone. The old pictures and chairs too, had departed, and while this sad reflection was engaging our mind, in stepped Dr. Garnett. The impression he made on us was a good one. He is well informed man and understands thoroughly the management of the work before him. He is the right man in the right place, and the Baptists of the State should rally to his support. We shall say more of him later.+

"The Freeman is liked here, and our agent, P. J. Cooper has done yeoman service. He says he will have two thousand subscribers before '92."
BRIEF BIOG REV. G.E.SCOTT; OF LOUISVILLE (1891)

The (Indianapolis) Freeman, Mar 14, 1891

"A Progressive Minister, Rev. G.E. Scott, Louisville, Ky. For the Freeman+
"G. E. Scott was born in Owen county Kentucky, his parents being owned
by a white family by the name of Moss. At six years he was sold to John
Hall in Scott county. He remained with Mr. Scott as a body servant until
seventeen years of age; he then entered Berea College, in Madison county
Kentucky, but remained there only a short time owing to ill health and lack
of money. Going to Xenia, Ohio, he finished his course in the high school,
and accepted a call to the pastoral charge of the 1st Baptist Church of
Mechanicsburg, O. Having paid the church out of debt, he accepted a call to
London, Ohio, where he was very successful. Then he began to hold out door
meetings with 5,000 to 10,000 people under his voice nightly. He has
established and paid out of debt about seventeen churches, and, also,
baptised between fifteen hundred and two thousand persons. His last charge
in Ohio was in Toledo. He then established one church in Kansas and three
in Kentucky. His present church, in Louisville, is known as Gladstone
Baptist Church, which he has remodelled at an expense of twenty thousand
dollars, which he raised in about six months; it is one of the largest
colored Baptist Churches in the South. God took from his side some years
ago his loving wife, Mrs. K. Scott; he then married a Miss Parthenia Carter,
who is an entelligent /sic/ lady, and is suitable in every respect for a
minister's wife." signed P.J.C.

BRIEF BIOG OF HENRY FITZBUTLER: DEAN LOU NAT. MED. SCH (1891)

The (Indianapolis) Freeman, April 11, 1891

"Dr. Henry Fitzbutler was born in Amherstburg, Ont., Canada, Dec. 22d,
1842 of white and colored parents. His mother was an English woman and his
father was a Negro. They were married. He was reared on a farm and his
education was obtained in common schools of Canada. He taught
for a number of years and in 1866 married Miss Sarah Helen McCurdy, of
Amhurstburg, Ont. After marrying he decided he would read medicine, and
matriculated at Michigan University, from which place he graduated in March
1872. He came to Louisville in July of the same year and decided to cast
his lot with the people here and practice medicine. He attracted much
attention at once, he being the first regular physician of the race to
enter upon the practice of medicine in the State of Kentucky. He has been
practicing regularly ever since he came to the city and has done some fine
surgical work. He is recognized by the medical profession as a well
informed physician and he has the confidence of his patients. Ever since
he came to Louisville it has been his ambition to establish a medical
school. He has endeavor ed to get the plan so arranged as to have associated
with him person /sic/ of the profession that the matter could be presented
to the legislature to secure a charter for such a school. He secured the
cooperation of Drs. W.A.Burney and Rufus Conrad to petition the legislature
for a charter. At the session of 1888 an 'Act to incorporate the Louisville
National Medical College' was passed and signed by the Governor on April
24th, 1888, and the same went into effect immediately. Drs. Fitzbutler,
Burney and Conrad gave notice to the public that the school was ready
November 1888 for all persons, regardless of race, to matriculate. A
number of persons matriculated and lectures began at once in the U.B.F Hall.
In 1889 the faculty purchased the Louisville School of Pharmacy's Building for $5,000 and November 12, 1889 /sic/ lectures began in their own college building with some twenty or more students. If Dr. Fitzbutler should do no more for his race, he has reared a monument for himself in establishing this Medical College."

"While political theorists and race servants are cudgling their brains and springing their theories relative to the solving of the taxed 'Race Problem,' no race men or women throughout the country are doing more in that laudable direction, than the progressive spirits that comprise the Lexington, Ky, colored agricultural association that has been in existence and has at last begun to attract national notice. No district fair held in the West will surpass it in its exhibits and creditable display. The fair this year, which commenced Sept. 16 was a great success. The attendance being very large. Visitors were present from Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Pennsylvania. The attendance Thursday and Friday was way up in the Thousands. The Freeman was represented upon the ground by a tastefully arranged booth displaying the different features of The Freeman work and art, etc. Mr. E.E.Cooper Prop's accompanied by Mrs. Cooper and Mr. Chas. Stewart, city representative, were also present as guests. Great credit and praise is due President Lee and Secretary Harden for their intelligent and untiring affort /sic/ in making the fair a success."
The firm of Hunter and Robinson is well known in Lexington, having been begun 3 years ago by "two bright and promising men ... hung up their shingles, and awaited the course of events." Dr. P. D. Robinson is now a successful physician. Born in Phila; a self made man. Dr. J. E. Hunter born in W.Va. Jan 1, 1863, attended high school, a white baptist sent him to Dennison Unv to study for the ministry. Decided on medicine, entered Oberlin in fall of 1882, grad West. Reserve Sch Med in Cleveland, the only black in his class. Settled in Lex.

REGULATION FOR RECRUITING FREE BLACKS AND SLAVES (Apr 1864)

General Orders No. 34, April 18, 1864, District of Kentucky, entry 2177, RG 393, National Archives

"The recruiting of able-bodied slaves and free colored persons will be conducted within the limits of this State under the following restrictions:

1st The Assistant to the Provost Marshal General of the State the Provost Marshals of Districts, and the Deputy Provost Marshals in each county are directed to receive and regularly enlist as soldiers in the service of the United States all able-bodied negro slaves and free colored persons of lawful age, who may apply to them to be enlisted, and in case of slaves whose owners may request the enlistment, and no one will be permitted to recruit or enlist such slaves or force colored persons save such Provost Marshals Deputy Provost Marshals and authorized agents.

2d. As soon as enlisted the recruit will be forwarded to the Provost Marshal of the district for muster into the service of the United States; and as soon as mustered and squads of such recruited are collected, they will be at once forwarded to the general rendezvous at Louisville, thence forwarded by the Commandant of the rendezvous to the nearest rendezvous camp of instruction outside of the State for the purpose of being equipped and assigned to companies and regiments.

3d. It shall be the duty of the Provost Marshal whenever he accepts and musters into the service of the United States a slave belonging to a citizen of the State to give the citizen such certificate of the fact in duplicate as will enable him to receive from the Government the compensation authorized by law for such recruits." Any person who attempts to enlist blacks by means other than this order to be arrested. Signed Brig. Gen. Burbridge.
Special Order No. 26, issued by Col D. A. Mims, from Headquarters, Louisa, Aug 31, 1864, to Col O.A. Bartholomew, commanding 109th USC Inf.

"Information has reached these Headquarters that certain men of your Regt. have this day resisted the civil law with guns and did forcibly take from the Sheriff of this County a Negro woman belonging to one William Ratliff a citizen. + 

"Your will immediately turn said woman outside of your lines, and arrest the men engaged in resisting the civil Authority and send them to these Headquarters for confinement until the case is reported to Dist. Head Quarters."

Col D.A. Mims to Capt. J. Bates Dickson, AAG, Dist of Ky, written from Louisa, Ky, Sept 3, 1864

"I have the honor to ask Brevt Major Gen Burbridge for instructions in reference to Negro Women & Children who leave their masters & come within the Guard lines of this Post. In some instances the Masters who are loyal men come & claim them, and have been unsuccessful in getting them away. + 

"On the 31st of Aug, 1864, the Sheriff of this Co. with a civil process arrested a Negress inside the Post Guard line but outside the guard line of the 109th USC. When he was assailed by some Fifteen or Twenty men of the 109th USC as he alleges with Guns and the Negro woman taken forcibly from him by the aforesaid Soldiers of the 109th and carried within the Guard lines of the Regt. Immediately on Receipt of the above information from the Sheriff I sent to Col O. A. Bartholomew of the 109th An order upon the subject. A copy of which is herewith inclosed, and also Col Bartholomew's reply. + 

"The subject is a delicate one for a Commanding officer to interfere with; and in the absence of any specific instructions on this head (?) I am at a loss what to do in the matter not wishing to come in collision with the Constituted Authorities. The above case with kindred practices is calculated to beget a bad state of feeling between Citizens & Soldiers now especially with Colored Troops. Since I have been in Command at this Post, I have labored to conciliate as much as lay in my power matters affecting the civil and the U.S. Government." He wanted instructions.
CAPT BARTHOLOMEW'S INVESTION OF BLACKTROOPS AT LOUISA TAKING WOMAN FROM CIVIL AUTHORITIES (Aug 1864)


Bartholomew has received Sp ord No. 26, directing him to arrest blacks who took black woman from sheriff. "...I have investigated the case so far as the limited time has permitted and feel warranted in saying that the information which has reached your Head Q's has no foundation in fact. The Sheriff of the County was in my camp on yesterday, but has not been to day that I have been informed, he was however in the vicinity of the Guard line, and used very threatening and as I am informed by a sentinel on duty insulting language towards me and my command. The woman spoken of came into my camp several days ago with her husband, when I directed that She could not remain, as we do not employ women in any capacity and She at once left and I was not aware that she had returned until I began the investigation the results of which I forward to your Head Q's. As it is now dark and She has no place to go, I have not sent her out side my lines." OA Bartholomew.

BLACK SOLDIERS IN TEXAS COMPLAIN ABOUT TREATMENT OF FAMILIES STILL IN KY (May 1866)

Capt G.E. Stanford, Sargt W.P. Southwith, Sargt McNear, Corpl John Daniels, Corpl McPealins, Privet William Berry to the President and the Secretary of War, from Whites Ranch, Texas, May 30, 1866, Letters Received, entry 360, P-163, 1866, rg 94, national archives.

"Sir I has the corner this morning to adress a few lines to yo Consuring the condishion of Our Famileys of Kentucky. A humble Good and faithful Soldier the few remarks I wish to say is that the condishion of Our Famileys at home sum of them are Suffer for wanting of healp and Needing of retention and reason why I wish to inform of this. is becase that I Know that my Own Familey is Liven in Old Kentucky under just as much Slave as She was When I left her or before the war broke out. and agre many of Other men's Famileys is Liven the Same Life. Now Mr. President and Ceterry. When We in listed in this great and Noble coas we did not heasertate the Least. Bu t we cam Out like Men and Stud With in the feenal. With..." to fulfill their duty. They have fought well "Blood upto Our chins" Now they ask the Pres to consider their plight. They have worked hard, on picket duty, etc, but few have received furloughs, etc. Says the men "...has not any Way to Send Our Money home the men that dos home they libes in adfrent part of the State. and thire is no Person that we could trust for we has sent large amounts of Money to our famileys. and the has not got it and I Knows that thire is a Numbers of Our famileys has ben turne Out of Doors, and they has no Place to lay thire heads and we has no Way to healp them. Now Mr President and Ceterry I think that a duble (?) as we has ben and has Prove it to the World. and then to have thire nomore quarters Shorn to us then What has ben I dont think it is right. it is true that all Soldiers Should Obay all Orders Wich the 116 Regiment, USCol Inf. has don ever
BLACK SOLDIERS IN TEXAS COMPLAIN ABOUT TREATMENT OF FAMILIES STILL IN KY (May 1866) THEIR OWN TREATMENT

soldiers of 116th USCI. May 30, 1866, LR, e.360,P-163, rg 94, nat arc

since we has in the feal. Only one thing I suppose you know all about it that happen at city-point of, Va. but you know how that is where thire is a hundred Sheaps thire must be a Black one. But this is what pleas me. is this we has stud up like men man for man in the time of action in the feal of. Va. and Never has felench nor dreed the time up to this. Present moment. Mr. President and Ceterry ailet a moment to think what a Condishion We Kentucky s came out upon the Condishion that we left Our Famileys in yest. But the Way was oping that is very true that we Poome Nation of a Colored rast Might come out in Our Native State to rebind for Our Selfs and the Next Generation to come See how Willily We came. and Left Our States Our Wifes and Our homes and Children in such Ms away that they may do the best they can and to take care of thier thirselfs, ye. What Kind of fixt was it to, Now the Old Servent he has no Propty he has no Money he has no House to Put them in to. What is they to do now when they is turn out of House and home. I would like to know how awoule they go about taking care of thire Selfs and Children when this Poor Old Soldier had nothing to leave with them. No House to put them in to the old Servant has Spent the best of his days in Slavery. then must these Poore Cretachers be suffered to lye Out of Doors Like Beast or Sum brute. I say No. if Our Govener is for us a poore unhappy Soldar Wich has Stud. With Comrights to comrights. and Sholder to Sholder Marching Boldly in the feal. And then Suffer his Soldiers Famileys and Pirrints. to Suffer With Such Punishment is that I thinks not. Now Mr. President and Ceterry You Need not to think that we holds you all asponerbul. for such treatment for we do not. We believe the govener is just. and in Our feal Officers and Company

Commanders Would use the Laws acorden to the Law of the regeleations that is gaven to them bu the House of Congress. Why we dont think that Such treatment Would be don and Mr. President. is it Lawful for a Company Officers to Detail Men Soldiers out of thire Companys to Wait upon them as a Servant. and Boot-blacker or a cook and Keep the. I dont think thire is any Such law is that. in the regeleations. and then at the same time gave them the Power to Punish them at the full Extent as if a Genel cort marshel might Punish a Soldier when he has don a great crime. Now Mr. President and Ceterry I hope that there is no harm in Doing this I shall close I remain Your true Believer and Well Wisher." signed
ANONY BLACK TROOP IN LEX COMPLAINS ABOUT TREATMENT OF FAMILIES


"We are here and our wives and children are laying out doers and we have no chance to get a home for them. We haven't had six days furlough to see our wives and we have been in the army fourteen months. These officers are laying here and leaving us nothing instead of them leaving us something. They are robbing us out of our money. They are taking our rations and selling them. We are keeping the money. I think it is mighty hard for us. No stand that after just coming from under bondage, their men that have never had the chance to learn anything, they will give them change for a one dollar for a fifty dollars in stead of teaching them better that is the way they treat them. We come in three years or sooner discharge we would be willing to serve three years longer under these circumstances. It would dishearten any one and half to pay thirty dollars for a ten days pass when our wives come to the camp. See us, they are not allowed to come in camp and we are not allowed to go out and see them. They are droned off and the officers lays for you damned bitches. You know that it is too much. They are treated so by these officers; they ought to be a friend to us and then to the major makes his bragges that he will keep these damned niggers in until he makes a fortune. They have us cleaning up farms and cutting up stumps for these citizens and they pay the officers for it and they are allowing these citizens to run over us. If we say anything to them, we are put in jail and two or three months pay docked from us. If you please to allow us the privilege of going home to situate our families for the winter, we hate to see them laying and strolling around but we can't help it.

—we 72'-72c7 141/48

ANONY BLACK TROOP IN LEX COMPLAINS ABOUT TREATMENT OF FAMILIES (Oct 1855)


Our Selves we are able to situate them by labors if they will allow us the privilege we have paid nine hundred dollars for the raising of our brass band. Now they want to claim the instruments off of us. It is now more than what our masters would have done the lost of this fifth regiment is over thirteen hundred dollars by these officers. I think it is mighty hard for us to lay here and they fool with us that way. When they here of us being mustered out they say that they will right to Washington and they will hold us they say if they can hold us any other way they will move us out of the State. Shame Shame Shame how we are treated. They will not let us teaked (?) out Side of the Sutlers. If we do, they want to punish us thing that the Sutler has got that is only worth a dollar. They charge us seven or eight dollars if you want to by anything out side. They say know God dam you go to the Sutler and by. I must bring my letter to a close. 5 U.S. & C. Cav Your most devoted Soldier until death."

An enlistment office in Danville was opened. "At a very early hour our streets were thronged with negroes of all ages, and a perfect rush was made upon the office of the recruiting agent for the enrollment of their names. There was no distinction made between loyal and disloyal owners—the property was received alike. The larger portion of them thus enrolled were formed in line on the street and marched off for the purpose of reporting at some point of rendezvous. The last squad that left—some twenty-five or thirty in number—were mobbed by a number of young men and boys, and one or two of them very severely injured. The negroes, however, took to their heels, and doubtless we were thus saved from a very serious and deplorable disturbance."

"This matter caused great excitement and indignation among our citizens. Their negroes were taken from them at a time when they could not easily spare them."

OFFICIALS DO NOT TAKE ALL SLAVES THAT VOLUNTEER IN LEBANON AREA (May 1864) (OPPOSITION TO BY OWNERS)

Tri-Monthly Report of Business and General Transactions, Asst Provost Marshal General of Ky, 4 District of Kentucky, entry 3980, RG 110 nat arch. 1 volume

No disturbances have taken place. "The late order opening the doors of the service to Colored men, regardless of the wishes of the owner, has caused some excitement in the dist. Slaves have offered themselves in such numbers that I have been obliged to turn them off for a time."

Capt Wm C. Grier to Maj. W. H (or W.H.) Sidell, April 7, 1864, dated from Greensburg, Provost Marshal, Office, 9th dist of Ky. Sidell in Louisville with 15th US Infantry, RG 110, entry 4135.

Says roll for all counties except Montgomery and Bath are in and those two will be in soon. "63 Negroes were enrolled in the district at the time the white Enrolment was made. They are a part of them, re-enrolled, but in my consolidated sheets, I will leave out those before enrolled and send these as additional. The first Enrolment of them was very imperfect, as many enrolling Officers ignored their Orders on the Subject: Shall I make out cards for the Negroes immediately?"

QUESTIONS OF PAYMENT FOR SLAVES ENROLLED TO BE DECIDED LATER

Maj Sidell to Dickson, May 25, 1864, from Louisville, letters sent, asst provost marshal for Ky, vol 3, entry 3962, RG 110, nat arch.

"Questions as to the payment of commutation by drafted slaves or their Masters and the substitution of one slave for another in the draft have been the subject of correspondence with this office. When cases actually arise in the progress of the draft, let the facts of the case and particulars be reported." Then appended, "You will not decide cases of this kind but will keep a record of either case for reference to the P. M. General." Signed Maj. 15th US Inf, AAPMG.
Capt Wm. C. B Grier to Col James B. Fry, April 10, 1864, from Greensburg Provost Marshal Office, 9th dist of Ky, to Fry in Washington, D.C. RG 110, entry 4/135.
Says "Several applications have been made by masters to enlist their slaves."


"There are four hundred Colored recruits here awaiting to enlist & more are coming in every hour they apply to me as many of them have been with in my employ I could easily recruit two Regiments here do you wish me to receive and care for them please inform me at once by Telegraph." signed T.E. Hall.
2000 RECRUITS AT CAMP NELSON (June 1864)

Thos D. Sedgewick to W. H. Sidell, Telegram June 7, 1864, from Lexington, in Telegrams Received, Asst. Pro. Mar. for Ky, entry 3971, rg 110, nat arch.

Says there are 2000 recruits at Camp Nelson. (Sedgewick says) He wanted to meet Sidell at the Galt House in Louisville to talk about these recruits.

BLACKS FILL DRAFT REQUIREMENTS FROM JESSAMINE CO (May 1864)

Capt Thos H. Moore of 7th dist to Maj W. H. Sidell, May 12, 1864, from Lexington (a Telegram), in Telegrams Received, Asst. Provost Marshal for Ky, entry 3971, rg 110 Nat Arch

"Today my deputy worked of Jessamine County brought up enough negroes to fill quota of Jessamine County I enlisted them and did not draft the county Gen Burbridge thinks it ought not to relieve the county from the draft please instruct me in regard to it"
BURBRIDGE ORDERS ANY PERSON INTERFERING WITH THE DRAFTING OR
ENLISTING OF BLACKS ARRESTED (May 1864)

Burbridge to Maj W. H. Sidell, Telegram May 13, 1864, from Lexington,
in Telegrams Received, Asst Prov. Mar. for Ky, entry 3971, rg 110,
nat archives.

"I advise that the provost marshals of the different districts be
instructed to arrest any person interfering in any way with the drafting
or enlisting of negroes"

ALL BLACKS WHO ENLIST ARE TO BE RECEIVED; ANYONE INTERFERING TO
BE ARRESTED (May 1864)

S.C. Burbridge to Maj. W.H. Sidell, Telegram May 13, 1864, from Lexington,
in telegrams received, Asst Provost Marshal for Ky, entry 3971, nat
archives, RG 110.

"Please direct all your Prov Marshals to receive all negroes who offer
themselves regardless of the wishes of their owners. Rebel sympathisers
are putting obstacles in the way & it is best to take a decided step to
have any person who interferes with the enlistment promptly arrested"
WASHINGTON INSTRUCTS THAT NEGROES CAN BE SUBSTITUTES FOR WHITES (May 14, 1866)

J. B. Fry from Washington to W. H. Sidell, telegram May 14, 1864, in telegrams received, asst provost marshal for ky, entry 3971, nat. archives, RG 110.

"negroes can be substituted for whites under Existing Laws"

MARION COUNTY CAN EASILY FILL DRAFT REQUIREMENTS WITH BLACKS (May 1864)

Capt James M. Fidler in Lebanon to Maj W. H. Sidell, telegram May 16, 1864, in telegrams received, asst prov. mar. for ky, entry 3971, nat. arch. RG 110.

"Marion County can fill her quota with Negroes"
Cap. Thos H. Moore in Lexington to W. H. Sidell, telegram May 24, 1864, in
Telegrams received, asst prov mar for Ky, entry 3971, nat arch, AG Mu
Moore reported that "my deputy from Boyle co will be here today with
two hundred negro recruits I am in the midst of my examinations my
surgeon is very busy can I employ other surgeons to assist to examine
the recruits"

BLAKS ARRIVE AT CAMP NELSON (July 1865)
fee to fisk, July 17, 1865, written from camp Nelson, registered letters
received, 1865, M-999, roll 1, records of the asst comm for the
state of tenn, brf1. rg 105.
frame 0053/ Fee says 3000 freemen at camp Nelson, from all parts of the
state; 228 came Saturday night from Bowling Green. /frame 0051/ They
have no money, and some are strangers to this area.
FEE URGES FISK TO HIRE AGENT TO FIND LOCATIONS, EMPLOYMENT, FOR REFUGEES AT CAMP NELSON (July 1865)

fee to fisk, from camp nelson dated july 18, 1865, records of the asst comm for the state of tenn, M-999, registered letters received, 1865, rg 105, roll 7.

frame 0075/ Fee urged Fisk to hire an agent "to go from place to place and find employment & locations for these colored refugees - just as agents for white refugee children from New York & other cities go." Says Ky needs the labor of the blacks. "Many of these slaveholders will refuse to hire but others will; for they must do this or do worse...." /Frame 0078/ The blacks should be encouraged to become land owners "soon as possible."

FEE ASKED TO SPEAK TO BLACKS IN LEX, DANVILLE AREA (Aug 1865)

fee to fisk, aug 9, 1865, written from camp nelson, records of the asst comm for the state of tenn, brf, M-999, registered letters received, 1865, rg 105, roll 8.7.

frame 0131/ School doing well; between 5 & 6 thousand pupils under regular instruction (daily). In a P.S. Fee said he had been invited to address the blacks in Lexington and Danville. /frame 0132/ He noted some hostility to himself in those areas. The blacks there had asked him to speak because they trust him (They "have confidence" in him.) "they are being freed by Genl Palmers Passes (over 8 thousand at this camp) and ask that I come and address them - 'tell them what to do' This is what Genl Palmer desired to have done."
Col & Chief of Sub Dist Chas F. Johnson in Bowling Green, to Trustee
Shaker Society in South Union, Oct 1, 1866, in Letters Sent (July 1866-
June 1868), Kentucky BRFAL, entry 1101, nat archives.

Johnson wrote the Trustees at Shaker town asking about Marrilla Fairbanks
who claimed she was left there at age 5 in about 1850-51. Johnson wanted
to know who left Marrilla there, any knowledge you possess, hist of her
entrance into society, her character, etc. "She claims to be the child
of a Mulatto woman (Father unknown) and has married a Mulatto man, but being
white in both color and features she is threatened with prosecution under
the state law prohibiting the intermarriage of Whites and Blacks. She
cannot establish the fact of being of Colored extraction unless through
your agency."

1867 REPORT ON FACILITIES, NEED FOR SCHOOLS IN SOU SUB DIST-BG

Col & Chief of the Southern Sub Dist Chas F. Johnson in Bowling Green,
"Report of facilities for the establishment of schools in the
Southern Sub District of Ky" per Circular No 8 Asst Comm. Office
State of Kentucky, undated /Jan 1867/, in Letters Sent (July 1866-
June 1868) Kentucky, BRAL, entry 1101, nat archives.

Adair Co. Cane Valley:
Adair Co. Cane Valley: about 50 pupils there. Columbia: 150 pupils. Millens Meeting
House: 75 pupils. Big Creek: 50 pupils, no suitable bldgs, public sentiment
strongly against schools for blacks & only military could keep them open.
ALLEN CO. Scottsville: 40 pupils, but neither land nor bldg, as whites
won't sell bldg for black schools. Only the military could keep a sch open.
BARREN CO. Glasgow: 75 pupils. The Freedmen own a bldg, 20 x 18 ft now
used as a school, two teachers supported by freedmen who also furnish
supplies. School "is under the Charge of Robert Everett James Wilson Calvin
Ritter and other Colored persons" Cave City: 40 pupils, no suitable bldg,
"Ned Triggs (Colored) will give the land and the Freedmen will erect the
bldg, 18 x 18 feet if materials are supplied by the Government." Freedmen
"are able and willing to pay for the tuition" and books. Triggs is a
"responsible person" "interested in the education of freedmen." Whites
hostile to black education.

BUTLER, CHRISTIAN, CLINTON, COS, no report.

CUMBERLAND CO. Sugar Grove: 50 pupils, no bldg available. Robt Young
"will give a free lease of land sufficient fo the" sch; also timber for sch.
Freedmen will cut & haul timber and assist in building a 32 x 24 ft bldg; govt will have to pay
$130. for materials and labor. Nathaniel Price, an"Octroon educated at
Oberlin" will be supported by freedmen as teacher; says freedmen are
able to pay tuition, books. & it Whites not hostile to schools.
EDMONSON CO. "There are not a sufficient number of freedmen at any one locality in this County to require a school."

GREEN CO. Greensburg: 60 pupils estimated. "The freedmen own a church at this locality and are willing to loan the same for school purposes it will cost $100.00 to repair and fit for a school room. Teachers will be required from abroad and can board and lodge near the church at $10.00 per month." Whites will not aid; freedmen too poor to provide for school or books. But "The freedmen will furnish fuel and lights for day and evening schools, and will take care of the school room." "Mr. John Sweeney (race not given, probably white) is the only one in this section favorable to the education of the freedmen."

HART CO. Horse Cave: 50 est. pupils; govt making arrangement to rent land and build a 18 x 16 ft schoolhouse. Must get teacher "from abroad" who will have to pay $10.00 mo board & Lodge. Whites will not help. "The freedmen will pay for books & at cost prices and furnish fuel and lights for day and evening schools." Woodsville: 30 est. pupils. "The freedmen will pay the rent for a suitable room and furnish fuel and lights & pay for books at cost prices." Will have to bring in teachers who will have to pay $10 mo room & board. Whites will not help.

Munfordville: est 50 pupils. "The freedmen will furnish a room, fuel and lights and pay for the books at cost prices. Must bring in teachers at $10 mo room & board. No govt bldgs available, no assistance from whites as public sentiment is hostile to education of blacks.

LOGAN CO. no report
1867 REPORT ON FACILITIES, NEED FOR SCHOOLS IN SOU SUB DIST-BG

SIMPSON CO. Franklin: 35 blacks for sch, no suitable bldg. "the freedmen own a lot 165 x 60 feet which they purchased with the intention of erecting a Church. they will give a portion of it if a school house is erected upon it say 30 x 20 feet which will cost from $500 to $550. Freedmen will contribute $200.00 for the advancement of their school and all other expenses will be required to be paid by the government." Whites hostile to ed. of freedmen, "but not as intense as formerly."

TODD CO. no report.

WARREN CO. Bowling Green: over 200 est pupils "would attend a free school. The freedmen at this place are now paying $120.00 per annum for two buildings they are totally unfit for school purposes. Thos Calvert will give one eighty (1/8) of an acre of land upon which a school house could be erected or a building purchased and removed upon the same. Buildings formerly belonging to the Government can be purchased at a cost of $200.00 or $300.00 including removal the furniture not estimated. Teachers (with one exception) will be required from abroad and can board and lodge at $3.50 to $6.00 per week." Whites will not help. "the freedmen will furnish fuel and lights and pay for books & at cost prices. The schools at this place are now supported by those freedmen who can afford to pay the expenses of the same but they are entirely inadequate to the wants of the Colored population."

Bristow Station: "there is one school (new) of 21 pupils at this locality supported by the freedmen who have contracted with the teacher for one year. the number could be increased if the books..."

WAYNE CO. Mill Springs: about 75 pupils. "a school house will be furnished to the freedmen gratuitously." must bring in teachers. "Fuel and lights will be furnished by the freedmen and a few citizens (white)."

Monticello: about 100 pupils. Newberry: about 75 pupils. Otter Creek: about 50 pupils, no suitable bldg; one will cost $500-600. Must bring in teachers at $300 a wk room and board. "Fuel and lights will be furnished, but no other assistance will be given by the Citizens. Public sentiment in this county is improving in favor of the education of the Freedmen, but no assistance ... except will Messrs Allen R. West and Addison Lanier (white?)." signed Chas F. Johnson
Linton Slaughter, colored, bg
James B. Wallace, col, bg
Mrs Mary E. Moore, col, Glasgow
Wm Churchill, col, Russellville
Mollie Johnson, col, Russellville
P.J. Thompson, white, Drakes Creek, Warren Co.

Reynolds reported to Noble that "...the Freedmen at Cave City have completed a building to be used for school purposes and they desire that the Bureau furnish them a competent teacher. +

"Thirty six scholars will attend the school at its commencement and increase to forty after the first month. +

"I would respectfully request that a Colored Teacher be furnished, as in my opinion (and from information which I have received) a white teacher would not be allowed to remain there, and the school would be broken up."
A. Benson Brown, chief sub asst comm, bowling green, to Robert Young, Feb 21, 1868, letters sent (july 1866-june 1868) ky, brfal, entry 1101, nat arch, RG 105

"I am anxious to commence your school lately broken up by rebels and to know what you deem necessary in the case so that it can speedily be reopened.+

"The Bureau will assist the school at the rate of Ten (10) per month and perhaps will increase that amount after it gets fairly started.+

"Can a suitable building be obtained and a local teacher."

1868 REPORT ON GENERAL CONDITIONS OF FREEDMEN IN SOU SUB DIST-BG

"General Condition of the Freedmen," report by A. Benson Brown, Capt. and Chief Sub Asst Comm, Bowling Green, undated /Feb 1868/, letters sent, (july 1866-june 1868) ky, brfal, entry 1101, nat arch, RG 105.

CONTRACTS: "The Bureau system of contracts is not improved. The negroes do not avail themselves of its advantages and the rebel inhabitants seeing that they are not compelled by the Bureau or the freedmen before they begin their labor substitute their own plan, which is to take them by themselves and confidentially inform them that they will give them a certain amount and do better than that." The blacks are fooled and is often dismissed before he gets his pay. (threatened in some way that the black leaves, thus the white owner says he left before he finished his contract.)

APPRENTICESHIPS: Parents complain about the treatment of their children, but are too poor to take their complaint into court.

fine handwriting writing, light, hard to read; does not look like a very illuminating report.

Conditions very poor. They are socially and morally degraded because of slavery. A great many idle & shiftless. Many outrages. A Bowling Green teacher, Mrs. S. A. S'ldwin received a note threatening her if she did not leave in 5 days.

Bowling Green, Ky, June 20, 1866 Petition:

We they Colored Citizens of Bowling Green Kentucky, Have assembled, to night, for the purpus, of making an application for the Freed Men Beaur, here as we are very much intruded, on here and have been every since the Beaur were moved, they Trustees, have enaced the following Laws. they have asestablished a Police gard, and ored them to take all arms from Negroes, The have all ready took some guns from men that were muster out of serves, and put a find on them for having them, and if they refuse to pay said find they are put in prison, the guns that was taking from them, they bought from the Goverment and have receipts. As to sure they paid for them. +

"Mr Washington Speadling Sir will you be so Kind as to see they officer of the Freed Mens Beaur, and Know of him if their cant be something done for us. Please attend to this immediately and return an answer, Yours Respectfully &

Daniel W. Higdon.

1867 REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN RUSSELLVILLE (july)

Nelson Baner, chief agent, to Col Chas F. Johnson, dated July 27, 1867, from Russellville, in letters received, unregistered, (apr 1866-july 1868), entry #06, Kentucky BRFAL, nat archives, RG 105, S. x+2

Russelville: 80 scholars studying in colored people's church, 40 x 60 ft. need teacher, books.

SOME EXAMPLES OF LABOR CONTRACTS 1868

May 7, 1868: J. Adams and Lilburn Lilly who signed with his mark. Lilborn agreed to labor for Adams on Adams' farm near Henderson "for the crop season Say until the 1 Nov next at Eighteen dollars per month to be paid at end of each month." He agreed to "work faithfully and behave himself orderly and in the event he loses time the time lost is to be deducted from his wages..." (on a form)

Jan 1868 between H. M. Alexander and Elias Alexander who signed with his mark. H. M. to furnish a house for Elias' family "in consideration of the services of the said Elias family" a garden spot and necessary fire wood, tools, teams and their feed, etc. Elias to get 1/2 the crop. Elias' wife is to provide "services in Washing & Milking" All this for the year 1868. (all written on a sheet of paper)

Jan 4, 1868: Wick Bradley contracted to work for P A Hudson of Woodville, McCracken Co, as a farmer for 1 yr. Each would share 1/2 the crop; Both Hudson and Bradley signed their mark X.

Mar 9, 1868: Ruben Murphy (col) agreed to work for Daniel Gray for the year 1868 in Burkesville. Gray to provide a house to live in, land for gardens, tobacco plants. Rubin to pay 1/3 of the crop to Gray (of corn and tobacco). Murphy is to cut and repair fence rails; "Murphy is to furnish team and tools to make the above mentioned Corp with at his own expense. Said Murphy is to make no waste of timber." Could only burn waste wood. To
Capt Jos C. Rodriques to Col Chas F. Johnson, dated April 9, 1867, in Bowling Green, in Letters Sent (Sept 1866-Dec 1867), entry 11118, brfal, Kentucky, national archives, RG 105, N0.70.

Rodriguez said he had investigated the school at Drakes Creek: "The school is located at that place, about two and a half miles from Bristow Station, taught by Mr. P. J. Tompson, a native of Ohio, who in my opinion is qualified to teach the Freedmen. Said school was under the supervision of three respectable freedmen, who own some Sixty and Seventy Acres of land, each, and some houses. They acted as Trustees and were to collect from parents payment for tuition of their children. The Amount whatever it would be was to pay the teacher at the rate of $25 per month, and the remainder if any, to purchase books. They gave the building for school purposes and lodging to teacher, 'only,' but it appears that the freedmen can not pay tuition and are in Arrears. The three Trustees having large families of their own cannot take the burden upon themselves to pay the Teacher. Mr Tompson has taught three months, his Salary amounting to $75. whereas he has received but $10 and is a man of family. They are perfectly contented with him, and desire the school to continue, but say it cannot unless they receive aid from the U.S. Government, therefore they ask that the Bureau pay the Teacher's Salary and furnish the books."+

"At a meeting held by them on the 3d inst they passed the following resolution, 'viz' 'Resolved, that we the Trustees of Drakes Creek, Warren Co. Ky. do hereby pledge ourselves to furnish a school house lodging, board, and fuel for the Teacher, also, obligate ourselves to furnish tables, desks, and black board for the benefit of the poor and orphans of the District or County.'+

"The foregoing was pledged by Henry Dobbins, Wiley Bly (Ply), Jerry Trig, Benjamin Kelly, George W. Hackney, Barnett H. Cathick. +

"The number of scholars in attendance as per last report was 22, it is estimated that about 28 more will attend. They have at present the following books. 'viz' (16) Goodrich Readers, First. Sixteen (16) ditto Second Reader. Three (3) ditto Third Readers. Sixteen (16) Spelling Books. Fifteen (15) copy Books. Two (2) Rays arithmetic. Third Book. One (1) Primary Grammar, and Five Slates.+

"I would respectfully suggest that a sufficient number of books of the above named, as well as primary Geography or Atlas Books, on allocation, /sic/ or American Speaker, and History of the United States and Slates be furnished the school for the aggregate number of 50 scholars."
REPRESENTATION OF DIFFICULTY BETWEEN BAP & METH CHURCHES IN B G (july 1867) 3383

J C Rodriguez, capt & sub ass comm in Bowling Green, July 9, 1867 in Letters Received and Endorsement, (may 29, 1867-oct 8, 1867), entry 1103, brfal, ky, nat arch, RG 105 & 106. No.

Rodriguez referred to "the difficulty between the Methodist and Baptists (Cold) was settled and they are building a Church for school purposes when not occupied in divine service" This is a quote of the endorsement sent of the letter.

ILLUS: POST C W "INDENTURE OF APPRENTICESHIP" (1867) 3384

"Indenture of Apprenticeship," Columbus, Ky., "Indentures of Apprenticeship, letters sent (june 1866-july 1868), entry 1137, brfal, kentucky, nat arch, RG 105, 186. Columbus

"This Indenture, made the sixth day of April Eighteen Hundred and sixty seven, between George Caldwell of the age of ten years, on the Fifteenth-day of April last, past, of moscow of the County of Hickman, State of Kentucky of the one part, and Isabella C. Caldwell of the County of Hickman, State of Kentucky of the other part. Witnesseth, that she said George Caldwell by and with the consent of James L. Bolton, Lt & R.C. Superintendent of the County Bureau Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, as signified by his signature affixed to this indenture, and by free will and consent of the said George Caldwell, hath placed and bound himself apprentice to the said Isabella C. Caldwell to learn the trade or business of Farming and with the said Isabella C. Caldwell to dwell continue and serve from the date hereof until the said George Caldwell shall have attained the age of twenty one years, which will be on the fifteenth day of April, Eighteen Hundred and sixty seven /sic/; during all of which time the said apprentice shall well and faithfully serve his said employer and obey his lawful commands. He shall do no damage to his employer nor wilfully suffer it to be done by others, and if any to his knowledge is intended he shall give his employer immediate notice thereof. He shall not play at cards, dice or any unlawful gave, he shall not contract matrimony during said term, nor absent himself from the service of his said employer nor haunt or frequent taverns, tippling houses, nor gaming houses but in all things and at all times demean and conduct himself as a good and faithful apprentice toward his said employer during the whole time aforesaid. +
"Indenture of Apprenticeship," Columbus, Ky., Indentures of Apprenticeship, letters sent (June 1866-July 1868), entry 1137, brfal, Kentucky, nat arch.

"And the said Isabella C. aldwell covenants and agrees with the said James G. Bolton Lt. & R.C. that she will teach and instruct the said George Caldwell or cause him to be taught and instructed in the best and most complete way and manner the trade or business of Farming with all things belonging thereto; and that she will find and allow to the said apprentice good and suitable meat, drink, washing, lodging, suitable apparel for working and holy days, and all other things felt convenient and proper for an apprentice during the term aforesaid."

"And will also treat said apprentice humanely and kindly, and teach to the said apprentice, or cause him, to be taught, within said term, to read, write and Arithmetic to include the Rule of Three, and the expiration of said term will give unto the said George Caldwell, two new suits of clothes, suitable to his condition, and a good horse saddle and bridle."

"In Witness Whereof we have hereunto and to duplicate thereof, set on hands and seals the day and year first above written." signed

I C. Caldwell
James Bolton
Superintend Bur Refugees, Freed & Aban Lands

Witness
M. L. Grafel
Rosa Brown

don't see where young Geo signed

OTHER PROFESSIONS TO WHICH APPRENTICED: "Hastler and general work," "all kinds of house work," "House keeping and sewing," "General house keeping," "general house work," "Housekeeping and serving," "General work about house & farm," "general house work & sewing," "general work about the house and drug store," "general work about house and farm with all things belonging thereto," "the art, trade and mystery of house work," this one was apprenticed to James F. Bolton, Supt, Lt., etc., "the trade and mystery of house work and sewing," this one was also apprenticed to James F. Bolton of Freed Bureau, Bolton had one other female apprenticed to him. These are all in far western, rural Ky.
Bolton made a survey of western Ky: Hickman, Fulton Co: Freedmen need a school and "very much and anxious to have one, and have bought a lot and are now buying lumber to erect them a school house and church, and intend to finish it as soon as possible...." Will probably finish it late winter or early spring. Probably 100 to 150 children will attend the school.

Milburn, Ballard Co: 50 children there need a school, nothing done.

Clinton, Hickman Co: 50 children there need a school, nothing done. It will probably be hard to rent a bldg for a school at either place because of white opposition.

Columbus, Ky: "We are just about starting a school at this place. We have two most excellent lady teachers from Ohio sent to us by the A.M. A. & W.F. Aid Commission at Cincinnati Ohio, and we expect from a hundred and fifty to two hundred scholars. There are two hundred who ought to be in school. We have erected a very good building but against strong opposition." The bldg is 30 x 50 "... and we are puttin an addition for a teacher home" 18 x 26 ft. They expect school to start Dec 16, 1867. They have been delayed by an unfinished bldg.
James F. Bolton in Columbus to T.K. Noble in Louisville (chief Supt Freed. Schs), Dec 25, 1867, in letters sent (& Endenture of Appren) entry 1137, brfal, ky, nat archives, RG/105, No. 87

Bolton went to Hickman, Fulton Co: "I found the freedmen struggling to collect means and material and erect a building for Church and School purposes. They are anxious to erect them a building, 30 by 40, but are fearful they will not be able to build one only 30 feet square. Can they get a little assistance from the funds of the Bureau to assist them in buying material; if so they can soon have their building ready for use. I had three freedmen appointed and sworn in by the County Commissioner of schools, as Trustees of the Freedmen's School and they will get their building ready for school by the 1st of Feb.'68, if they can, if not as soon thereafter as possible." Bolton said he had made arrangements to rent about the only bldg available for $10 per mo. if the blacks do not finish their bldg. Need a good teacher "who will not shrink from missionary work."

James F Bolton, Sub Asst Comm in Columbus, Ky, to Ben P Runkål in Louisville, Dec 31, 1867, in letters sent(& endenture of appren), entry 1137, brfal, kentucky, nat arch, RG/105, No. 87

The effect of O O Howard's letter of Dec 11, 1867, relative to discharging officers & agents of FB has had a very discouraging effect on blacks. Has retarded school construction, as blacks feel the money will be thrown away, since the whites oppose the schools so strongly.
AGES OF CHILDREN IN COLUMBUS SCHOOL (Mar 1868) 6 to 20

James F. Bolton to T.K. Noble (Noble in Columbus, Noble in Louisville) written March 2, 1868, in letters sent (indenture of appren), entry 1137, brfal, Kentucky, national archives, RG 105, N 87

Having near ninety scholars "some of them are adults."

BOLTON DESCRIBES WHITE TEACHERS AT COLUMBUS (Apr 1867)

James F. Bolton in Columbus to Rev. E. M. Cravath, April 25, 1867, in letters sent, entry 1137, brfal, Kentucky, nat arch, RG 105, N 87

The school has nearly 100 scholars. "The freedmen are getting more awakened and aroused to the necessity of an education, and express themselves determined to do all in their power to learn .... The teachers are doing all that can be done. There are but few if any young ladies of the age of Miss Warfel, who can or will do as well as she is doing. She is doing far far better than I expected. With her whole Soul in the work she works faithfully and energetically and so does Miss Brower. Most of the freedmen and especially the scholars think that Miss Linda & Miss Rose (as they call them) are the best teachers in the world and they appear to love them accordingly. Miss Warfel is one of the strongest minded young ladies with whom I have ever had the pleasure to become acquainted. Both teachers are among the first in all respects and studiously avoid having any contention with the southern people on the affairs of the country, giving them to understand that their mission is for the elevation of the freedmen and well and faithfully are they fulfilling their mission."
Jno s Graham in Covington to Capt R. E. Johnston chief 8th? sub dist
Feb 1,1867, in letters sent (May 1866-July 1868), entry 1144, brfal,
Kentucky, nat arch, RG 105, N. 92.

Graham says: "... a large number of the Colored people in this City and
vicinity / are / in a starving condition particularly the wives and
families of Soldiers now stationed in Texas. Application has been made to
the Civil Authority and no assistance can be obtained from them except
furnish coffins for the dead. ... There is also great suffering
among them for Clothing. I have received a few articles from the aid
Society in Cincinnati but not near enough to supply the one fourth of the
extreme needy."

Jno l graham in Covington to r e johnston of 45 US Inf, April 18, 1867,
in letters sent, entry 1144, brfal, Kentucky, nat arch, RG 105, N. 92

"in several branches of Labor in this city strikes are occurring and
white Labourers are being replace by Col. men." Threats are being made to drive blacks out.
Graham answered several questions: Civil Rights law enforce? Graham says only partially because the civil officials "State and Municipal" tend to reject it. "The Mayor of the City of Covington C.B. Stanford has repeatedly refused to comply with the provisions of the Civil Rights Law the Law having been brought to his personal and official notice." Recently "... a colored man was indicted and k imprisoned for immigrating into the State of Kentucky from another state such immigration being in violation of the Laws of the State of Kentucky...."

Any U S Commissioner appointed under the Civil Rights Law? Yes, one James Blackburn.
Have you placed a case before the commissioner? One case still pending.
Why hasn't the Civil Rights bill benn enforced and who is at fault? The civil authorities are at fault.

"Five white men have been arrested for whipping negroes and lodged in the Military Prison in Louisville." Says conditions for freedmen in the area are improving as work increases.
...the condition of the Colored people in my Dist has changed considerably for the worse during the month of August. They are living in great dread." Says in "...Kenton Boone and Grant Counties I found them very much excited and in several instances they have left and come into Covington."

"They state that since the election they have been told that they are all going to be enslaved again and I believe that some of low ignorant whites believe this to be true."

"...the condition of the Colored people in my District is somewhat improved this month Colored testimony is generally received throughout the District. The Mayor of Covington Ky Still persists in refusing to accept negro testimony whereby great injustice is done the Colored people."

"Employment is plenty and wages good as a general thing the Colored people are industrious and consequently prospering schools have been started ... and it is expected they will be greatly increased next month."
CONDITION OF BLACKS IN COVINGTON, AREA OCT 1867

jno 1 graham in covington to ben p runkle in louisville, oct 28, 1867,
in letters sent, covington, ky, entry 1144, brfal, ky, rg 105, nat arch

"... the condition of the Colored people in this Dist with the exception of the City of Covington is generally good in this City they are arrested and fined for the most trivial offences. several complaints have been made to me that the Police arrest Colored men on the street and search them for concealed weapons...." White rowdies are not search in like manner. "... A negro has no justice in the Civil Courts no matter how badly he may be wronged."

REPORT ON SCHOOLS COVINGTON AREA JULY-DEC 1867

Bob caps, sub asst com in covington to col r e johnston in lex, Dec 7, 1867, in letters sent, covington ky, entry 1144, brfal, ky, rg 105, nat arch

No school bldgs constructed in city limits since July 1, 1867.
No school bldgs destroyed or burned, and no interference with schools.
No aid to schools by white citizens in Ky; some from Cincinnati.
In reporting on the "condition of Colored people in this Dist for the Month of February" there has been considerable destitution and suffering. There has been little work going on this Month. People are suffering from small pox.
Graham requisitioned 200 bushels of coal for destitute freemen in Covington area.

No clothing issued during month. "The general condition of the freedmen is a good deal improved during the month. Labor is becoming plenty. No outrages have been reported to me during the month. There has been three schools started in this sub district this month viz. Cynthiana, Harrison Co. 51 Scholars, Crittenden Grant Co. 51 Scholars, Warsaw, Gallatin Co. 25 Scholars."
FB AGENT TOUR REPORT ON COVINGTON AREA (May 1866)

jno graham to john ely, writing from covington, May 27, 1866, in letters sent, covington ky, entry 1144, no 92, (May - Dec 1866), bfral, ky, rg 105, nat arch.

Campbell co: told by whites (Union men) to keep a low profile; In Crittenden Co learned there were few blacks there because of their having been driven off by regulators. Boone is the worst of the counties. "I have been told that there are Blacks in the Southern part of Boone Co still held in Slavery by their former masters."

WHITE MAN FLOGS BLACK FEMALE EMPLOYEE IN COVINGTON AREA (Aug 1866)

jno l graham in covington to re johnston, Aug 4, 1866, in letters sent, covington, ky, entry 1144, no 92 (may-dec 1866), bfral, ky, rg 105, nat arch.

Graham said he learned of a case of one A. J. (or I.) White flogging a "Colored Girl named Eliza by a man named White. I had the girl brought to my office and on examination I found that her shoulders and back was horribly lacerated. She told me Mr. White flogged her. I thus obtained the enclosed affidavits of Harriett Williams and Lorinzo Davis both very intelligent Colored women and summoned A. J. White to appear at my office next morning at 10 o'clock, failing to appear I had him arrested and brought to my office. Mr. White did not deny whipping the child but says in justification that any person in his employ should be corrected when they do wrong and that the Freedmens Bureau had no jurisdiction in Ky. ("the civil authorities would not adjudicate the case as I had no white testimony.") Graham says he fined White $50 but he refused to pay. Graham forwarded the case to headquarters.
Mob Action Against Blacks at Warsaw KY (Aug 1866)

L. L. (or J. J.) Landrum in Warsaw, KY, to FB office in Covington, Aug 3, 1866, in letters sent, (Endorsement), Covington, KY, entry 1144, no 92 (May-Dec 1866), brfa1, KY, RG 105, nat arch. (I believe J. J.)

Mr. Landrum wrote the FB office in Covington that there was a band of former rebel regulators operating in his area. "... they have whipped negroes and stolen property from them and me ordering all the negroes out of the County. Some 200 negroes I'm informed crossed the Ohio above this place today other are preparing to leave for fear of the lash and other abuses." Mr. Landrum a union man.

Mayor of Cov Rejects Black Testimony in Assault Case (Dec 1866)

Jno. L. Graham in Covington to John Ely, Dec 19, 1866, in letters sent, Covington KY, entry 1144, no 92, (May-Dec), brfa1, KY, RG 105, nat arch.

"... a Colored man named George Chambers made a complaint to me this day to the effect that a white man named Louis Rappelee violently assaulted him with an axe while he was in the act of collecting drift wood out of the Ohio river in Company with another Colored man named George Smock. I referred the case to His Honor Mayor Sanford who refused to take the evidence of the Colored man against a white man.

"I produced a copy of the Civil Rights Bill and requested His Honor to read it which he declined and remarked that the laws of the State forbid colored testimony to be taking against a white man and he therefore refused to take the testimony of the Colored man."
BLACK WOMAN DESCRIBES NEPHEW BEING BOUND AS APPRENTICE; SHE COULD TAKE CARE OF HIM (Dec 19, 1866)

Margaret Baker in Cincinnati to Col. Davis, Dec 19, 1866, in letters received (Dec 1866-Jul 1868), Covington Ky, entry 1146, no 91, brf al, rg 105, nat arch.

"I wrote several times to Col True and he referred me to you concerning my Nephew. He was 7 years old 30th November. Mr. Humphreys has him bound to him by the Co Court and they will not allow me to visit him. If they would I would let them keep him. I am married and have a good home and can take of him myself and would like to have him with me will you be so good as to see if you cannot get him for me it is very hard to have a new nephew to be bound out among strangers his mother was my Sister and she died. please do all in your power to get him for me and I will remember you in my prayers that God may cause everything that you undertake to do to prosper and that you may ever be blessed with good health in my most earnest prayer hoping to hear from you soon."

BLACK WOMAN CLAIMS SHE WAS DEFRAUDED OUT OF MONEY SENT TO HER BY SOLDIER, SUBSTITUTE SON (Mar 1866)

Sulvy Reed of Milburn, Ballard Co, Ky, to the Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau in Paducah, Ky, March 12, 1866, in Letters received and register of letters received (1866-1868), entry 1138, no 86, Columbus, Ky, brf al, rg 105, nat arch. An Affidavit, apparently, signed by her mark.

Sulvy Reed said her son James Reed went into the army (artillery) as a "Substitute for S. W. Owens, and was mustered into the service about Christmas 1864, and at the time he went in he (James) sent home to his mother some money not known to her how much. This money was sent to her by S. W. Owens, who kept it three months and was then paid over in March 1865, to Mr. S. B. Green of Milburn by an Order as she has learned from Gen. Meridith. Mr Green has not paid her any of said money...." etc. She says he refuses to pay; he apparently says he has tried.
Maria Turner Deposition of Being Whipped, West. Ky (Sept 1866)

Deposition of Maria Turner, Sept 8, 1866, in letters received and register of letters received (1866-1868), entry 1138, no 86, columbus ky, brfal, rg 105, nat arch. Signed with her mark.

She told of several whippings, but described one in detail when after her daughter was hired by one Mr. Scott of Ballard Co. Mr. Turner went to Scott's house and retrieved the daughter and whipped her, and says, "...the morning after Oscar Turner whipped my daughter, the said Oscar Turner called me to the house, saying come here to me, God damn your Soul, you God damn Bitch. I will learn you to run off my Negroes, at the same time taking me to a peach tree and tying me up stripped all my clothes off except under garment, which he mad a little girl pull above my waist and whipped me on the body with switches, leaving me tied up, he said, that after resting in the house he would return to repeat the dose; My cries brought his wife (Mrs. Turner) out who untied me from the tree." Maria said Turner still holds three of her children, one of whom he has hired out for a profit.

Black Carpenter to Help Build School at Hickman (Oct 1866)

Wm McCluskey in Hickman, Ky, to Lieut James Bolton, Oct 15, 1866, in letters received and register of letters received (1866-68), entry 1138, no 86, columbus ky, brfal, rg 105, nat arch.

"There is a colored man here by the name of Warren Thomas a good carpenter who says that he will superintend the building of a house at $3.00 per day and subscribe $50.00 to its erection if this is done I believe they could then get a teacher from the north..and be able to sustain themselves."
"General Condition of the Freedmen," report of H.G. Thomas in Danville to Ben P. Runkle, Chief Supt, March 31, 1868, in letters sent, Danville Ky., entry 1151, no 100, brfal, rg 105, nat arch

"The Freedmen are as a rule doing well & trying hard so to do..." "In Garrard Co they are outrageously abused & are under a reign of terror." "Freedom is beginning to bring with it the idea that a colored man should have a lawful wife & raise up a legitimate family. This is however only beginning. Miscegenation is not confined to the white man and black woman. A perfect forerunner (?) case stands on the records of my office in which Nancy Ridge (white) cohabited habitually with George White (a full blooded negro) from last spring to last fall. & also that the said Nancy Ridge earns & has earned her living by dispensing similar favors to the male colored population of the neighborhood all this at Shelby City within five miles & the sound of the bell of Danville Theological Seminary." OUTFRAGES: In Shelby City George White was shot at twice. A gang of regulatores attacked Monroe Simpson in Garrard Co; Simpson is a minister. Johnson Young had his house burned down; he and his wife were shot at & wounded. A black preacher was murdered (unnamed).

SCHOOLS: doing well.

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MEETING OF BLACKS IN DANVILLE TO RAISE MONEY FOR SCHOOLS (Apr 1868)

H.G. Thomas in Danville to Ben P. Runkle, April 14, 1868, in letters sent, Danville Ky., entry 1151, no 100, brfal, rg 105, nat arch

"... a meeting of the Colored men of Danville was held the night of April 2nd, myself being present, & all the the /sic/ preliminaries for raising money to help build a school house settled. The colored people here can probably raise $1000, & will buy a lot to begin with. What is the policy of the Bureau: should this lot be deeded to the Trustees or Committee of colored men here. Or does the Bureau expect to hold the Fee...."

Bureau policy was for land purchased by the blacks to be deeded to the blacks: Registers of Letters Received and Endorsements Sent and Received, Endorsement Book, vol 2, p 31, engry 1152, no 97, brfal, Danville Ky., rg 105, nat arch.
Thomas sought permission to rent a bldg for a school house near Point 4 mi from Danville. Said Mukes has 32 children enrolled, with a prospect of 50.

LABOR CONDITIONS FOR BLACKS IN DANVILLE AREA (Apr 1868)

The negroes do the bulk of all labor done. Where there is one idle there are five industrious; Old negroes between 60 & 80 years may be seen here daily breaking Stone upon the pike. for this they receive $2.25 a rod. in other words they make from 50 to 60 cents a day, if they have the strength to work all day. The average wages of an able bodied negro is 75 cents & meals. on this pittance he works cienteutd (?) & happy while white men sit in the street corners and wonder what will become of the d----d negro, he being too lazy to work.
"The Freedmen are not willing usually to call attention to small affairs between themselves and whites; they say the Bureau will eventually be withdrawn, and then those who had difficulties, will be worse off, than if they had submitted to what the whites demanded."

Freedman Peter Ranford shot and killed in Boyle Co, Feb 3, 1866 by James Poore who was arrested but is out on bail after having been sent to Louisville. Harrison Burton was called from his house and "deliberately shot by one William Clark of Perryville"; Clark is nowhere to be found.
SCHOOLS IN DANVILLE AREA (Oct 1866)

"At present here are three schools in Danville with an attendance of about 120 scholars, and two schools in Harrodsburg, with about 100 scholars. There is also one school in Boyle Co. outside of the town. This has about 15 scholars at present, but several more would attend if the parents could bear the expenses."

ATTACK ON FREEDMAN AL McROBERTS, LYNCHING (Jan 1867)

The murder took place on Dec 24, 1866, at [illegible], Boyle Co. "Al McRoberts, a Freedman, was in Danville on the 24th inst. having in his possession a pistol, carried by authority of Thomas P. Young, a Police officer of this town, to protect himself against one W. A. Harris, an officer of Boyle Co., who had threatened to kill him. He was met on the street by Harris who demanded his pistol. McRoberts refused to deliver it to him, and after more words had passed, shot at Harris three times, without inflicting serious injury. McRoberts was arrested and taken towards the jail followed by an excited crowd, who advised Harris to kill him. On the way to jail Harris beat him severely with [illegible], a large cane while he was being led along the street. On arriving at the jail, Harris took a pistol and deliberately shot him, inflicting a serious perhaps fatal injury. This occurred at about 5 PM. at 10 PM., a party went to the jail and took McRoberts to the outskirts of the town and hung him. The farce of the inquest was played the next morning, with no attempt to learn any facts about the case, and a verdict rendered, simply stating that the man McRoberts came to his death by hanging by some parties unknown." On Dec 27 Harris was arrested by the civil authorities and held on $500 bail to appear at the next term of court. Does not say what he was arrested for.
CONDITION OF BLACKS IN MONROE CO (Aug 1867)


"With the exception of that section in the vicinity of Center Point, the Freedmen of Monroe Co are in a prosperous condition, probably as much so as in any County in /sic/ District." Says there are about 600 freemen, with about 170 paying taxes.

FREEDMEN CONTRIBUTE TO SCHOOL IN BURKESVILLE (May 1868)

Geo W Kingsbury in Burksville to T K Noble in Louisville, May 18, 1868, in letters sent, Burksville ky, entry 1132, no 83, brfal, rg 105, nat archives.

Kingsbury says that the school has 80 pupils, 54 day and 26 at night. "The Freedmen will be able to contribute Thirty (30) Dollars per Month to and in paying the Teachers, and Fifty (50) Dollars per Month will be required if Two (2) Teachers are furnished Board...."
"As Freedmen as a general rule know nothing whatever of accounts when they enter a contract on shares they are cheated from first, to last, and a final settlement by compromise is ruinous to them while it can only benefits the employer." Says blacks would rather work for wages.

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**MEETING OF BLACKS IN GREENUPSBURG; (Oct 1866) (Greensburg?)**

George Duff in Greenupsgburg to Randolph Gobbler (colored) in Louisa Lawrence Co, Oct 27, 1866, in letters sent, Greensburg ky, (Greensburg?) entry 1160, no 104, brf al, rg 105, nat arch.

"I recd. your communication of Oct 22nd and am pleased to hear so much can be done toward supporting a school for Colored Children. Is the Amount mentioned ($30.50) what can be had per month or altogether. it is very important that I should know before I make application for a teacher. There been a meeting of the Colored people at Greenupsburg and from their earnestness in the matter I am sure they will have a school before long. You can do a great deal among the Colored people ...."

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**THE PROBLEM WITH CONTRACTS (1868)**

A Benson Brown in Henderson to B P Runkle, June 30, 1868, in letters sent, Henderson ky, entry 1162, no 109, brf al, rg 105, nat arch.
... a new school for freedmen has been opened at this place. Rev. Father Schat has built a school house for the freedmen adjoining the Catholic Church in this town.

He called on me to know if the Bureau would assist him as he has had great opposition for the white portion of his Congregation and has to depend entirely upon the contributions of the freedmen for its support and in paying off the debts on the building, and he states that he has raised all the means the freedmen can possibly pay spare. He still owes $150 on the bldg. King said he would report on the church school when he reported on FB schools.

BLACK SCHOOL BOARD APPOINTED FOR FRANKFORT BY FB (May 1867)

James H. Rice to Messrs. Sims, Harris, Samuel, Martin, Francis, Turner, and Clark of Frankfort, May 3, 1867, in letters sent, Lexington Ky, entry 1195, no 126, rg 105, nat arch (written from Lex).

"You are hereby appointed members of the School Board of Freedmen in the city of Frankfort Ky with authority to increase the number to twelve."
James H. Rice to "The Honorable Mayor of the City of Lexington, Ky," in letters sent, Lexington Ky, entry 1195, no 126, RG 105, Nat Arch.

"I am informed that there is at the upper end of Main Street the body of a colored man who died yesterday and who should at once be buried. I am also informed that the city authorities have refused permission to inter the body in the public graveyard. I could not believe that a matter which is of so much importance to the health of the City, should receive the neglect which this is represented to me to have received, and have taken the opportunity of calling your attention to the immediate necessity of having the body intered to prevent the spread of disease. I would respectfully enquire if you cannot direct the proper disposition of this case."

In another letter Read reported that he had found a black teacher who would teach in the Versailles school for $25 per mo and could start immediately. "She is well educated and has had experience in teaching." He said "the colored people are getting very impatient about their school."
j w read in versailles to james h rice in lex, Nov 22, 1866, in letters received, lexington ky, entry 1198, rg 105, nat arch.

Read had just made a visit to the schools in Frankfort. He found "two very large Schools going on now with competent Teachers. One has an average attendance of Seventy five, and the Other Sixty five."

"in addition to the above there is two smaller ones taught by Females one with an average attendance of twenty Six, & the other nineteen, making in all One hundred and eighty five pupils in regular attendance."

"Leading colored men estimate the total at four hundred that would attend if assistance could be procured from the Bureau."

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CONTROVERSY OVER BLACK FEMALE TEACHERS IN MADISON, GARRARD COS
(Dec 1866)

J. G. Nain, agt, in nicholasville to col jas h rice in lex, dec 26, 1866, in letters received, lexington ky, entry 1198, rg 105, nat arch.

"The schools from several causes are not in so flourishing a condition as they have been. The school in Lancaster, has been closed on account of a misunderstanding and difficulty between the freed men there and the Teacher, Mrs Lawrence. They refuse to permit her to use the Church for school purposes, and will not permit their children to attend her schools.

The School at Richmond has been closed for nearly the same reasons. They are all opposed to female Colored teachers, have a foolish idea that they are not capable or competent to teach or govern a school.

The School at Camp Nelson, the largest one in the three counties has been closed in consequence of the hostile demonstrations of an armed mob of White Citizens against the teacher (a White man) and the school. The schools (2 of them) in Nicholasville "highly prosperous."
E BELLE MITCHELL TEACHING AT RICHMOND Feb 1867

J. G. Nain, agt in Nicholasville to Col. Jas H. Rice in Lex, Feb 8, 1867,
in letters received, Lexington Ky, entry 1198, rg 105, nat arch

Nain reported his teachers:

Richmond: E. Belle Mitchell

Nicholasville: J. D. Numford (black?)

see note: 3427 on controversy of blacks opposing black female teachers

BLACK TEACHERS AT GEORGETOWN (Feb 1867)

T. N. Finnell, agt in Georgetown, to /Col Jas H. Rice/ in Lex, Feb 11, 1867,
in letters received, Lexington Ky, entry 1198, rg 105, nat arch.

Thomas D. S. Tucker, Georgetown, colored
Ella Moss (asst)    "    "
Mariah Howard      "    "
Thornton Fowler (asst)    "    "
"... Miss L. Simms who is in charge of the Freedmen's School at Harrodsburg, Ky., was grossly insulted and treated in a beastly manner by a white man..." employed the the Ky Central RR. Miss Simms is black.

"In the counties of Greenup, Lewis & Carter the Colored people are struggling along bravely, and considering the adverse circumstances with which they have to contend they are doing well. In the counties of Boyd and Lawrence there is considerable suffering and will be during the winter, in Catlettsburg there are many colored persons now who are without sufficient clothing to protect them from winter weather. However the recent rise in the Ohio and Big Sandy rivers will give employment to many and thus alleviate their sufferings to a considerable extent. The civil authorities refuse justice to the blacks in the courts, but there are a few officials (civil) "who are disposed to deal fairly with the Colored but they are few indeed."

"I notice in the proceedings of the Convention of Colored people held at Lexington, Ky., Nov. 26th 1867, the delegate from Greenup Co. is represented as having said that the County is destitute of Schools, which is a mistake and one that I regret very much, as I have had a school in this place nearly all the time since I came here, and one at the Oil Works, in this county, since Nov. 1st 1867."
"Lawless men have recently seized several colored men who were former soldiers and abused them most brutally. The occasion of this is some meetings of the Colored people in Union League meetings. The 'rebs' have resolved to break them up and as a means have commenced a series of brutal whippings & beatings. A few days ago since they went to the house of Monroe Simpson (a very exemplary, bright, intelligent, /sic/ returned soldier) took him from his bed and beat him most unmercifully - even life has been doubtful. He is yet unable to leave his bed.

"In the same night they beat another returned soldier from the 6th Cavalry, Elias Philips, and beat him shamefully. Next they took Dart Haskins another returned soldier. A man who saw Haskins last Sunday reports he is unable to turn himself.

"Next tom was Joseph Boyce, another returned soldier - badly whipped.

"The next threatened is, for this night, Old Uncle Terry Brabher who belongs to the new League, but will keep up religious meetings. James Turpin heard some of this Clan say they intended to 'break up these damned nigger meetings.'"

REPORT ON CONDITIONS OF FREED IN LEX. AREA. (June 1866)

Says for the most part the blacks are working for good wages in the Lex area, but there is a proclivity for short contracts, most of which are verbal, leading to numerous difficulties. Civil Authorities refuse to cooperate with the FB.

SCHOOLS: 23 in operation in Sub Dist with 1428 pupils. Schools operate on the stipend paid by parents as tuition, about $1.25 per mo per child. 3 schools in Lexington.

The number of paupers and destitute people is small. Says that some of the county civil authorities provide some aid for black paupers and destitute. There is a good deal of break-down in families among blacks. The number of outrages is comparatively few, but it is difficult to acquire justice in those that do occur.

The greatest opposition to the FB has been in Scott, Owen, Boone, Kenton & Woodford Cos (and to blacks).
BLACK CHURCH INTERRUPTED IN GEORGETOWN BY WHITE ROWDIES; ARRESTED BY CIVIL AUTHORITIES (Nov 1867)

On the 18th Inst a party of white men entered a colored church in Georgetown Ky and in a Shameful and Scandalous manner interrupted the minister during the services. Pistols were drawn by the whites and for a time general confusion ensued. I made a thorough investigation of the case & the guilty parties were arrested by the civil authorities and brought to justice." This was in the 2d dist.

INCREASED DESTITUTION OF BLACKS, WINTER OF 1867 (over 1866) (LEX AREA) SHOE FACTORY DONATES SHOES

The destitution existing among them /blacks/ at present is by far greater than that of the proceeding winter. A large number of very old and decrepit freedmen and are only kept alive by my distributing them rations and clothing. By the kindness of Messrs. Burbank & Hosworth Shoe Merchants of this city who donated about one hundred & fifty pair of men's, women's, and children's shoes to me to be distributed among the needy freedmen of the city, I was enabled to prevent much suffering.
EXHIBITION OF BLACK SCHOOLS AT MIDWAY BROKEN UP BY MOB (July 1868)

Report of William V. Wolke (lieut.) 35 US Inf.:
"On the night of the 23d of July 1868 the Colored Churches and their friends of Midway Ky, held an exhibition at the Methodist Church at that place when a party of men named Henry Martin, Bud Peppers, Charley Gillespie, Peter Hammonds, John Gardner, Robert Davis and others, came to the church for the purpose of breaking up the Meeting. So they Stated to a Businessman (?) by the name of John Pail, at whose room they endeavored to procure whiskey. They came into the Church, took seats and remained quiet for about two hours, after which they went out of the Church, took the shutters off, broke them up, threw them and large pieces of dirt and weeds at the children while they were speaking. And immediately after they commenced firing into the church with their Pistols, the balls of one of which slightly grazed the forehead of one of the children, and another ball passed through the coat, between the arm and side of one of the managers; at which time one of within named men was wounded by a ball from a Pistol in the hands of his Commander, after which they left with their wounded man. From all the information I received the children and their friends made no resistance during the attack, but proceeded quietly with their exercises until the firing commenced when they commenced leaving the building in great confusion in order as they thought to save their lives. Dept U.S. Marshall C.W. Erdman with 4 soldiers arrested the men and they are held on bond of $200. They will have to appear on the 31st. in court.

WHITES WHO BROKE UP SCHOOL EXHIBITION AT MIDWAY NOT CONVICTED (July 1868)

Johnston says there was no prosecuting attorney at the trial of the men accused of breaking up the school exhibition in Midway, he therefore acted as prosecutor.
"I examined a large number of witnesses, both white and black, and I regret to say that I was unable to prove anything against them for the reason that the night was very dark and the witnesses were unable to identify any of the above named party as having committed any such act, and as I was unable to prove anything against them, I moved that the prisoners be discharged, and it was accordingly so ordered."
"On or about the 25th inst, two (2) white boy's /sic/ Alonzo MM Anderson and Joseph Hinnicutt aged 16 and 17 years, respectively, brutally murdered a Negro boy aged about 12 years, in the woods near this City, his throat was cut from ear to ear, his privates cut off, and his body otherwise mutilated. The murderers were arrested by the Civil Authorities, tried and discharged, upon a motion made by the Prosecuting Attorney, alleging that the principal witness was out of the State. The Judge decided that he had no authority to bring him back."

re k johnston in lex to b p runkle in lou, Dec 9, 1868, in letters sent, lexington ky, entry 1182, no 125, rg 105, nat arch

unsigned letter from "Chief Agents Office" in owensboro to john ely, in letters sent, owensboro ky, entry 1250, no 173, rg 105, nat arch.

"the freedmen held an election at their new School house on Monday last and elected one board of Education, consisting of one President, One Treasurer who give security of Six hundred dollars for the honest performance of his duty: and One Clerk, and five members of the board as Trustees. this election passed off in quietude and it was remarked by all white persons, that it passed with more sobriety than any election ever held at this place and with great judgment in the election of officers."

The blacks voted to name their school the "Ely School" in insigned monthly report letter from owensboro to john ely in louisville, May 31, 1867, in letters sent, owensboro ky, entry 1250, no 173, rg 105, nat arch
OWENSBORO FB OFFICIAL WANTS TO HIRE W. SYKES, BLACK, TO ORGANIZE SCHOOLS IN AREA (Sept 1867)

unsigned letter from owensboro fb official to john ely in lou, sept 30,1867, in letters sent, owensboro ky, entry 1250, no 173, rg 105, nat arch

The writer asks if that "William Sykes (Colored) be employed to establish Colored Schools in this Six Sub District at a Salary of ($60.00) per month. He is a good Scholar and is thoroughly acquainted with the business of teaching."

"The Freedmen from all parts of this Sub. Dist. are asking for assistance Mr. Sykes could get the schools organized and then have them for the Freedmen to Keep up."
OWENSBORO FB OFFICIAL COMMENTING ON THE QUALITY OF "ELY SCH"  
(Feb 1868)

Unsigned letter from Owensborofb official to Jp Runkle in Lou, Feb 29, 1868, in letters sent, Owensboro Ky, entry 1250, no 173, rg 105, nat arch.

"I deem the Ely School as well regulated as any of the same magnitude in the State of Ky. (either white or black)."

POVERTY OF PADUCAH AREA FREEMEN (June 1866)

John F Smith in Paducah to J H Donovan, June 19, 1866, in letters sent, Paducah Ky, entry 1273, no 179, rg 105, nat arch.

"As there are several cases of destitution amongst the Freedmen, some of them really deserving request further instructions as to them: The Freedmen themselves are too poor to take care of their own sick, destitute and dying in this city. They do all that they can to take care of the sick and bury the dead and it taxes them considerably to do this, the cost of burying the dead has been a great deal lately. Scarcely a week passing but some of this charity has to be done. At this time I am responsible for the burial of a Freedwoman. I cannot get either the city or county authorities to do anything for them...."

J S Smith in Paducah to Donovan, Chief Supt N.W. Subdist FB, July 24, 1866, in letters sent, Owensboro Ky, entry 1250, no 173, rg 105, nat arch.

Smith went to the "Colored people of this city" to try to get money to bury the Freedwoman, then to the Methodist Church—both rejected the request. Finally, Smith wrote, "I have had to pay the expenses out of my own pocket. I would respectfully ask that the amount be refunded me /by the FB/."
HENRY BIBB, BLACK, CONTACTS FB ABOUT A SCHOOL IN ALLENSVILLE (Mar 1868)

"I have this morning received by private conveyance a report Allensville. It is from Henry Bibb col'd He say in answer to the question attached to circular. 1st There can be a school of 50 children in Allensville." Further he says there are no bldgs there.

REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN RUSSELLVILLE AREA (Spring 1868)

report by M. E. Billings, recently appointed sub asst comm russellville, to a b brown in bowling green, undated / April ?, 1868/, in letters sent, russellville ky, entry 1281, no 187, rg 105, nat arch

Allensville: Todd Co,
"At Allensville Todd Co. the Colored people have bought a site and have commenced erecting a School-House on it thirty by forty feet, and are doing all they can to complete it. But they are too poor to accomplish their object. Various articles require cash to purchase. They can do all the work and furnish lumber &. They ask aid to the amount of one hundred dollars. I would respectfully recommend that that amount may be allowed them."

Hopkinsville, Christian Co: "C. Malone (race?) teaches a school, known as the Baptist School. This school is on the wane. It is kept in a building thirty-two by forty-five,..." With effort could be improved. Also at Hopkinsville "J. W. Bell, assisted by B. S. Newton, has a fine school." But so many of the pupils are unable to pay the tuition, the asst teacher will soon be layed off. The bldg is 25 x 50 ft. Billings recommended aid to both these schools.

"At Russellville Laura Johnson assisted by her mother teaches a school in a building large enough to accommodate two hundred." They pay $5.00 a mo rent. "Also at Russellville Mrs Martha Morton teaches a school almost wholly composed of very poor pupils. She has a room about sixteen by eighteen, for which no rent has h heretofore been paid." Billings recommended financial help.
"A school will be opened at Gordonsville Logan Co. Ky., immediately. Over sixty scholars have been signed. The Citizens have materially aided the Colored people in establishing this school. A school has been started here before, but for want of pecuniary aid was suspended. They have a very Competent Colored man for a teacher, who, I am assured, can obtain a certificate of approval from the Co. School Comm. I would respectfully recommend that Rev. Thos. Penick, who is an active patron of the school—be allowed ten dollars per month Rent, from April 10/68 on a building eighteen by nineteen with one Room for said school, All of which will be appropriated to tuition of indigent Children. I believe this will be a most promising school."

"Condition of Freedmen: Under this head I have the honor to state that during my life I have never had the painful opportunity of seeing a class of people in such abject submission to the ruling class as here. The Slave of Freedom, must move 'with bated breath and whispered humbleness,' retire himself before the haughty aristocrats, of this sink of rebellion, than when a poor bondsman, he was an object of pecuniary interest."
"At Greenville I met encouragement, not only from the Colored people but the White. A school was commenced 10th of May; with prospect of good success. The Colored people have a Church which they use for a school room. The school is under the charge of Ann Weir. May 5th I went to Logansport and Morganstown. At Logansport there is a little private School with but few scholars; and a very poor teacher. There are not enough pupils to establish a permanent school — but seven or eight. At Morganstown there are but four or five scholars and some of these will probably go to Woodbury, Should a school be started there." At Woodbury "I found the Colored people here wide awake about a School. They have twenty-three pupils. An effort was made to get a house but so far has failed. They however are building a church and will have it soon ready for a school. ... They want a Colored woman for a teacher. They engage to board her at $2.00 per week and pay for the tuition of the Children." Daysville: The blacks are buying a church, and are ready to start a school with 30 scholars. "They want a colored woman for a teacher — will receive her any time after the 10th and will board her at $2.50 per week and pay tuition of Children." Says at Elkton he address a large crowd of blacks "concerning the school taught by Moses T. Weir." Says whites have been threatening to break up the school. Says Weir was employed by the white school commission but now they refuse to give him any money from the colored school fund. A mob tried to force Billings out of town, but failed. No school at Trenton because the black church had been burned; being rebuilt. They followed Billings into his hotel shouting Ku Klux Klan!

MONTHLY SCHOOL REPORT, SMITHLAND (May 31, 1867)

Soloman Littlefield in smithland to/w james kay/ in paducah, May 31, 1867, in Register of letters received, Smithland Ky, entry 1287, no 191, rg 105, nat archives.

No of scholars 50; average attendance 35; 3 over 16 years of age; 5 advanced readers. Says he thinks "...it would be better for the Scholars if they had a teacher more advanced in his education one that could write and cipher this man cannot do either he is however very good in learning the Scholars to spel and read and keeps verry good order"
J. H. Donovan in Paducah to Levi F. Burnett Capt. VRC and AAGen, April 16, 1866, in letters sent, Paducah Ky, entry 1258, no 176, RG 105, Nat Arch.

"Complaint has been made to the proper authorities by Wm. H. Boyd (colored) that his sister Ann E. Boyd (Col) aged about 12. Twelve years is held in custody by you and that contrary to the laws of the United States you have refused to set at Liberty and deliver up the Said Ann E. Boyd (col) to her lawful brother Wm. Boyd (col) to be raised and educated by him. (The parents of Said Ann E. Boyd being deceased.) +

"You are hereby directed to deliver up the said Ann E. Boyd to her lawful brother the said Wm. Boyd to be raised and educated by him as above stated or show cause in writing or by personally appearing at this office by what authority you hold her in custody and upon failure on your part to inform his office orally or in writing of your compliance with the directions here in given as above set forth legal proceedings will be had against you in accordance with the laws and authority of the United States."

John H. Donovan in Paducah to Levi F. Burnett Capt. VRC and AAGen, June 2, 1866, in letters sent, Paducah Ky, entry 1258, no 176, RG 105, Nat Arch.

J. H. Bolton aided in starting a "Freed Aid Assn" in Columbus "under the auspices of the formost members of the Colored Church."
"The greatest number of complaints and controversies arising between whites & blacks are in relation to the apprenticing of colored children to their former masters by the judges of the different county courts. They bind all colored minors without the consent of the parents or without regard to the ability of parents to care for and educate their offspring, and by having children apprenticed in this way a species of slavery exists that should not be tolerated and if the children of those who are not willing but abundantly able to care for them be bound to masters for a term of years against the will of the parents they will be held and treated as slaves so long as such laws exist,..."
The Freedmen are building a school house in Mayfield and will soon have it completed. They would like aid from the FB.

"At Princeton there was a small school started on the first of the present month numbering about fifteen pupils. This school is taught by an old crippled Negro at his own house, which is a miserable delapidated old shanty on the suburbs of the town." The blacks want a good school but are poor.
"There is a good school at Eddyville and with a little assistance from the Bureau I can be made one of the best schools in this District. The colored people own the house and the teacher is an intelligent man, and bears an excellent character amongst both whites and blacks."

The "Col Baptist School of this City" has 125 scholars with average attendance of 75. They pay tuition. The church is already in debt for its church, and has been unable to pay their teacher all he is due.
BLACK EDUCATIONAL LEADERS AND THEIR SCHOOL SITUATION IN WEST. KY (Aug 1868)

a b brown in paducah to b p runkle in lou, sept 20, 1868, in letters sent, paducah ky, entry 1258, no 178, rg 105, nat arch.


DIXON (Webster Co): not enough children.

MADISONVILLE (Hopkins Co): a sch in operation in Freedmen's church under black teacher. Black trustees are Granville Waddle, John Couch, Edmund Couch.

GREENVILLE (Muhlenburg Co): a sch of 35, no teacher but one expected; "The Freedmen have a building not quite completed and will require rent paid by Bureau...." Black leader Samuel Elliot.

HARTFORD (Ohio Co): 45 child expected & school to open sept 1 in a black church. Trustees: Woodford hips, Jacob Ferman, George Wall, Dennis F. Ross, all black.

CASEYVILLE (Union Co): a school of 40; black trustees-W. H. Gunn, Alfred Smallwood, Aaron Walker.

RALEIGH (Union Co): school of 40.

UNIONTOWN (Union Co): 36 in school inold hous-hope for new school.

CALHOUUS (McLean Co): "A Freedman offers to donate land and the Community intend building...."

LIVERMORE (McLean Co): no sch, but a black church a possible school bldg.

LEWISBURG (Muhlenburg Co): a sch for 80-100 should open soon.


MURRAY (Calloway Co): school of 20 child "could be organized were it not for the terribly malignant Spirit manifested against it. Not a white man in the town could be found to encourage the enterprise."

BLACK EDUCATIONAL LEADERS & THEIR SCHOOL SITUATION IN WEST. KY (Sept 1868)

a b brown in paducah to b p runkle in lou, sept 20, 1868, in letters sent, paducah ky, entry 1258, no 178, rg 105, nat arch.

FARMINGTON (Graves Co): not large enough black population for school.

BENTON (Marshall Co): " " " "

MADENSVILLE (Todd Co): School in operation in a log capin, the former bldg having been maliciously burned. 40 child attend. Black teacher is Thomas R. Johnson; trustees (black): Robert Talifero, Watson Talifero, John Brown.

TRENTON (Todd Co): a sch of over 50 pupils could be organized. Black trustees: Albert LipsCum, George McIwaine, George Wallace.

ELKTON (Todd Co): sch of 35-40 in operation. "There should be two schools here as there are probably 200 children but the negroes are impressed that the Schools should be free, and this with them amounts to almost a superstition."

HOPKINSVILLE (Christian Co): 2 schools to reopen in sept.

BLANDVILLE (ballard Co): no sch. "the colored people have nearly all been driven off...."

CLINTON (Hickman Co): no sch; most blacks driven out.

MADRID BEND (Fulton co): no sch.
OF THE FAR WEST, KY DISTRICT, ONLY HENDERSON OPPOSES REGULATORS
(Sept 1868)

Brown listed his counties in western Ky and said that white hostility 
to freedmen was exhibited throughout, with only the civil authorities 
in Henderson standing against them. (my words)

MUCH DESTITUTION IN MAYSVILLE AREA (Sept 1866)

"There is a large number of this class /destitute and infirm/ in the 
district. Many of them are living on the premises of their late owners 
who allow them to remain through motives of Kindness. To many citizens 
this is a serious burden, all ...." The county authorities won't help.
"In all probability many who are unable to obtain employment because of 
old age or physical disabilities, will die from want of the necessaries 
of life."
Says since assuming office he had apprenticed 26 minors & orphans in Mason co. Doubtless others had been apprenticed in other areas of the dist. "The amount they are to receive when they become of age varies from $50 to $200, according to age, sex & /that he apprenticed/"
"I wish to make an appeal to your society in behalf of the Freedmen's Schools in this district. There are three schools in this County, with an average attendance of 125 scholars. These schools have been supported entirely by the Freedmen. They succeeded very well during the Summer months but are now in danger of suspension, from the fact that a large proportion of the Freedmen are too poor to support their families and pay for the schooling of their children during the Winter /sic/ months."
ELISHA GREEN'S CHURCH WAS BEING USED AS A SCHOOL MAY 1867 ($20.00 a month rent)

In May 1867 $20.00 was paid to Elisha Green for Rent on a school.

AGENT TRUE REPORTS ON TOUR OF MOUNTAIN COUNTIES (May 1867)

"I left the city on the 28th of March and returned May 3, 1867, having traveled on horseback over six hundred miles in visiting the following Counties: Lewis, Greenup, Boyd, Lawrence, Johnson, Floyd, Pike, McGoffin, Morgan, Carter, Rowan. From the most reliable data attainable, the number of Freedmen residing in the Counties above is as follows: Lewis-250; Greenup-350; Boyd-200; Carter-250; Lawrence-250; Johnson-100; Floyd-150; Rowan-50; Pike-125; McGoffin-60; Morgan-200. I saw and conversed with some of the most intelligent and best informed Freedmen in the Counties mentioned. Their condition is very satisfactory. They are fairly remunerated for their labor and are generally well treated by the whites. Many of them have purchased small farms and will in a short time become possessed of considerable property. This they are unable to do because of the cheapness of land and the absence of that spirit of intolerance and injustice which prevails in the 'Blue Grass' regions of the State. Very little can be done at present in this section of the State in the establishment of schools from the fact the Freedmen are scattered over a sparsely settled region of country, and will not be enabled to aid each other in such an undertaking. Schools might be located with advantage at Vanceburg, Lewis Co., Greenup Co., Catlettsburg, Boyd Co., and Louisa, Lawrence Co., and would prove of inestimable value in fitting them to become intelligent and virtuous citizens."
True made a tour, talking to "the intelligent an influential Freedmen" of Orangeburg, Mt. Gilead, Washington, Mayslick and Lardis or Sardis in Mason co; Flemingsburg, Mt Sterling and Elizabille in Fleming co; Brooksville, Germantown and Augusta in Bracken co; Carlisle in Nicholas Co; Mt Olivet in Robertson Co and Cynthiana and Berry's Station in Harrison Co. "The Freedmen seemed to feel great interest in the establishment of schools for their benefit, but have failed to make any efforts (with few exceptions) towards that end because of opposition from the whites. Public sentiment (in several of the places named being strongly opposed to their education and advancement in knowledge). "I advised the Freedmen to commence raising funds for the purpose of building school-houses or churches which can be used as such, assuring them that they will receive the aid and protection of the U.S.Govt in so doing." Says the Freedmen in Carlisle, Nicholas Co "... have raised ... two hundred and fifty dollars, which they propose to use in the purchase and repair of an old seminary building..." for a school. True recommended that the FB add $300 to their money. "At Mayslick, Mason Co., the Freedmen have commenced the construction of a school house which they are unable to complete, and will be compelled to suspend work upon it unless they receive aid from this Bureau." True recommended they be given $150. Whites are opposed to black education at Mayslick. "At Flemingsburg, Fleming Co., the Freedmen have succeeded, after many difficulties, in establishing a flourishing school, but owing to their poverty they are unable to support it, and I would recommend that the sum of Twenty dollars per month..." be given them. Says the schools at Falmouth, Cynthiana & Washington "are in a prosperous condition.

True reported the following case: "On the 16th inst., Jane Brown (Freedwoman) made an affidavit before me in which she alleges that she is a resident of Malden, Canada West, and that she has a daughter named Dinah living with Wm Hildreth (white) in Nicholas Co., Ky. and that when she went there to get said Dinah for the purpose of taking her to her home in Canada, he refused to deliver her into the custody of her mother and drove her off his place. In another affidavit she alleges that she has a daughter named Mary Jane, living with Mrs. Lucy Powers of Fleming Co. Ky., and that on or about the 1st of November 1867 she applied to the said Lucy Powers for the possession of her daughter, the said Mary Jane, and that James Powers, a son of the said Lucy Powers, ordered her to leave the place immediately or he would blow hell out of her. It appears from the statement of the affidavit that these children are actually held in a condition of slavery..." True recommended that troops be sent to recover the children.
"Many blacks have moved into the city with their families with the expectation of getting work here. The consequence is that the supply is greater than the demand in the city, and from all I can learn there are at least from 150 to 200 men and women out of employment. Complaints by both whites and blacks that there are too many idle freedmen standing around the market house and street corners. I hope to remedy this evil by issuing a circular advising them to find homes in the country, and threatening to arrest them as vagrants if they do not find employment without unnecessary delay."


CLOTHING ISSUED FREEDMEN IN MAYSVILLE, MARCH 1868

Destitute freedmen issued: 10 pairs pants, 13 lined blouses, 6 pairs men's wool drawers, 3 pairs men's brogans, 3 men's hats, 1 blanket, 1 boy's hat, 2 overcoats, 4 pairs men's wool hose, 4 pairs children's brogans, 14 yards linsey.
"The school at Catlettsburg has been carried on almost entirely at the charge and expense of Alexander Batts, a Colored man, who by his industry and economy has acquired considerable property paying taxes on about Six Thousand dollars. There are very few adult males residing at or near Catlettsburg, the Assessor having returned only forty-eight for the whole County, and of these all but thirteen were returned delinquents." True held a meeting with blacks and told them they could send their children to school even if they could not pay. "The man Batts above mentioned informed me that he had not been able to collect a single dollar from the Freedmen to aid in carrying on the school, and that he had been compelled to assume all the expense less the sum of fifteen dollars per month (The monthly allowance made by this Bureau)." True urged more money for the school.

"At Ashland I found a much better state of affairs. The Colored people are a better class and take great interest in the prosperity of their school. I consider this school one of the best in the Sub-district. It is under the charge of W.E.Kilgore, a discharged soldier of the 39th Ky. Vols., who was severely wounded in the service. Mr. Kilgore manifests great interest in the work of educating the Freedmen, and his school is remarkable for the regular attendance and good behavior of his pupils." True urged more money for Kilgore's school. Says the school at Augusta has been conducted "...in a very satisfactory manner. It appears that the Colored preacher (C.M.White) who has managed the school heretofore, does not possess the confidence and esteem of the Freedmen." He met with black leaders and urged them to continue their efforts. True recommended $20 per mo for school rent.

In reporting on an attack on blacks in Camp Nelson: "They/intruders/ then surrounded the house of a colored man/after intruding at Shofield's house/ and commenced an indiscriminate fire of muskets through the windows (They all appear to have been armed with muskets.) The house at the time contained two men (colored) one of who escaped by running off. The other stood his ground and made fight, returning their fire with his revolver, killing one of the party and badly wounding another. The mob finally succeeded in gaining admission to the house, and after overpowering the man John Bumsides, took him out and beat him badly with their Guns, leaving him as they supposed dead on the ground. He however recovered and is now able to get about again." Nain said the wounded man (Burnside) was unclear in his testimony as to who the villains were. The threats had the effect of closing the school.
j g nain in nicholasville to james h rice in lex, july 20, 1867, in letters sent, nicholasville ky, entry 1242, no 168, rg 105, nat arch

Nain told of finding 3 children "in a Cabin in the woods in Garrard County where they had been abandoned by their mother, she having run off with some man, leaving her children to starve. I provided for them until they recovered, and then found them good houses." Said they were near the point of starvation when he found them.

NEED FOR EDUCATION REALIZED BY BLACKS MT STERLING AREA (July 1866) 3470

h c howard in mt sterling to Rev. Dr. Rush in cincinnati, july 14, 1866, in letters sent, mt sterling ky, entry 1237, no 162, rg 105, nat arch

"The sudden change from Slavery to Freedom leaves them almost entirely without the pecuniary means necessary to purchase Books and as there seems to be a universal opinion and disposition among the Freedmen to Educate their children."
"...the Freedmen have erected in this place (2) two good Frame Houses, which are used for School Houses and Churches.... +

"The Methodist (Colored) denomination have erected a Frame building Forty one (41) feet long Thirty one feet (31) side and (12) Twelve ft high Story (sic). They have purchased and paid for the lot of ground, and have a deed for the same. They have already expended on this building the sum of Four Hundred dollars, and it will require the Sum of 300.00 or 350 dollars to Complete the same. +

"The Reformed denomination have erected a Suitable House which is used for School and Church purposes 30 ft long 20 ft wide 10 ft Story, at a Cost of Five Hundred and seventy five dollars. This building will require the sum of One hundred and fifty dollars to Complete it." Howard recommended that money be appropriated in each case to finish these schools.

Winchester--In charge of Geo Cary, "inferior" building, 48 students. Howard recommends assistance Paris--4 black schools "in a flourishing condition. No assistance is needed.

Millersburg--needs a school. Sharpsburg--Impossible to "procure a House at any rate." Owingsville--no sch, but the citizens are willing to have one if the FB will provide it.
William T. Buckner in Hopkinsville to H. A. Hunter in Russellville, March 18, 1868, in registered letters received (Feb-May 1868), Russellville entry 128J, box 61, RG 105, Nat. Arch.

Buckner reports on each of the 3 schools in Hopkinsville. "The pupils of these schools are learning fast & doing remarkably well under many & serious disadvantages. They have not been in any manner aided by the Freedmen's Bureau, & I trust if there are any funds from which they can be aided, either in obtaining a proper supply of good books, or assistance in procuring necessary school houses, that you will take such steps as will furnish them with at least a moderate portion of the bounty of the Government."

"Before the war, this Christian County was the largest Slave holding County in the State of Kentucky, and the number of colored people has decreased less than they became free."

"As a class they are quiet & industrious & show a most earnest desire to educate their children. In my opinion, this is the only hope for them, especially the education of the girls, for without mental & moral education to a thousand & one temptations, the will go the Devil in a hard gallop."

Christopher Malone, Stuart Newton and James Bell the colored Teachers of these schools are highly respectable & quite intelligent specimens of their race. Miss Hughes is a white Lady from the North - all have as many pupils as they can attend to, & Miss Hughes more pupils than can be properly taught by any one Teacher. Can you not supply these people with books? Can you appropriate any funds for the payment of the small pittance of the Teachers? Can you furnish any clothing, or other help for the sick & destitute? If you can do any of these things let me know & I will assist in any way I possibly can without hope of reward. If your Bureau has any funds with which to assist these people it is time they were letting it be known in these parts.

"They [blacks] have formed a benevolent society among themselves & have done much good from their scanty resources in feeding the hungry clothing the naked & especially in burying the dead. They have purchased & enclosed a piece of ground as Cemetery - but many calls have exhausted their means, & after paying half the purchase money I fear they will lose this land by default."

"As I told you in a former letter, I have sought information in reference to these matters from the most intelligent & reliable black men of the County - I believe they have confidence in me & converse with me freely & without reserve, & therefore I can tell you that they have lost all hope of being benefited by the Freedmen's Bureau, & unless they can be spurred by you that some of their prayers for aid can be granted, that they will consider the whole thing as 'played out;' to use their own expressive language. So if you have books send them to me per Adams Express & I will see they are properly distributed - so with clothing, money or anything else good & useful - As for my reliability enquire of any body that knows me in Russellville or elsewhere. I would be much pleased to hear from you on the points I have hastily noticed. The simple fact that you have written to me in reference to their Educational wants has spread among them, & revived their hopes to an amazing degree." Wm. T. Buckner
"Whereas Amanda Hite (a woman of color) this day personally appeared in the Court of this Superintendant of Freedmens affairs and requested that her daughter Flora Taylor aged eleven years the first day of January eighteen hundred and sixty six should be apprenticed to William E. Troxell of Louisville Ky until she is eighteen years of age and said Troxell now here in open Court accepts said trust and binds himself to cause said Flora to be taught the duties of housewifery and that he will furnish her with proper medical attention and that she shall be well fed and clothed and treated with humanity and be taught to read and write and common arithmetic including the rule of three and a good new suit of clothes at the expiration of her apprenticeship and fifty dollars in money." witnessed, etc. Jan 15, 1866

Amanda also apprenticed her daughter Gertrude Taylor to Troxell same terms.

"Whereas Teresa a girl of Color aged ten years the first day of January eighteen hundred and sixty six is this day brought into Court and represented by Mrs Mary Breeden as a destitute child without father or mother living and said Mary R. Breeden signifying her wish to have said Teresa apprenticed to her and this contract of apprenticeship therefore Witnesseth that said Mary R. Breeden binds herself to teach the said Teresa the duties of housewifery generally to feed her on good wholesome and suitable food clothes her well find her lodging pay medical bills and treat her with humanity and Kindness and teach her to read and write and cypher to including the Rule of three and at the expiration of her apprenticeship when she arrives at the age of Eighteen years give her a genteel suit of clothes." signed, witnessed, etc, Jan 1866
Indentures, Louisville ky, entry 1221, no 149, reg 105, nat arch

Julius Cesar Mannervier, col, "parents and kindred are unknown" apprenticed to Thomas J. Griffith of Louisville until age 21 (13 when apprenticed) to be taught "the duties of waiter and usher and the general duties appertaining to them"; to provide medical, food, clothes, treated "with humanity and kindness"; taught to read and write, rule of three. At 21 to be given a new suit of clothes and $50.

APPRENTICESHIP AT FARMING, LOUISVILLE Feb 1866

Jane Brown apprenticed son Anthony to Benj. W. Duerran of Oldham Co, mm until 21. To be taught farming, read and write, medical, kindness, rule of 3, "suit of New clothes at the expiration of said term and $50 fifty dollars in money." (age 14 when apprenticed)
Walker Redford, 13, apprenticed to A. H. Redford "to learn the trade or business of house servant" until age 21 (Nov 30, 1873) Not to play cards, frequent taverns, etc. Will be taught to read, write, math to the "Rule of three"; a new suit of clothes and $100 at 21.

Jane Crenshaw, col, age 13, apprenticed to Rev. Hiram A. Hunter to learn "general housewifery and the duties of house servant"; will serve until age 18. At 18 will get "two new suits of clothes; and $25."
TWO BLACK CHILDREN HIRED FOR YEAR, LOUISVILLE (1867)

Indentures, Louisville Ky, entry 1221, no 149, brfal, rg 105, nat arch

"Louisville Ky Nov 9th 1867+

"I have this day hired from Samuel Taylor Cold his two daughters Gertrude and Flora Taylor who are now with me from this day until the 25th day of December 1868 for whose services I am to pay to him the sum of twenty five dollars for the services of each one at the end of the term of service. I agree to clothe and feed said children well and properly and pay all Doctors bills and cause them to be instructed in reading as has been done for the last two years. The children are to be permitted to visit their parents during the next Christmas for two days and once during the summer of 1868 and in case it should be shown that said children are not well treated this contract to be annulled. +

"In witness whereof I have hereto set my hand & seal."

signed W. H. Troxell.

see note 3474

EXAMPLE OF CONTRACT: LOUISVILLE, 1866

Freedmen's Contracts, Louisville Ky, entry 1220, no 150, brfal, rg 105, national archives (There are 15 similar contracts by the McLains)

"This contract witnesseth that Marcus Miller and Eliza Miller his wife agree to hire to and work for William and Jackson McLain of Henderson County Ky from this date until the 29th day of December 1866 and they hereby bind themselves to go to a place near Friars Point in the State of Mississippi to work on a farm for Will & Jackson McLain to clothe themselves and in all things to deport themselves as good and faithful hirelings and servants and the said Wm & Jackson McLain bind themselves to treat said Marcus Miller and Eliza his wife humanely to feed them with wholesome food and to furnish them with comfortable quarters and to pay Doctors bills and they further bind themselves to pay to the said Marcus Miller the sum of two hundred dollars for his services for the time stipulated the same to be paid as follows to wit each month the said Wm and Jackson McLain are to pay the said Marcus half of his wages for that month and to reserve the other half of his wages each month until the end of the term for which he herein engages and they hereby bind themselves to pay to the said Eliza the sum of one hundred dollars for her services for the time stipulated the same to be paid in the same way as herein provided for the payment of the said Marcus Miller." Witnessed etc. Marcus signed his mark; W.R. Kinney signed as agent for Jackson and Wm McLain.
EXAMPLE OF CONTRACT: LOUISVILLE, 1866

Freedmen's Contracts, Louisville Ky, entry 1220, no 150 brfal, rg 105, nat arch

"This contract between Richard Blair (of Color) and Daniel Shouse and Edwin S. Shouse of Shelby County Kentucky Witnesseth that said Blair agrees to serve said Daniel and Edwin L from this day until the 25th day of December 1866 to do any and all sort of work on the farm in Shelby County aforesaid to furnish his own clothes and pay medical bills and in all things obey with alacrity all orders given him. And the said Daniel Shouse and Edwin L Shouse bind themselves to furnish said Blair with healthy and suitable food and Lodging to treat him with humanity and Kindness to pay him One hundred and twenty dollars to be paid five dollars at the end of each month and the remainder on the said 25th day of December next. And it is agreed that hire lost by sickness is to be deducted." Richard signed his mark; "Daniel & E Shouse for Myself & Father"

EXAMPLE OF CONTRACT: LOUISVILLE, 1866

Freedmen's Contracts, Louisville ky, entry 1220, no 150 brfal, rg 105, nat archives

"This contract made the 25th day of January 1866 between Elias Wilson for himself and his wife Sidney and his son Elias and his daughter Mary of the first part and George F. Collings MD of Mount Washington Bullitt County Ky of the second part Witnesseth that said Elias Wilson agrees on behalf of the parties of the first part that they will proceed to the farm of the said party of the second part where they will execute until December 25, 1866 all suitable in door and out door work the women in door work only that they will clothe themselves and in all things that they will deport themselves as faithful hirelings and servants until Christmas next. And the said Collings binds himself to treat said parties of the first part humanely to furnish them with wholesome food and comfortable quarters to afford them medical attendance and medicine and to pay the sum of one hundred and sixty dollars payable as follows one half of the proportion for each month at the end of each month and the remainder at the termination of this contract"
REV. J S STANSBERRY OF LOUISVILLE OBJECTED TO FB'S ASSIGNING TEACHERS TO LOU SCHOOLS (Oct 1868)

j s catlin in lou to js stansberry in lou, oct 23, 1868, in letters sent, louisville ky, entry 1203, no 141, rg 105, nat arch

Catlin objects to Stansberry and his "Colored men who have attempted to control and thrash the action of the Bureau, in reference to the Selection of teachers for certain Schools intended to have a meeting to express 'indignation' against the purpose of officers of the Bureau to control their own affairs, and furnished the same to General Howard at Washington...." Catlin said such an action would be detrimental to freedmen, etc.

QUARREL BETWEEN J S CATLIN OF LOU FB & BLACK MINISTER STANSBERRY (Oct 1868)

j s catlin in lou to j s stansberry in lou, oct 25, 1868, in letters sent, louisville ky, entry 1203, no 141, rg 105, nat archives

"The issue between you--your friends and myself is just this. Shall the Government through its authorized officers, after paying the transportation and salary of teachers of freed children control those teachers and locate them, or shall the Pastors and Trustees of the various churches have this power; I contend that the government has exclusive control of these matters and as long as I am its agent here, I shall exercise it. +

"You and your clique closed one flourishing school and turned one hundred and twenty-five scholars in the street and though the Asst Comm has officially requested you to furnish the reasons for so doing you have never dared to give any reasons..." You have only answered with slanders. (The school was Center St Sch)

"The school was broken up because certain men could not rule it--and run it." Mrs Levere had taught there and was expecting to return this fall; was assured by Trustee Peter Lewis that she would.

"When she came strange to say your wife had Center Street." Catlin apparently shut down Center St rather than let Stansberry's wife teach there. Catlin accused Stansberry of getting a petition of 3 people, the names of which Stansberry signed.
QUARREL BETWEEN CATLIN AND STANSBERRY IN LOU PATCHED UP
(Oct 1868)

j s catlin in lou to j s stansberry in lou, oct 29, 1868, in letters sent, louisville ky, entry 1203, no 141, rg 105, nat arch.

Catlin burried the hatchet; let Stansberry's wife go to center street. Mrs Levere to New Albany; the New Albany teacher to aid Stansberry's wife.

ILLUSTRATION: ON YEAR LABOR CONTRACT (Jan 1867)

Labor Contracts, Office of the Assistant Commissioner BRFAL, Kentucky, entry 1081, box 41, rg 105, nat arch.

Thomas Clark (col) greed to work for 12 months for $150. The contract is a very short form. You simply fill in the blanks with names, locations, work etc. Clark is to be a "field hand" The contract was signed at Graves Co, Ky. Jan 1, 1867.

Another contract in the same box 41 is totally hand written; others are for apprentices.

Another in box 21: Wyatt Young and his two children for the year 1868. To be paid Wyatt- $85; Green- $40; Jane- $30, for the year.

Another contract. hand written, short, George Cloyd agreed to work for Chas A. Allen at Cumberland Co Ky for the year 1867 for $62.

Harriet Mayfield agreed to work for the FB hospital in Louisville as a laundress for $10 per mo; one ration per day; med supplied; all on a short FB form.
ILLUSTRATIONS: LABOR CONTRACTS

Labor Contracts, Office of the Assistant Commissioner BRFAL, Kentucky, entry 1081, box 41 rg 105, nat arch.

Simpson Co., Jan 12, 1867.

"Know all men by these present that J. D. Arnold is held and firmly bound to the United States of America in the final sum of One hundred and twenty nine dollars for the payment of which I bind myself, his executor and Administrator firmly by these present in this contract that I am to furnish to the persons whose names are Subjoined (Free Laborers) Quarters Fuel Substantial ration to be paid before the crop raised on his farm in Simpson County Kentucky is Sold" Jacob Stringer 24, Mary Stringer 25, for year 1867.

Some of the apprenticeship form of the FB allowed you to merely fill in blanks.

FB AGENT IN RUSSELLVILLE TELLS OF HIS STRANGE RECEPTION IN AREA

H. A. Hunter in Russellville to a Benson Brown in bg, march 24, 1868, in letters received, bowling green ky, entry 1105, box 42, rg 105 nat archives.

"I have been strangely received here, having been bred in this place, I am personally known by many white & col,d heard of by all, respected as a man & minister, but condemned as a Bureau Agent. All these thing combined have an effect on the public which I cannot describe." Goes on to say he has been ostracized by churches, most people, etc.
BLACKS IN LOU ORGANIZED A FREED SANITARY COMMISSION (apr 1866)

"In this city a meeting of influential colored men was held and a Sanitary Commission organized as mentioned in par. 5. Cir no 1. from this office, dated Apr 7, 1866. A copy of which is enclosed. + The collectors are appointed by the officers of the Commission appointed by this office and are paid 10% on the amount they collect."

see note 2339

DESCRIPTION OF THE "BREAT COLORED FAIR" IN LEX (Sept 1891)

The (Indianapolis) Freeman, Oct 3, 1891

"The Great Colored Fair. The Most Successful Organization of its Kind in America. It is Properly Organized, and is Backed up by the Laws of the State. Has Run Successfully for the Last Twenty-three Years, Improving Each Year and Adding More and More to its Financial Standing. It is Owned and Operated Entirely by Afro-Americans, and Has a Wonderful History. Sketches of its Officers and Directors, with Notes and Illustrations of its Management. Editor's Correspondence of The Freeman. +

"It was late when we reached Lexington. Three of the greatest days of the fair had passed, but the fourth and last day was great in number and in the quality of exhibits given. We had heard and read a great deal of the Great deal of the Great Colored Lexington Fair, but our eyes were opened on Saturday morning, September 19th, when we witnessed then thousand or more faces in the grand stand and on the grounds of this fair. Ten thousand people of all hues, colors and complexions, but all belonging to the race. Lexington is considered the capitol of the blue grass region, and the garden spot of America; and judging from what we saw and heard on this day we must confess that we must concur in this opinion. The attendance on Saturday was between 10,000 and 12,000, on Friday about 25,000, on Thursday about 10,000 and on Wednesday 5,000. Wednesday was opening day of the fair and the exhibitors of live stock, fine stock and everything, the agricultural, mechanical and artistic, had to put their wares in shape. A fair estimate then of the whole attendance was between 40,000 and 45,000. +

"Too much credit can not be given the management of this fair for the systematic business-like way that it was conducted. It reflects credit not only upon the men in charge directly, but upon the inhabitants of Lexington..."
and adjacent cities and counties as well. This company was established twenty-three years ago; it began under favorable auspices and was a success from the start. Of course the receipts and attendance was nothing like what it was this year, but it has steadily increased in volume from then until now. It has improved every year, by adding new features and new attractions. In its infancy a charger was secured from the state and grounds were leased for its management. Better judgment, however, prevailed and after running a few years on its own ground it was concluded that the close proximity of the white grounds and the cheapness with which visitors could reach it was preferable, and it would cost but five cents to reach the grounds, whereas to reach their grounds would cost at least twenty cents and probably fifty cent for vehicles and transportation.

"There were seventy shares held by thirty-five members at $10 per share in 1869. In the fourth year of its existence it secured a membership in the National Trotting Association, being the first and only colored body so honored. It gives records and this year lowered the record. The total number of shares at present is 108 and they are valued at $50 per share. They also own property worth nearly $15,000, making the company worth about $25,000. It declares dividends every year, and since its organization has paid 500 per cent in dividends.

"Its charter was granted for twenty-five years by the Kentucky Legislature. It pays in premiums about $3,000 each season, $1,000 of which usually goes to trotting and fine stock. The officers and Board of Directors are elected annually. This year its officers were as follows: Henry Lee, President; J. Lewis, Vice-President; W.L. Taylor, Treasurer; A.L. Harden, Secretary. The Board of Directors consists of J.C. Jackson, H.P. Gaines, Edward Cheunalt, John T. Clay, Benj. D. Morgan, M.T. Clay and W.H. Campbell, the cuts of whom appear in this issue of The Freeman.

"It is the purpose of the company next year to have a greater and a more successful fair than ever. Aside from the work of the fair, they own a lot on one of the main streets and contemplate erecting a $10,000 block for hall and rental purposes and to establish a printing office of their own and print a newspaper. The success that has crowned their previous efforts and a knowledge of the men now at the head of affairs convinces us that success in the new lines is assured.

"The Floral Booth was a thing of beauty, and a joy forever."
"Much credit is also due to Mr. E. W. Jackson, ring-master, and as a bystander remarked, he was the right man in the right place."
"The largest watermelon on the ground was raised by President Lee. It took the first premium, and weighed 75 pounds. It was offered to his friends as a feast after the fair."
"President Lee, Treasurer Taylor and Secretary Harden were kept busy looking after finance, but took time enough to chat with Editor Cooper and to 'smile' with him on one occasion."
"For pretty women Lexington is entitled to the pastry. There were more of them to the square yard, dressed in the latest styles, than any similar crowd that it has been for fortune to meet."
"The prince of jockeys, Isaac Murphy, was in New York, but through the kindness of Prof. Lewis, of Centreville, and behind his rapid steed, we visited his residence, (Murphy's). Britton and Overton, two more celebrities..."
The (Indianapolis) Freeman, Oct 3, 1891

live in this city, but we failed to meet them.+ "The Press also remarked, when Abraham Lincoln freed all of these good citizens he never knew that they, the despised race, would reflect upon his wise and worthy act. All hail good citizens worth of a great race, the free and untrampled representatives of the color that is an honor to you.+ "Among the visitors we met were Prof. John H. Jackson and W. H. Mayo, of Frankfort, Prof. Hathway, /sic/ of Berea College, and who, by the way, is the only colored educator teaching in a white school in the United States, Cheatham and Roe, of Danville, Mr. E. Craig, of Versaille, /sic/ Mr. Brunner, of Winchester, and many other too numerous to mention.+ "The management of the live stock was in the hands of Mr. J. C. Jackson A more affable, competent and pleasing gentleman we have never met. Everything was systematic, and was done in the most approved style. The opening of the fair each day, the entering of the stock upon the track and exhibitions in this line were conducted on time, and in a pleasing manner to the large concourse of people in attendance.+ "Much courtesy was shown the management of the Fair by the white press of Lexington. The Leader, The Press and The Transcript vied with each other in saying goods /sic/ things of the fair. Here is an item from The Press: "Gentlemen of the Colored Agricultural and Mechanical Association, you are to be congratulated; your fair is a perfect success, and its annual increase of patronage places you upon a solid foundation with a good back account to your credit. The Press extends its right digit, and wishes you continued prosperity.+ "Edward E. Cooper is editor and proprietor of The Freeman, published at Indianapolis. It is the only illustrated colored newspaper published. Mr. Cooper was in attendance at the A. and M. Colored Fair, and he will on his return home, publish an elaborate report of the fair in The Freeman of the 29th, with the grounds illustrated in full. Mr. Cooper is a polished gentleman, and made many friends in the Blue Grass section.--The Press. + "The Hoosier delegation acquitted itself nobly. Among them we might mention Benj. T. Thornton, our detective, Henry Sweetland, our councilman, G.L.Jones, our whiskey guager; Mr. Rogister, our contractor and builder; Charles Rogers, grocer; Henry Moore, tonsorialist; Prof. Anthony, who by the way, was known as Elder Anthony, and many others. Editor Cooper attended strictly to business while Messrs Thornton, Jones, Moore and Rogers looked after the ladies. They returned home with an excellent opinion of Lexington. "The Freeman was on the ground and had an excellent exhibit in Floral Hall, under the management of Mr. Charles H. Stewart. In this exhibition was shown the pictures of the representative men of the race in large size, including Frederick Douglas, Toussiant L. Ouveture, B. K. Bruce, John R. Lunch, Dr. Wm. J. Simmons, John M. Langston, Bishop Arnett, Bishop Payne, Bishop Turner, T. Thomas Fortune, and many others. It also contained a copy of every book written /sic/ and published by an Afro-American. These with many other examples and illustrations of what the race has done in literary, artistic and mechanical lines constituted The Freeman exhibit.+ "A Splendid Showing. + "The Kentucky Leader is due much credit for the fair and impartial manner that it treated the fair and its management, and a few items from it are not amiss. Here is one: +
"Success perched on the banners of the colored fair. It was the largest week they have ever had yet, and a great many premiums given. +

"The large crowds of people who daily visited the fair go to show how popular this annual exhibition has grown among the Afro-American race in this section of the State. The fame of this fair is spreading, and this year witnessed large delegations of visitors from Ohio and Indiana, who put in the whole of the past week here enjoying the excellent programme of exhibits and races provided by the association. Notwithstanding the immense crowds who pushed and pulled each other around in their efforts to see everything, the week passed off without a single disturbance on the grounds. This speaks well for the colored race, and to their credit be it said there has never before been a quieter, more peaceful gathering in the city than the one which attended the fair this week. The Afro-American race is said to be the happiest people on earth, and it is quite evident to those who watched them in their whole-souled enjoyment of the week's events that they can get more pleasure out of the things of this life than any other people.+

"The officers of the fair are gentlemen and clever persons, and they left nothing undone in their efforts to make the fair a success, and they are entitled to much praise for the able manner in which they conducted the affairs of the association.+

"The newspaper representatives were shown the most courteous attention, and had all the favors possible conferred upon them while on the grounds. Each day the officers of the association set an elegant dinner for them, to which the boys did ample justice.+

"Friday afternoon The Press gang, under the guidance of Chas. English and Dave Brown, were piloted to the association dining room, where a magnificent luncheon /sic/ was served to them and other invited white guests. The whole thing was elegantly gotten up, and the verdict of all who partook of the association's hospitality was that the colored people 'did it up brown.' The crowd which attended the fair yesterday was almost, if not as large as the one on Friday. The gate tickets gave out early in the day, and a new supply had to be obtained. +

"The management are all happy because of the splendid financial success of this years meeting, and they will put forth extra effort to make the fair next year eclipse this one.+

"The gate receipts on Friday, show it to be the most prosperous day in the history of the association. Every day this year has been a better day in the point of attendance and gate receipts than the same days of other years. The displays have been well up to the standard of those other fairs, and show the marked improvement made by the Afro-American race."

Ed. E. Cooper of The Freeman arrived Fri night and spent Sat taking sketches, etc. "The big, gaily uniformed Brotherhood Band of Indianapolis, which, by the way, is one of the crack colored bands in the country, rendered delightful music upon several occasions during the fair."
"The (Indianapolis) Freeman, Oct 3, 1891

"The Afro-Americans in Lexington.+

"Much has been said about Kentucky and its hospitality; much more has been said and written about the rights and privileges accorded the colored people in this city. Lexington may be rightly regarded as a representative Kentucky city, and it has been tippified as the capital of the Blue Grass region, noted for its fine horses, pretty women and good whiskey. It is not strange, then, that we should keep our eyes and ears open wide to see and hear all that was possible to see and to hear. We did not go about with a chip on our shoulder, but went on the hypothesis that when you are in Rome, you must do as Rome does. We had been told that the Negro had but a little show for his rights, his privileges and his 'glass alley' in Kentucky. We had been told that he could not ride on the cars, and sit straight in his seat; that he could not get soda water, or a glass of 'what not;' that he could not walk on the side-walk, but had to walk in the middle of the street with the other animals. We were told a lot of this stuff. It was our purpose here, among other things, to see just how much of this was true. +

"We saw first, the largest gathering of Afro-Americans that it has been our fortune to witness. It was a jolly, happy, intelligent and good looking set. Pretty women and gallant men, school teachers, ministers, professors, lawyers, doctors, editors, whiskey gaugers, merchants, contractors and builders and men in every calling. We noticed that all of the truck work, such as driving and hauling, that nearly all of the carpenter work, contracting and building, brick laying, that work in the factories, breweries, around the street cars, and in fact nearly all, if not quite all of the manual labor in Lexington is done by black men. +

"Its Population.+

"Lexington has a population of between thirty and thirty-five thousand people, about 50 per cent. of which is colored. Politically, they can vote as they choose; a large majority of them, however, do not seem to care to vote, but are satisfied to make money, to get homes and to live. Some of the best real estate in Lexington is owned by colored people. On Mills street, and other streets we saw two and three story brick houses, elegantly furnished, with large fronts, with horses and stables owned and inhabited by Negroes. They own good property, and live on the best streets. They have their own turn-outs, and they go to church and to the fair and other places in grand style. If you were not told that you were in Lexington, you would not know it. It is our opinion that if the race is doing as well in other parts of Kentucky as it is doing in Lexington, it had better stay just where it is.+

"We were compelled to note the difference in Northern and Southern prejudice. In the Northern cities, the Negro is kept out of the factories and industries of all kinds. It is true that he can eat at the lunch counters in white restaurants, that they are sold seats on the lower floor at the opera houses, that they can barber and wait table and that they can vote the republican ticket. The Southern prejudice, while it is just as intense, goes in a different direction.+

"The Negro can get all the work that he can do. You find him in the factories, on the railroad and in the work shops. He is a shoe-maker, he is a contractor and builder, he is a merchant, he is a grocery man. He is
his own lawyer and doctor, and he has his own teacher, but he cannot sit
at the counter of white restaurant, neither can he purchase a seat in the
lower part of the opera house. In some places he can vote if he chooses.
In fact, in all places he can vote, but it is not always counted. Putting
these two pictures together, we naturally conclude that the solution of the
'Race Problem' will be solved when the Negro has advanced materially and
educationally rather than politically and surficially."/sic/

"Mr Lee is president of the Fair Association and has been for quite
a number of years. He is a farmer by occupation, and lives a few miles
in the country in Fayette county. He owns an excellent farm and has an
interesting family. The success of the fair is due more to his efforts
than anyone else."
BRIEF BIOG: W. L. TAYLOR: OFFICER OF COL FAIR IN LEX (sept 1891)

The (Indianapolis) Freeman, Oct 3, 1891

Treasurer of Col Fair; owns one of the best livery stable in Lex; is considered wealthy.

BRIEF BIOG: JORDAN C JACKSON, OFFICIAL OF LEX COL FAIR (sept 1891)

The (Indianapolis) Freeman, Oct 3, 1891

"Of the whole Board of Directors, Mr. Jackson is perhaps the best known; having served a great many years in the service of the government as whiskey gauger, and comes from one of the oldest families in Kentucky." Chairman of the stock committee; owns elegant home, farm, just outside the city limits. Successful & happy.
The (Indianapolis) Freeman, Dec 12, 1891

"The National Widows and Orphans Home of the U.B.F's. has been purchased and deeded to the order in possession of W. A. Gaines for the Orphan committee. The land purchased comprises 230 acres with two houses, plenty of barns, and in walking distance of the metropolis of Kentucky and a station of the great L. and N. R. R. Company. The improvements alone are worth over $4000 as the Home is open to the entire order N.G.M. Peyton has issued a circular requesting the State Grand Masters to order each delinquent Lodge or Temple to forward the $.00 to the N.G. secretary, Willis N. Brent;..." In Louisville

The (Lexington) American Citizen, Nov 13, 1875


"A call having been issued for a convention of all persons interested in the cause of education of the colored race, it was responded to by a meeting at the courthouse Wednesday, attended by delegates, white and black, from many counties in this State. Among those present were: +

"Clark--Harrison Martin+


"Bath--John H. Hedges.+


"McCracken--J. M. Williams.+

"Franklin--R. Martin, Jesse Henderson.+

"Shelby--James L. Dudley.+

"Montgomery--Preston Taylor.+

"The meeting was organized by the appointment of Henry King, of Fayette, President; R. Martin, of Franklin, J. M. Williams, of McCracken and J. M. Harris, of Mercer, Vice Presidents, and Henry Scroggins, Fayette, H. R. Chittenden, Madison and Preston Taylor, Montgomery, Secretaries. +

"The object of the meeting having been explained a Committee on Resolutions was appointed consisting of E. H. Fairchild, J. M. Harris, Gabriel Burdett, Jesse Henderson, J. H. Hedges, James Bailey and J. T. Thomas. +
"Letters were read from Col. Kelley and Dr. Humphreys, of Louisville, Col. W. C. Goodloe, Mr. L. P. Tarlton, Rev. H. A. M. Henderson and others asking to be excused for not being present and expressing sympathy with the object of the meeting." They then discussed at length the objective of the conference. Fairchild addressed the meeting. He said the idea of a conference originated with him and a number of ministers during a meeting at Berea College. Fairchild said the present school law for "colored children ... was wholly inadequate." He discussed the importance of education for blacks. Fairchild though the best course to be pursued, was to petition the Legislature for such a modification of the law as will equalize the taxation and give the colored children an equal share with white children,..."
present the subject frequently to their congregations, and to all the people we say, seek for yourselves equal school advantages with the white people. Ask for nothing less, yet make the best possible use of those you have.+

"We also beg of the white people of the State to consider that they cannot neglect the colored population without involving themselves in the consequence of the ignorance, indolence, poverty, vice and corruption that must follow. We appeal to preachers to present this subject to their congregations, and to editors and writers for the press to prepare and publish frequent articles in all the papers setting forth our necessities and delinquencies in this respect.+

"We also recommend to all the people to petition the Legislature, soon to convene, to (sic) modify the school laws as to furnish equal and adequate facilities for common school education to all children of the state."

"We recommend the following form of petition. If no other is preferred let this be circulated in every county of the State.+

"To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Kentucky:+

"The undersigned legal voters of County, respectfully request your honorable body so to modify the common school laws, that, with equal taxation, and with the same basis of of enumeration, the white and colored population of the State shall receive, in the ratio of their number of children, equal proportions of the school fund. And we furthermore petition for such additional equal taxation as will furnish increased educational facilities for all the children of the State.+

"We also appoint a central committee to superintend the circulation of this petition through the State; and a committee to present this petition to the Legislature, and to take all necessary measures to secure the enactment of such a law as it requests; and a committee to secure means from other sources to aid in the education of our colored children, in case this petition to the Legislature should fail; this committee shall also have the responsibility of providing for an equitable division of the funds they may secure, and shall have power to call another State convention if they deem it expedient."
The (Lex) American Citizen, Nov 13, 1875

"The Educational Convention which assembled in this city on the 10th inst., though not largely attended, will no doubt result in much good. Its objects were largely endorsed by prominent and influential men from many parts of the State, who evidently feel that the provision made for the education of the colored children of the State is inadequate to meet the growing demands for increased facilities for the intellectual and moral improvement of the colored population of our State." The issue, the editorial continued, is the following: "But the first thing to be considered is, whether the Commonwealth of Kentucky, being able to do better, is willing to allow any portion of her population to be doomed to perpetual ignorance and degradation or not."

BLA~S CELEBRATE EMANCIPATION DAY IN LOU (Jan 1869)

The Louisville Courier-Journal, Jan 3 and 4, 1869

"Emancipation Day. How It Was Celebrated by the Colored People of Louisville. Public Parade of Societies and Meeting at Asbury Chapel. The Addresses and Other Exercises. A Night Jubilee at Quinn Chapel. Interesting Tableaux, Etc.+
The celebration was on Friday, undaunted by bad weather. Virtually all black organizations were present (represented); bands, fraternities, etc. After a 2 hour parade, they went to Asbury Meth ch. for speeches, etc.: Music by the Band, Prof. Reynolds, 2 Prayer by Rev. H. Adams, 3 Reading of the Eman Proc. by H. Morris, 4. Oration by Rev. H.J.Young, 5. Remarks by W.H.Gibson. Some of Young's speech was reproduced (hard to read mf copy). W.H.Gibson, the president of the Fred. Douglass Lyceum, also spoke.
"Zach Freeman, a dusky youth, and Kate Williams, a white Desdemona, appeared to answer a charge of fornication. The Judge suspended the case to await the action of the grand jury."


"Yesterday was a grand day for the colored people of Louisville. About noon they commenced, all ages, sizes and colors, to gather at the corner of Fourth and Jefferson streets. As the hour of two o'clock drew nigh the crowd swelled larger and larger, until all four corners were covered with blacks, dressed in their Sunday attire." Further descriptions of crowd. They marched to "the corner of Third and Jefferson, filing to the left towards Benson's Theater, the place of meeting. The procession was headed by Brown's Brass Band, made up exclusively of negroes, except one white man. The following societies followed in the rear: 1--Grand Army of the Republic. 2--Martial Music. 3--United Sons of Benevolence. 4--Independent Sons of Honor. 5--York street Baptist Church--Brothers of Calvary. 6--United Brothers of Friendship." The societies had banners. There were about 300 people, "clothed in regalias." They began filing into the theater, there being at least 2000 people outside the theater. Honored Guests present: "Elder H.J. Young, col., of the Quinn Chapel of Louisville; Isaiah Mitchell, Esq., col; Rev. James Turner, col., of Lexington; Rev. E. M. Crevath, of Cincinnati, Secretary of the American Missionary Association Society; Rev. H. Adams, col., of Louisville; Mr. Hunt, Inspector of Freedmen's Bank; Horace Morris, col., Cashier Freedmen's Bank, Louisville; Peter Clark, Esq., col., Cincinnati; Col. Ben Runkle, of the Freedmen's Bureau, and others."
A temporary organization was formed as the convention met; then a permanent organization was formed. A credentials committee; 3 delegates from Taylor Co. who could not read or write were seated. Some squabbling over procedure.

Speech of Major Martin W. Delaney, "...the only colored commissioned officer in the United States army, who was promoted for bravery on the field at Vicksburg, was called..." to speak. Major pointed: "...I am one of those who will not let a white man do for me what I can do myself. (Loud applause and cries of 'Bully!' 'That's it!')" He went on: "Be true to your own race. Love and prefer your own race as the white man prefers his race. (Cries of 'Good!') Until you do that you are not fit for freedom. (Cries of 'That's so!') Remember your enslavement came from peculiar circumstances. When white slavery passed away it was necessary to find some one else to enslave. The negro was selected because he was more docile, more religious, less bloodthirsty than the white man. It was not because they were an inferior race. The term negro means black, but this slavery does not apply to black alone. I am the only one with uninterrupted blood here. What is to be done with the octoroon, /sic/ quadroon, and mulatto. (Laughter and applause.) The fight is between me and the redoubtable George D. Prentice. I will compel the biting, sarcastic George D. Prentice to acknowledge me as his peer. (Laughter and applause.) I will beg no man's pardon for being black. I have just as much right to be black as a white man has to be white. I am just as proud as my blackness as he is of his whiteness.... They also claim the credit of everything for the white blood. Well, Fred. Douglass made a speech in Kentucky. An Irishman said 'begorrah (laughter) can a nagur talk that way.' Oh, said the Kentuckians, he is only half nigger. 'be faith says he, 'if half nager can do that, what can a whole one do?' (Loud laugh and applause.)"

"Mr. Jackson, a native Kentucky mulatto, was next introduced, and refuted the charge that the negro is inferior to the white race. He acknowledged the ignorance of the negro, but attributed that to slavery. The whites had kept them in ignorance /sic/ to keep the negro in slavery, and had sent white men to the penitentiary for teaching negroes. He defied any person to produce any passage from the Bible showing that God created the negro inferior to the white man. It was a doctrine that came only from the bottom of the infernal regions. (Applause.) All the negro asked was a chance, and they would show themselves the equal of the white man. Here was on the stand a negro major of the army and negro doctor; that speaks for itself. He had read an argument by some man in New York that the negro had sprung from the monkey. The basis of this argument was the length of the negro's heel. (Laughter) Now the monkey has no heel, so the shorter the heel is the nearer to the monkey you get. (Laughter and applause.) The people talk about the blood that flows in their veins. Why the blood of Adam is in my veins, and they can't go back any further than that. (Laughter and applause.) But it is not the blood, it is the mind that makes the man. He was not despondent; he had faith that the day would come when the negro would soon occupy a position in the jury-box, the ballot-box, in medicine, in the Senate, etc. The day had not long passed when the colored men could not assemble here. When he had to go home at ten o'clock. (Cries of 'You're right.') Now, the way even to the Presidency is open to the black boy as well as the white boy. But they must work if they would attain these things, and learn the gay and gaudy attraction of life."
Resolutions of the Black Ed Convention in Lou, July 1869

The time has come for Ky to recognize the end of slavery and to purge its laws of discriminatory acts against blacks.

Praised the passage of the 13th Amend.

The state of Ky owes its citizens, white and black, an education to prepare them for citizenship.

Called for equal taxation for black schools

Called for the admission of black paupers to workhouses in Ky cities.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the colored people to economize their means, to purchase real estate, so that they may become an independent, self-supporting part of the American people.

Called for full support and confidence in the Freedmen's Savings Bank.

Encouraged support of Berea College

Thanked the Am. Miss. Assn. for its work in black schools.

Thanked teachers who work with blacks

Praised Gen. OO Howard

Praised Gen Runkle.
Mr. Gibson of Lou introduced a resolution: Resolved, That this convention petition the United States Congress through General O. O. Howard, the General Superintendent of Freedmen's Schools, and Hon. James B. Beck, our present Representative, and other in Congress, for the present school fund allowed for Kentucky, to be continued until the State shall establish the common schools for the benefit of our people." He is talking about continuing Freed. Bur. funds.

Gibson also proposed the formation of a state educational society to aid schools of blacks.

"The business committee reported the following Executive Board of the State Educational Association: W.H.Gibson, President; Q.B.Jones, Vice-President; M.J.Davis, Secretary; John Morris, Treasurer; James Turner, of Lexington; Aaron Searcy, of Woodford county, and Peter Smith, of Franklin county." Turner withdrew and Dupee took his place.
The (LOu) Courier-Journal, July 17, 1869

Petitioned to provided schools for blacks; equal tax money for black schools. They asked the legislature to "rise above any prejudices ... and find it in your hearts to be just, because we are human beings, the children of a common parent, creatures of a common destiny, and should be instructed alike in all that pertains to humanity."

REPORT ON LOU SCHOOL BOARD MEETING: BLACK SCHOOLS (Sept 1870)

The (Lou) Courier-Journal, Sept 6, 1870 (p 4, col 3)

"Rules Governing Board of Trustees.+

"Article 4th, Sec. 18. The Committee on Public Colored Schools for the city of Louisville shall have the immediate control and supervision of the public colored schools, and report from time to time upon their condition, character and efficiency.+

"Sec. 19. In connection with the Committee on Public Colored Schools there shall be a Board of Visitors, composed of nine colored men, who shall be appointed annually by the Committee on Public Colored Schools, and whose duty it shall be to visit said schools and report to said committee the efficiency of the teachers and schools, and who shall exercise a general supervision over said schools, and through whom the moral character of all applicants for positions in said public schools shall be made known to said committee. The Board of Visitors shall report directly to the Committee on Public Colored Schools, and exercise their authority only through said committee. +

"Sec. 20. The same rules and regulations shall govern the teachers and scholars of the public colored schools as are now in force in the public ward schools of the city of Louisville, with the exception that the average number of pupils to each teacher shall be sixty as the minimum. +

"Sec. 21. The same graded system and the same text books now in force and used in the public ward schools shall be in force and used in the public colored schools.+

"Sec. 22. There shall be an examination of all teachers now employed in the colored schools, and of all applicants for positions as teachers in said schools, on _____ day of September, 1870, and thereafter all applicants shall be examined annually, under the control of
the Committee on Examination and Course of Study of the Board of Trustees. +

"Sec. 23. No one shall be employed as a teacher in the public colored schools unless he, or she, is of good moral character and has a certificate, granted after examination, signed by the officers of the Board of Trustees.

"Sec. 24. The Secretary and Treasurer of the Board of Trustees of the Public Schools shall monthly, upon the report of the principal of each school, signed by the Board of visitors and countersigned by the chairman of the Committee on Public Colored Schools, pay the teachers employed in said public colored schools their pro rata each of the public colored school fund then in the treasury, and shall pay none other than those in the employ and under the control of the Board of Trustees from said fund.

"The Committee on Colored Schools sent in the following report:

"Report of the Committee on Colored Schools.

"To the Board of Trustees:

"Gentlemen--Your Committee on Colored Schools respectfully report that, to the best information they have been able to get, the amount of city school taxes paid and to be paid by the people of African race, in this city, for the years 1866, '67, '68, '69, and '70, is $3,899.32, which together with $729.53, due the colored people from the State, amounting altogether to $4,628, we recommend shall be placed to the credit of the colored school fund.

"We recommend, further, that, on the 1st of October, two schools for the colored people shall be opened; one in the Center-street African Methodist church, and the other in the Fifth-street African Baptist church; and, as soon thereafter as a suitable place can be obtained, another school shall be opened, making three in all; that in each of these three schools three teachers shall be employed; one, who shall be principal, at a salary of $40 per month, one other at $30, and the other at $25 (several words missing) ... the expenses of these schools for this school year, $3,500 be appropriated."
George Richard Browder, Diary, Oct 17, 1852, typescript, in possession of R. L. Troutman, Bowling Green, Ky.

Oct 17, 1852/ Browder was a Methodist minister. In telling about a meeting at a camp ground where he was holding a meeting. "Some drunken wretches got into a fight at the Spring & some desperadoes with whiskey & arms walked insultingly about the encampment. Oh for a law that would reach rumsellers in every form. Our young men organized themselves into a night & day police & whipped several negroes for selling whiskey - well done! but better if they could have punished the white scoundrels who bought from them." Possibly in Russellville area (Logan Co) He was born near Olmstead, Ky. His farm was near there.

BLACKS WHO SOLD WHISKEY TO ROWDY WHITES WHIPPED (1852)

BLACK MAID WHIPPED FOR ALLOWING WHITE CHILD TO BURN HAND (1852)

Nov 28,1852/ "Just as we were about starting to church - /black/ Mary let Helen burn her hand badly on the stove & then told a falsehood for which I gave her a little whipping. Helen seemed in such pain that I thought best not to leave her & did not get to church until after preaching."
jan 6, 1853/ "Went to town to see a boy I heard of yesterday & hired him from Mr. E. R. Sumpter. He is a small boy untrained to the farm yet cost me $55.00. His masters words were smoother than oil - but I learned afterward that he was a tyrant over his slaves. He made me believe he was most humane."

RUNAWAY BLACKS ASKS REV. BROWDER TO TAKE HIM HOME (1853)

jan 23, 1853/ "Went home with Col Walks negro man Jim who ran away from his master one week ago to avoid a slight flagellation for lying & disobedience. He staid out until he was tired - then came here professing to be almost starved & wanted me to go with him home. I left him & his master in an interesting conversation & went to church ...."

After church Browder "called at Dr. Hutchings to get some physic for black Mary who has been unwell for several days."

*physic - a medicine or remedy, or laxative or cathartic, etc*
Feb 1, 1853/ "I rode to Dr Hutchings to get advice about /black/ Ann who is sick."

Jan 23, 1853/ Browder "Called at Dr Hutchings to get some physic for /black/ Mary who has been unwell for several days."

Feb 15, 1853/ "I visited uncle James /Volney Walker/. His black man Lewis is very ill & recovery doubtful - seems conscious of his state - yet feels happy at the thought of death - prays for his master & speaks confidently of a home in Heaven. The freedom & wealth of his master would be a poor exchange for the peace & comfort of this poor African slave!"
march 5, 1853/ "I went to Red Oak Grove to attend the trial of Edmond Newton a local preacher — (colored) charged with immorality, viz adultery. Bros Gooch — Williams & I entered into investigation of Newton's case — but had no testimony sufficient to acquit or condemn him so we adjourned to meet at Bethlehem Sat /urday/ before 4th Sun /day/ in April. Newton came home with me."

april 23, 1853/ "the committee appointed on Ned Newton's case met & we brought forward papers proving that the testimony did not sustain the charge."

april 4, 1853/ "I went out & helped load in my timbers & at night gave my hired boy Alick a light flogging for indolence & trifling. I hate the necessity for punishment."
April 21, 1853/ "Was aroused before day, with the news that Ann was sick, sent for the Doctor who was not at home. I went for him again & when I returned in great haste found Lizzie, greatly alarmed. Ann had become the mother of a likely boy! I planted corn."

Was Isaac, Browder's only male slave, the father?

June 30, 1853/ "/Olmstead/ Found Ann complaining & doing nothing as usual when I leave home - farm business getting on slowly."
april 21, 1853/ "Was aroused before day, with the news that Ann was sick, sent for the Doctor who was not at home. I went for him again & when I returned in great haste found Lizzie, greatly alarmed. Ann had become the mother of a likely boy! I planted corn."

Was Isaac, Browder's only male slave, the father?

june 30, 1853/ "/Olmstead/ Found Ann complaining & doing nothing as usual when I leave home - farm business getting on slowly."
Oct 10, 1853/ "George - Ann & I came home leaving Lizzie & the children in consequence of Mary's sickness. I saw Dr Hutchins & got some notions about Mary's case."

Oct 11, 1853/ "Wrote to Lizzie sending Mary some physic."

SLAVE HIRING PRICES, SOU-CENTRAL KY, 1854

dec 26, 1853/ "Negroes are hiring very high - men from 100. to 125. here - & at Iron works from 150. to 225. pr year."

jan 2, 1854/ Browder "hired a man Ed Sands for 115.00" for 1854.
nov 10, 1853/ "Saw a Miss Hill who lives in Ill/inois/ & gives such
descriptions of life in a free state as makes me fall out with slavery."

jan 25, 1854/ "For some time Lizzie & I have talked of going to a free
state. Our cook has been sick for a week & Lizzie has done most of her
own work, & still she is willing to dispense with slavery. I feel
sometimes seriously inclined to go - for sake of my children."

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march 5, 1854/ "By appointment I went to Bethlehem & preached to the
blacks. A good congregation was present & they paid good attention &
seemed edified. Geo McLean followed - in an earnest exhortation. He
had some fine ideas though clothed in scanty & withered speech. He soon
had a storm. One old black man Bob Hindes made himself particularly
conspicuous by leaping, falling about - screaming & making strange gestures.
I doubt the genuineness of his religious enthusiasm = or enjoyment. Old
Free Dick was there in his glory."
POOR BLACK, THREATENED WITH SALE FOR DEBT, BEGS BROWDER TO BUY HIM  (1854)

G. R. Browder, Diary

Mar 19, 1854/ "Lizzie & I walked up to cousin D Sydnors & spent the evening - a poor black man belonging to Mrs. Hawkins called & begged me in mercy to buy him as he was about to be sold for debt. I am sorry for the unfortunate man & will buy him if I am in justice to all concerned."

Mar 21, 1854/ "Tom Foster came over to sell me the man Tony - above mentioned."

REV BROWDER DESCRIBES ILLNESS, DEATH OF SLAVE SERVANT MARY (1854)

G. R. Browder, Diary

Apr 6, 1854/ "Our little /slave/ Mary is complaining."

Apr 8, 1854/ "Mary is quite sick - & I fear dangerously ill."

Apr 9, 1854/ "Bro Gooch preached but I did not go on account of Mary's illness. We have sat up with her for several nights & nursed her like our own child. She has been delirious for some days & nights. Her father came up Friday night. We sent for him. She did not know him only a minute at a time. We look for her to die every day. Poor Mary - she feels like one of our children. We have done all we can & she must die."

Apr 10, 1854/ "I have done but little except help nurse Mary - who is still sinking.

Apr 11, 1854/ "Tonight about 15 minutes after nine o'clock Mary died without a struggle or a groan & her suffering ceased. Alas, alas that the cruel grave should hide forever - one who was so attached to us & whom we regarded more as a friend & a child than a servant. She was an amiable, truthful, trusting, kind hearted little girl who loved our children & loved us with filial affection - the pecuniary loss we do not regard - but our social loss is great." Browder goes on to write of his "uniform kindness & care over her" her Christian character, etc. "Yet we hope to see little Mary again for she often spoke of Jesus & Heaven during her illness & seemed to trust in Christ. Her place in our family will never be fully supplied."

Apr 12, 1854/ Mary was buried "on the green bluffs of Red river - where she had played in childhood."
Dec 31, 1856/ "This year I have had trouble with my negroes. Poor Ann always perverse, insolent, illnatured, behaved so badly, that I yielded to her wishes & her husband's request & sold her offering him the privilege of going, which he declined - & in mercy to him & his little boy I kept them here intending to take good care of them & treat them kindly - but Isaac quarreled I think unjustly with Ellen a very good woman (whom I bought from Mr. McCulloch) & requested to be sold not wishing to stay with her. I promised to gratify him & having received a letter from the owner of his wife, requesting me to sell him Isaac to be with his wife - and Isaac being willing to go, I wrote to Mr. Villine to come & get him & Peter. This winter will be long remembered on account of the great excitement throughout the South in consequence of the discovering a plot among the negroes to murder their owners and escape to free states. Several negroes have been hung at the iron works, some at Pembroke near Hopkinsville & some at Gallatin Ten /nessee/ . . . . Some negroes - Billy Smith & Peter Newton were sent to jail from Volney charged with plotting to kill capt Hawkins & family. Many think that Billy will be hung. Several negro preachers have been implicated & there is a growing prejudice against them - their religious meetings will be broken up & their liberties otherwise restricted. Poor unfortunate creatures! to be deluded in to such a futile effort . . . ."

Volney is on the Russellville-Clarksville Road; Browder lived 1 mi from Volney.

BROWDER HIRED BLACK MAN FOR $140 FOR 1857: Russellville area

Jan 1, 1857 "Went to town through the snow & cold to hire a negro man - had to pay 140. for Hiram, clothe him & pay his dictor's bill."
mar 24, 1857/ "So far I feel that the change on our place since Isaac & Ann left, is greatly for the better. Isaac declined going with Ann & asked me to sell him & Peter to D. B. Hutchings which I did for $900. Our peace on the farm is uniform - we have no quarrels - no fighting & but little scolding - good servants & good masters live in peace. I have tried & prayed to do my duty by my servants & often met with ingratitude, dissatisfactions, insolence & insult."

slaves hiring prices, russellville area, jan 1861: prices lower

jan 1, 1861/ "... hired Horace at $105 - against 120 last year. Could have gotten a boy cheaper by waiting. Negroes are 25 per cent lower."
June 22, 1862/ "At 4, I preached to a crowded congregation of negroes, the largest I have seen for years on Daniel 12. 13, on occasion of the death of old aunt Ably Anderson - old aunty Lucy Browder - & her son Hal, all colored people, the last of whom died in Mo. The colored people frequently get me to preach their funerals, but nine out of ten would prefer a negro preacher, however ignorant, to almost any white preacher, however trained or eloquent." Says he helped pay for the costs of the white preacher who followed him in the pulpit.

Aug 17, 1862/ "John Keller, James Day & others told me that the northern soldiers on the cars asked Fergusons negroes why they did not get their guns and shoot down these rebels - that they would all be free in a few weeks! Such sentiments instilled into the minds of poor ignorant slaves might cause great wretchedness & destruction of life but will not aid in loyalizing those who rebel against an abolitionized government." "The negroes are rather afraid of familiarity with Yankees since they heard that Forrest hung quite a number that were taken in arms at Murfreesborough & also at Gallatin. This policy seems severe - but the Southern people can never consent to treat negroes as prisoners of war & exchange for them with white soldiers."
Sunday, Aug 24, 1862/ "At 4 I went to the colored peoples meeting & Duncan Hines exhorted with power & several penitents came forward . . . . I was glad on my return to learn that our little black Dolly had professed religion at the meeting." Dolly was the daughter of Browder's slave, Ellen. b. 1852.

sept 11, 1862/ "I went to Volney on business - saw uncle Dick Browder in great trouble looking for old Bro Anderson (a union man) to get him to go to town & try to get his black boy John & his mule released, whom the federals forcibly took away yesterday morning while pretending to pursue the rebels."

"On Sunday the federals seized a negro man belonging to Joshua Parsons, put him on one of Dr Bibbs horses - strapped a gun on him & forced him away contrary to his request & the remonstrance of his mistress - and also carried off a negro man of Dr. Orndorffs who was on a visit to his wife at Parsons. +

"My man Abram to day was in a very ill humor & talked very insolently to me, threatening to leave & never return."
sept 13, 1862/ One John Noel told him of the Federal retreat from Nashville. "The deplorable condition of hundreds of poor runaway & stolen slaves - sick & deserted to wander about Nashville & beg in vain for bread of people who cannot supply their own wants. Negro women are lying about the streets in federal uniforms in distress & in pregnancy!"

dec 17, 1862/ "My hired boy Henry was very insolent, insulting & defiant this morning when I reproved him quite mildly for running about at night. He refused persistently to be corrected & my man Abram refused to give me any assistance. So I held on to Henry & talked reasonably to him until yound David Sydnor came when I took the boy up stairs without resistance, tied his hands & would have whipped him severely, but he begged piteously, confessed his fault & promised never to do so again."
Dec 30, 1862/ "The negroes seem to be settling down into the conviction that their true friends are their masters. The anxiety & uneasiness of many masters seems to be removed. The Christmas holidays have been unusually quiet & no disturbance has occurred."

g r browder, diary

Dec 25, 1862/ "The approaching 1st of Jan is the day appointed & published by Mr Lincoln for the uprising & emancipation of the slaves in all disloyal states 'not to be opposed but aided by the army in any effort they may make to obtain their freedom' and many fear an insurrection attended by the greatest cruelties & outrages & many think the slaves will refuse to go to work after Christmas. Individually I do not fear anything of the kind here but feel uneasy about the country farther South...."
jan 12, 1863/ "Sent for Dr. Hutchings again to see my hired boy Henry who is quite sick with Pleura Pneumonia. I sent him to mill on Thursday & also to help Mr Dewees cut out his port. He began to complain in the evening & the next day I called in the Dr. The boy is very sick & I feel some uneasiness about him."

jan 13, 1863/ "Staying home to nurse Henry...."

jan 19, 1863/ "I rehired the boy Henry from Bro W. for 75.00."
Mar 15, 1863/

Church meeting at Pleasant Run. "At 3 the colored people got happy over Aaron Gilbert's conversion & shouted so I could not preach. Aaron is a faithful slave of Thos. H. Gilbert and has been long years seeking religion & last week at home he was converted...."

June 15, 1863/

"There are hundreds of negroes leaving their owners & going to the federals. I feel certain that my hired boy Henry has contemplated leaving. He has threatened several times to leave without any provocation. Yesterday morning he was so insolent & insulting to my wife that I took him this morning & tied him, intending to whip him severely if he had not begged forgiveness & promised to reform." Browder said he had no confidence that Henry would reform.
June 21, 1863/
"Learn this morning my hired boy Henry attempted to outrage our servant girl Dolly causing great indignation & wrath in her parents, then dressed up & rode one of my mules away without my consent. I think he deserves severe chastizement. Mrs John Hogans Abram had a difficulty yesterday with Dick Marshall the overseer & this morning through some continuation of the affair William Gaines shot the negro in the neck - the cause & result I do not know. A drunken negro - Dick, belonging to uncle R Browder was the cause of a number of negroes being driven off from the depot & hence our Ellen says this has been a bad day."

June 26, 1863/ "Ginnies girl Laura was so impudent this morning as to get a slap on the jaw & then she was so angry & sulky that Ginnie gave her a whipping, and then she ran away in a hard rain & will probably stay away & get sick."

June 27, 1863/ "Laura came home - still sullen - got a whipping - makes us all unhappy."
BROWDER'S HIRED SLAVE, HENRY, HAD GUN HIDDEN IN HAYLOFT (July 1863)

july 17, 1863/ "My little daughter Helen & black Dolly in looking for eggs in the hayloft, found a pistol hidden by our hired Henry. I took an old pistol from him several weeks ago & forbade him to have one."

july 18, 1863/ "This morning Henry was missing and my favorite saddle horse Mack! I suppose he is aiming for some of the Yankee camps."

BLACK GEORGE, PREACHER, 1863

aug 1, 1863/ "This Saturday night I had meeting for the negroes & black George exhorted & had a crowd of mourners and four professed religion, our Lucy & Ginnies Laura among them."
sept 12, 1863/ At the conversion of their master some blacks were ecstatic. "The colored woman leaped up & shouted & tumbled about almost convulsed with exultation exclaiming with a loud voice 'Why glory to God glory - my master has got religion!' Then she would embrace him in her arms & weep & say 'Thank God, thank the Lord, my master has set out to meet old mistress in Heaven!' How I wish the misguided abolitionists who are honest could have witnessed the scene."

oct 7, 1863/ "I was surprised by an unexpected visit from Mr Warfield - & equally so at its object. His boy Simon ran away to the federal army, was caught & returned. Again he ran away & having stolen many things at home was arrested & put in jail where he lay until he was humbled, sick, & worn out. He begged his master earnestly to take him out, but he forbade his ever coming on his place again - but finally released him & gave him to me on his good promises. Simon reached here on Sunday morning 20th of Sep. & has been well satisfied & well-behaved ever since & for some time has been much concerned about religion at the altar for prayers. Last week the federal soldiers went to Mr Warfields & drove all his negro men & boys out of the field & started them off to work on the North Western Railroad, connecting Nashville with Paducah. He succeeded in getting five or six released, they still retaining four - Ike Corney, Wesley, Horace & Plummer. Mr Warfields wife is much distressed about Plummer her favorite and so he came up to take Simon back & try to exchange him for Plummer. Simon went away very reluctantly & I cannot feel that it is altogether right but although Mr Warfield had given him to me I made no objection as he thought proper to take him."
GUERRILLA RAIDS STIMULATE BLACK EXODUS (Oct 1863)

Oct 9, 1863/ "There was much excitement about guerillas & a large stampede of negroes last night. Eight ran away from Dr Stevenson & several from Judge Edwards, but this is now too common to excite surprise."

BLCKS ENLIST FEDERAL ARMY, FLEE MASTERS (Dec 1863) Russellville

Area

Dec 11, 1863/ "Thousands of negroes are enlisting in the federal army & hundreds & thousands more are deserting their masters. Many are leaving this country & the money value of slaves is nought. Negroes are not sold and they are becoming indolent & selfwilled. Our Governor offers no protection to the right of property & the president is opposed to any peace that does not destroy slavery. Times now look like slavery was doomed. If such be the will of God I say Amen but I cannot so understand the Bible."
February 13, 1864/ "Negro soldiers are riding through the country just below us seizing other negroes & causing great alarm."

February 27, 1864/ "Spent night at Charles W. /arfield/ 's. Negro soldiers have driven off all his negro men but one - another one came back to day - giving gloomy accounts of Clarksville /Tennessee/."
SLAVES IN RUSSELLVILLE AREA RUN AWAY (Feb 1864)

gr browder, diary

feb 29, 1864/ "When we got home /from performing a marriage/ learned that a large number of negroes had run away - Fathers Bob & his hired boy George among them. "All of Jackson McLeans & most of Mrs Hawkins, mostly union peoples negroes."

march 6, 1864/ "At 3 I preached I Pet /er/ 2.7th to the negroes. Several mourners. They seem devotional at church but many have lost all confidence in their piety or sincerity. I came home Sun. night because so many negroes are running away & stealing horses that my family feels safer when I am at home."

march 9, 1864/ "They /slaves/ are being enrolled in our state and the people are not satisfied."

march 14, 1864/ "Last night Caleb Bells only negro woman & her husband stole her masters mules & uncle Bells wagon & ran away to the Yankees. One of Bro Petrees & two of Reeve's & others. Union men lose more in properties than rebels or Southern rights men."

march 15, 1864/ "The negro enrolling has begun here & there is much indignation & excitement."

OPPOSITION TO MEETINGS OF BLACKS (Mar 1864) RUSSELLVILLE AREA

gr browder, diary

March 27, 1864/ "... I preached to the colored people at Salem, the first sermon they have had for a long - long time. Had a small congregation. There is a great prejudice among many of our people against negro meetings. I have tried to overcome it & have partially succeeded. At Bethlehem - Red Oak & Pleasant Grove - where large negro congregations have had regular preaching, fewer negroes have run away than from almost any other places."

fewer blacks ran away
when they had their own church.
april 20, 1864/ "One of /father's/ his servants Delilah started off to Paducah, was caught in Tenn & returned to him. The papers are full of reports of For /r/ ests capturing & killing negro troops. There is a decided lull in negro enlistments. They seem more contented. Large numbers are dying at Clarksville."

may 29, 1864/ "Coming home /from church/ I met a crowd of negroes some of whom told me of the burning of my negro cabin to day with all the clothing, furniture, money & other property of my poor negroes. Their testimony makes it an incendiary job - but who would be so base? This is the second loss of the kind they have sustained. I feel very sorry for them & will help them as far as I can."
june 8, 1864/ "A day of strange feelings! Found my plantation deserted by negroes - not one left! Abram, Bob, Jeff, George, & Ellen, Dolly Underwood, William, Ida, Nicholas, & Lucy all gone! Took my wagon, old carriage, two horses & two mules. We felt lighter somehow than usual, felt poorer, but freer, more dependent, yet more self reliant." After doing some work "William & I with a number of others set out in search of our horses & wagons. Ten negroes left me - 3 from father - 8 from Nelson Waters, - six from McCulloch, 3 from John Vick & others in a different neighborhood. We met part of the troop arrested and brought back & had a vast deal of trouble & vexation in separating & deciding what to do with them. George & Ellen & all mine except Jeff and Abe escaped leaving their clothes & all their goods. We put the men under guard to send to Louisville & just as my wagon & carriage tot in with the baggage, my brother William came with all the rest of our fugitives - looking worn, sad and confounded. They had been overtaken in a few miles of Clarksville. We whipped Jeff & Bob & Lucy, & Ellen made herself sick - quite sick - in the long tramp through heat, mud & rain after they left the wagons. Poor unfortunate creatures, how I pity them, deceived & misled as they have been, yet listening to strangers rather than those who have raised & cared for them. They have been greatly abused in their minds. I should have been glad if they had gotten safe into Clarksville without my responsibility."

aug 9, 1864/ "Last Friday I ventured to town. For the first time I saw several companies of negro soldiers. The sight was very revolting to me & other Kentuckians."
sept 5, 1864/ "Returning home /from Hadensville/ I met a squad of negro cavalry, or mounted infantry, pressing negroes, horses &c. They took the only man from Bro Smith notwithstanding his own & his wifes entreaties in view of his helplessness & the unwillingness of the negro to go with them. Today the federal draft was to begin & hundreds of young men are leaving for the South and married men are looking for negro substitutes."

sept 9, 1864/ In going to town to deposit money in the bank, since everyone was being robbed in the area, Browder reported: "To day I went to town & deposited what money I had in the bank - not wishing to be robbed. For the first time I submitted to what Kentuckians call the humiliation of showing a military pass to negro pickets. The fellow took it bottom upwards, looked at it & gave it back to me."
REV BRODER REPORTED SOME BLACKS ATTEMPTING TO BUY SUBSTITUTES
RUSSELLVILLE AREA (Oct 1864)
g r browder, diary
oct 1, 1864/ "Some negroes are trying to buy substitutes."

SOME BLACKS FLEE NEGRO SOLDIERS IMPRESSING BLACKS (Nov 1864)
Russellville Area
g r browder, diary
nov 12, 1864, "Negro soldiers, just below us, pressing other negroes into service, caused a stampede in the neighborhood among the black men."
nov 20, 1864/ "Spent the night with Bro. Morrison at J.H.hoozers where the family & others in the community are much distressed by negro soldiers coming out from Clarksville and forcing all their negro men into service. The poor negroes were in great distress - went away weeping. They were made to stand in a line & orders given for all who were determined to go home to stand out - several stepped out & one was knocked down & bayonetted & another was choked with a rope until his tongue hung out - others were afraid to step out & so the oath was administered & they claimed as soldiers! Oh, the horrors & outrages of civil war & abolition power!"

ACCT OF 4 BLACKS CONDEMNED TO DEATH IN LEX (Aug 1831) Die with Dignity

(Paris) Western Citizen, Aug 20, 1831

"Lexington, Aug 17. +

"The four negro men condemned to death at the last term of the Fayette Circuit Court were executed in the suburbs of this town on Saturday last. During their confinement in jail they received religious instruction from the several respectable resident clergymen, and on the day of execution they were attended to the gallows by the Rev. Messrs Light and Cooper. We are informed that they displayed great firmness and self-possession to the last moment; each addressed the audience with composure & in an appropriate & sensible manner. One of them / Moses / repeated the declaration that he was innocent of the crime for which he was about to suffer and another / Bill / persisted that he was himself guilty of the offence of which Moses had been found guilty. An immense crowd assembled to witness the execution."
FOR SALE: "Likely Negro Woman, 24" WITH CHILDREN (1831)

(Paris) Western Citizen, sept 24, 1831

"For Sale, A Likely Negro Woman, 24 years of age, and her children, the eldest /t/ a Boy, 2 years and 6 months old, the youngest, a Girl about 4 months--also, a Boy 6 years old. The negroes may be seen, and terms known by application to T. & W. Kelly, who are authorized to sell."
Wm M. Baylor, June 25, 1831.

ATTEMPT TO AID SLAVES IN LEAVING BOONE CO BY OUTSIDERS (Nov 1838)

(Paris) Western Citizen, nov 16, 1838 (taken from the Warsaw Patriot, Nov 2, 1838)

"Alarming.--A well formed and extensive plan to aid the negroes in running away from their masters, was detected in Boone county, Kentucky, Thursday of last week.--It appears that some abolitionists from Cincinnati had visited the negroes in the fields, and induced them to enter into an agreement that they would runaway from their masters on Saturday night last--the abolitionists promising to receive them on the other side of the river, and send them to Canada.+

"A negro woman near Florence, who was taken sick on Thursday, and who was fearful her husband would go without her, told her master of the arrangement, and informed him that all the negroes between Florence and Covington, had agreed to run away on Saturday night. The alarm was immediately given, and thus the intentions of the negroes were defeated, and the plans of their wicked advisers, the abolitionists, frustrated. Six negroes however, whose master lives off the road between Florence and Covington, and who did not hear of the plot, made their escape, and are probably ere this in Canada.+

"On searching the negro quarters in the neighborhoods around, it appears every preparation had been made for their journey. Stolen goods were found packed up with their clothes, and other things were brought to light which showed that the plan was well arranged and extensively entered into, and would have been effectually carried into execution, had it not been fortunately divulged by the sick negro woman." Said Abolitionists had been frustrated this time, but they would strike again. They have in Cincinnati "every convenience for secreting" slaves "to Canada."
The article spoke of a "Public Auction" of farm, Negroes, stock, crop, farming utensils, furniture, etc.

"The Negroes number 48, 25 of whom are likely young men, 10 are boys from eight to 15 years old; 5 are women, with 8 children. The men and boys are composed of farm hands, weavers, hacklers and spinners."

"Runaway Slaves.--There seems to be no doubt that a number of our citizens have persuaded themselves that it is proper and commendable for them to aid runaway slaves in escaping from their masters. In this persuasion, they receive them in their houses, secret them, furnish them with the means of conveyance from point to point through the State, and thus facilitate and secure their escape to Canada, so that the master incurs a total loss. This subject has engaged much of my consideration, long before abolition, in its present form of action, had any existence. The result has been a conviction that a Free State Bordering upon a Slave State under the Constitution of the United States, should stigmatize and punish criminally, in their own citizens, every intrusion upon the property of their neighbor's State."
"The trial of the Rev. John B. Mahan, for the abduction of the slaves of William Greathouse, Esq., commenced on Tuesday afternoon of last week in the Mason Circuit Court, and terminated on Monday. It appeared from the evidence that Mahan stated to the witness that, during the month proceeding his indictment, fifteen slaves had passed through his hands on their way from Kentucky to Ohio or Canada—and that of those fifteen, two of them (the same which are named in the indictment) belonged to Mr. Greathouse. That there was a chain, reaching from Kentucky to Canada, for the purpose of forwarding fugitive slaves. Mahan further urged the witness to become one of the links of that chain, offering to pay him for his services." Mahan also supposedly told the witness that there was a "colored barber in Maysville, who sent him all he could." The defense lawyer asked that the witness' testimony be struck as incompetent or that the charges be dropped in that the prisoner was in prison when the "offence charged was committed." The prosecutor objected, but the judge "delivered his opinion, in writing, on Monday morning, in which he decided, substantially, that the prisoner had not violated the criminal law of Kentucky, unless he aided, personally, in the escape of the fugitive from Kentucky, or was near enough to assist in case of alarm or danger." But the judge permitted the case to go to the jury which after "a few minutes" returned a verdict of not guilty.

AD FOR RUNAWAY SLAVE BOURBON CO (Feb 1842)

"Look out for the Runaway. + "Ranaway from ... Bourbon County" Jan 16, man named Austin, 5ft 10 in, spare-made, one upper fore tooth out, large scar on one leg on hamstring. $20 reward. E.Euren Lyter.
FAIRBANK ARRESTED IN LEXINGTON (Oct 1844)

The (Paris) Western Citizen, oct 4, 1844 (from Lex. Observer)

"Arrest.--A man calling himself Fairbank has been about this city and vicinity for two or three weeks past endeavoring to pass himself off as a Methodist preacher, of which, however, he exhibited no authentic credentials. On Monday evening he was arrested near Paris on a charge of abducting three slaves, the property of Messrs. Bain, Grant and Baxter. The facts which have been developed are such as to leave no doubt of his guilt; and to produce the impression, that his object was mercenary, his design being to obtain such funds as the servants by prudent economy had laid up, and then, to dispose of the servants themselves for his own advantage. We understand that to cover his designs, he induced a young lady of this city to become a partner of his guilt, by a pretence of a runaway matrimonial connexion with her, to be consummated at Aberdeen Ohio. They have both been committed to the county jail. It may be, that the crime of the man, is the result of some deeply laid political plot in Ohio, to produce an excitement just upon the eve of the election, which is to take place in that State next week. At all events, if his guilt is established, we hope he will meet the punishment, he justly deserves.--Lexington Obs."
"Outrages.--We learn from the Lexington papers that a band of men, disguised as 'Black Indians,' made an attack, on Tuesday night of last week, upon some peaceable and unoffending free negroes, beating them in a most cruel and inhuman manner, and tarring and feathering one of them upon the public square. +

"On Monday, a meeting of the citizens was held at the Court House, and resolutions adopted, condemning these acts of high handed violence in the strongest terms, pledging the utmost vigilance in detecting and bringing the perpetrators of punishment, and solemnly protesting against the outrages being considered in any way connected with the proceedings the previous day, when the press and printing materials of the True American were boxed up and shipped beyond the limits of the State. +

"A committee of ten men from each ward was appointed to assist the city police in putting down /sic, down/ this mob, should it again show itself."

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The (Paris) Western Citizen, aug 29, 1845

The (Paris) Western Citizen, nov 14, 1845 (reporting from the Maysville Eagle)
DESCRIPTION OF BLACKS EMIGRATING TO AFRICA (Jan 1846)

The (Paris) Western Citizen, jan 23, 1846 (taken from Lou. Pres. Herald)

Rev. A. M. Cowan raised money to sent blacks to "Kentucky" in Africa. A group left to depart from New Orleans. A meeting at the First presby Ch. sent the group off. The group was from Jessamine, Fayette, Daviess; 2 from Dayton, one from Va. Mostly former slaves. Some who said they would go did not appear at the appointed time, and "Two from Fayette county, and two from Barren county, preferred going back, after they came to Louisville. There were 35 in all; 26 men, six women, 9 children aged 7-14, 4 of whom could read and write. 15 of the adults and 4 of the children can read. "One of them is employed to teach a school in the Colony. He has a small but excellent collection of books,..." Described as "a fine lot of emigrants" by the Lou paper.

THE KIDNAPPING CASE OF "JERRY"; APR 1846

The (Paris) Western Citizen, april 10, 1846 (taken from Covington Register of Apr 4)

Says the Ohio newspapers are enraged at a "Kidnapping, which took place at Columbus." They alllege that a black man, Jerry Finney, a resident of Columbus for 20 years "was seized, without law, by two Kentuckians, from Frankfort, gagged and carried away. The papers also state, that Jerry had been set free by his mistress, who has since died." The article says these statements are not factual. "We learn from creditable authority, that Jerry is really and in fact a run-away slave, belonging to Mrs. Long, of Frankfort, and that the persons who captured him were clothed with legal authority for the purpose. ... The mistress of Jerry is still living, as we before remarked, and it is only about 14 years since he escaped."
SEVERAL CARROLL CO SLAVES FLEE THROUGH MADISON, IND (Oct 1857)

Daily Louisville Democrat, Oct 27, 1857

From the correspondent of the Lou Demo, dated Oct 26, 1857, Madison, Ind.

"Messrs. Editors: Last Saturday night (the 24th of October) five negroes fled from Hunter's Bottom, Carroll county, Ky. One a negro man, named Dick Daily, belonging to Samuel Fern; the others, three negro girls and a boy, all children of Dick's belonging to Moses n. Hoagland. They crossed the river Saturday night, immediately after dark, in a skiff, just above Madison. Their flight was not discovered till Sunday morning. Several men went in pursuit yesterday morning, but I have not heard of their being overtaken. Dick is a mulatto, and very intelligent. For a long time his master has sent him to Madison three or four times a week with marketing, and he had the privilege of coming to the city whenever he chose. He, no doubt, has the plan of flight so well arranged that they will not likely be overtaken. This county is infested by the most rabid Abolitionists, and whenever fugitive negroes get amongst them, they (the Abolitionists) are ready to exercise all their ingenuity and energies to secret them and protect them from pursuit. These Abolitionists have rendered negro property across the river very uncertain and insecure, and the farmers over there place but little value upon their negroes, as they are likely to leave them at any time, and when they get amongst these Abolitionists they are safe." signed Hoosier.

ESCAPED KY SLAVE, BEN, RETURNED TO AID FRIEND'S ESCAPE; CAPTURED

(Oct 1857) Lexington Area

Daily Louisville Democrat, Oct 27, 1857 (taken from Cin.Gazette,26th)

"Runaway Slave Captured.--A stout, hearty negro, who made his escape from slavery some six years ago, was not satisfied with letting 'well enough alone,' but must needs engage in running off the 'property' of his late master at every opportunity. The gentleman, who lived in the vicinity of Lexington, had long suspected 'Ben.' of interfering with his goods and chattels, and last week, discovering certain suspicious movements in a house servant, concluded that he was about to take passage on the 'Underground Railroad.' He, therefore, watched him closely, and found his suspicions were correct, and calling in the aid of two or three friends, followed the negro in his flight, without arresting him, his object being to get hold of his old slave, who was causing him so much trouble. He was satisfied Ben. would meet the fugitive on the Kentucky side of the river; and sure enough, on Friday evening last, by keeping close watch upon the fleeing negro, they were carried directly to where Ben. lay in waiting for his passenger. Those in pursuit immediately pounced upon the old fugitive, leaving the new runaway to take care of himself. Ben. fought with the desperation of a man who had once tasted the sweets of liberty, after having spent half a life in slavery, and it was not until he had been several times brought to the ground with a stick, and his head severely cut and bruised, that he yielded to his captors, and allowed himself to be bound and conveyed to the Covington jail. A physician was called and the wounds on his head dressed, and on Saturday he was handed over to his former master, and carried back into slavery."
"An Escaped Slave Recaptured by His Own Impudence.--Some eight or nine
years ago a negro, belonging to a gentleman residing in Taylor county,
Kentucky, ran off from his master, and has since been living, as is supposed
in Canada. Not content with his own escape, he returned to his vicinity
last week with the intention of assisting other negroes--his former
companions--to obtain their freedom; but while in Covington he was arrested
and sent back to his former master." Cin. Enq., 25th.

STATUS OF SLAVE IN KY IN 1860

p 8/ "Children born of female slaves were the property of the mother's
owner. Although many slave couples exchanged vows in a matrimonial
service, their union had no legal validity and all children were considered
illegitimate. Furthermore, the slave's economic and social life was
strictly regulated by the state statute. A slave's hiring out his own
time was illegal; any person had authority to arrest him for this offense
and, upon the slave's conviction, his master was fined forty dollars.
Anyone who traded with a slave, either in money or goods, without a note
of consent from the master, was liable to the owner for a fine of ten
dollars and a sum four times the amount of the commodity bought or sold.
The slave so trading could receive up to ten stripes. Another regulation
prohibited the slave's possession or consumption of spirituous liquor. For
most part, the slave was confined to his master's or plantation;
to leave that residence the slave was required to have a written permit
specifying the place to which he was licensed to go and the time of
absence. He was not allowed to remain on another man's premises for more
than four hours without his master's consent, unless he was on his master's
business at a public mill or attending divine service on the Sabbath.

The slave faced harsh penalties for felonies: he could receive the
death penalty for burning public buildings, tobacco houses,
warehouses, or stables; for 'conspiring rebellion or insurrection;' for
administering poison to anyone; for murder or attempted murder of a
white man or for rape of a white woman. 'Riots, routs, unlawful assemblies,
breaches of the peace, and seditious speeches by slaves' carried the penalty
of up to thirty-nine stripes. For arson, robbery, or voluntary manslaughter
the slave could receive two hundred stripes, inflicted at different times.
Most other felonies involved penalties of not more than thirty-nine stripes."
The free Negro's life was not excessively regulated under Kentucky's statutes, partly because the General Assembly felt it was dealing with a disappearing problem. Since any slave who was emancipated after the passage of the 1850 Constitution was to be removed from the state, and since no free Negroes were allowed to immigrate, the General Assembly envisioned a gradual decline in the number of free Negroes living in Kentucky. But the statutes did include a few basic laws concerning the free Negro. He was not allowed to hold slaves other than his own wife, parent, or descendent, nor was he allowed to hold any white person as bondsman. He was subject to a five dollar fine if caught carrying or owning a gun. He was subject to the death penalty for burning public buildings, tobacco houses, warehouses, or stables; for 'conspiring rebellion or insurrection;' /sic/ or for murder or attempted murder of a white man or rape of a white woman. If he were convicted of 'keeping a disorderly house' or loitering about without visible means of support, he could be sold into servitude for not less than two nor more than ten years. In most other cases he was subject to the same punishments that a white man would receive.'
In Kentucky "... the wartime turmoil coupled with the uncertain status of slavery caused the assessed value of slaves to decline sharply: the value of slave property in Kentucky before the war was $107,494,527; by 1864, it was $34,179,246; by 1865, it had fallen to $7,224,851."

In June 1865 the Ky Legis. asked the Fed Govt to remove all black troops from Ky; a request which was repeated in Sept 1865. "The number of Negro troops in Kentucky was gradually reduced but by October 1, 1865, there remained six thousand. It was not until April, 1866 /sic/ that the last ones were demobilized."
The session of the Kentucky General Assembly which convened in December, 1864, and continued through April, 1865, might have recognized that the end of slavery was inevitable. Rather than emancipating all Kentucky's slaves, the legislators chose to protest to the federal government about the problems posed by the emancipation of those slaves who had served in the Union Army. When Governor Thomas Bramlette presented to this General Assembly the proposed Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which stated that slavery should no longer exist within the United States, he urged its ratification with the condition that Kentucky slaveholders be compensated for the loss of slave property. But both houses rejected even conditional emancipation, hereby choosing to retain slavery in Kentucky as long as possible."

The legislation regarding the Negro which was passed at the 1866 General Assembly can be divided into two categories: that which attempted to preserve the old order and that which regulated the new status of the freedman. Included in the former category was an act which provided for the preservation of claims for slave property, thus keeping alive the wistful hope that compensation for the emancipated slaves might yet be forthcoming from the federal government. ...
Several other articles of Chapter Ninety-three /of revised statutes/ were likewise not included in the 1866 revision. Left standing on the books, for example, was Article IX, 'Emancipation of Slaves,' which provided that slaves could be emancipated only on the condition that they be removed from the state and required that freedmen who refused to leave the state were to be hired out by the county for the remainder of their residence in Kentucky. Similarly, the article prohibiting the immigration of free Negroes from other states was continued, as was a list of regulations governing the activities of free Negroes who entered the state on business. Why these provisions were not repealed with the other slave statutes is not readily apparent." Geo. D. Prentice of the Lou Daily Journal "... derided the Assembly for refusing to declare all the statutes dealing with slavery null /begin p 32/ and void." Donovan suggests the retaining of these provisions was an attempt on the part of the conservatives to express their opposition to forced emancipation.

The 'old order' was represented, not only by the reluctance of the legislature to change statutes regarding slavery, but also by a number of private acts reminiscent of planter paternalism toward slaves. The children of Edmund Smith, a free man of color, who had been slaves at the time of his death were now able to inherit his personal estate. Emily Evans, whose father had made all necessary arrangements to purchase her before he was murdered, was likewise allowed to inherit her father's real and personal estate. Malinda Thompson, a woman of color, was to be supported by her husband's estate until her death, the remainder of the estate then going to their children. Melley Owens and her children were allowed to inherit "any and all devises and bequests made to them in the last will and testament of Joseph Willins. Richard Garnett, who, for many years had supported a Negro lunatic in the asylum at Hopkinsville, was relieved of that support and assured that the State would continue to maintain his Negro at the asylum."
p 37/ For 25¢ additional cohabitating blacks could get a written certificate of their marriage. "This certificate would be evidence of the legitimacy of the present and future children of the couple, provided, the issue of customary marriages of negroes shall be held legitimate." "The act of 1866 held children of customary marriages legitimate; but the rights of the partners of customary marriages were indefinite. The Kentucky Court of Appeals, in an opinion announced on December 14, 1866, limited the rights which a partner to a customary marriage might claim." Gives illustration of a slave couple that cohabitated for 15 years were declared not legally married because they had not followed the 1866 act, and thus the husband could not qualify as her executor instead of her brother.

/p 39/ "The rights of the children of customary marriages were not clearly defined in the 1866 marriage act. The act had granted such children legitimacy but there was some question whether such legitimacy meant they could inherit property from their parents." In 1874 the Ct of Appeals held in the case of Daniel Allen and his customary wife who had not registered their marriage under the 1866 act: "Holding that the children who were born while their parents were slaves were entitled to inherit their father's property, the Court cited the proviso 'provided the issue of customary marriages shall be held legitimate' as indicating clearly the legislator's intent to grant such children the customary rights of legitimate children. In another case, the appellate court agreed that the children of customary slave marriages were to be held legitimate even if the parents were not living or were not living together as man and wife at the time of the passage of the act of February 14, 1866."

PROBLEM OF BASTARDY UNDER KY CIVIL RIGHTS LAW OF FEB 1866

m s donovan, 'ky law regarding negro 1865-77,' u of l ma thesis

p 41/ "Another family problem was that of bastardy. According to the state civil rights act passed in February, 1866, a Negro woman could institute bastardy proceedings against a Negro man who, in turn, had the right to testify in his own behalf. Bastardy proceedings were not authorized, however, in a case where the putative father, mother and the child were all slaves at the time of the birth of the child. A Negro woman could charge a white man with bastardy by affidavit but she could not testify against him in court."
Donovan's Conclusions Regarding Marriage Law of Legis 1865-66

"The law passed by the 1865-66 legislature granted to Negroes marriage rights equal to those of white persons. The interpretations of the Court of Appeals concerning marriage rights and the rights of Negro children to inherit property seem to have been completely free of any prejudice against the Negro; indeed, in cases that might well have been interpreted either way, such as that of Whitesides v. Allen, the Court supported the interpretation that most benefited the Negro. In the area of marriage and family rights, Kentucky was willing to grant the Negro the same legal protection it granted white persons."

1867 Expansion of Ky Law for Black Schools

"Recognizing the obvious inadequacies of the initial bill, the 1867 legislature spelled out in greater detail the means of establishing Negro schools. Under the provisions of this act, each county was to collect and disburse its own funds. The Negro tax fund, which was increased by adding another two dollars to the poll tax assessed each Negro male over eighteen, was to be collected by the sheriff and paid to the county treasurer who was to hold the fund subject to the annual court of claims. The trustees of each common school district in the county could establish a Negro school in that district. After the school was organized, the trustees were to report the number of children who attended the school for not less than three months to the court of claims, which was to allow $2.50 per pupil to the district. The remainder of the fund was to be allotted to Negro paupers. Only those persons who had obtained a qualifying certificate from the county school commissioner could teach in said schools."
p 46/ Blacks were happy when 1867 school tax established. "But in January, 1868, the General Assembly dealt a blow to Negro education by providing that no part of the Negro tax fund could be allotted to schools until all Negro paupers in that county had been provided for." Donovan says the Negro Education Convention in July 14-16, 1869 was the result of this development. /begin p 48/ "It was not until February 9, 1871, that the act which linked the education fund with the pauper fund was repealed."

p 50/ Henderson won School Supt election in 1871, replacing Z.F. Smith, and was not "nearly as enthusiastic a supporter of Negro education as was his predecessor." But Henderson, responding to federal pressure "and the fact that the Negroes were able to vote... gave... schools grudging support." The Federal pressure came from the proposed "National Education Bill" which was in committee and which would divide revenue from land sales "among those states which provided free public education for all children between six and sixteen." Ky's share would be $58,695 annually, and Henderson concluded in his report: "Certainly we are not so prejudiced against the education of our colored children that we are willing to throw away, or refuse to receive, the money which, if properly applied, would accomplish this end." /p 52/ The following year Henderson repeated his request. On Feb 23, 1874, the Gen. Assem. "passed the bill which provided for a uniform system of public schools for Negro children."
"A colored school fund was again established, consisting of revenues from several different sources: an annual revenue tax of forty-five cents on each one hundred dollars of taxable property owned by Negroes; a capitation tax of one dollar on each Negro male over twenty-one; all taxes on dogs owned by colored people; all state taxes on deeds, suits, or on any licenses issued to colored people; all fines, penalties, and forfeitures collected from colored people; all sums of money thereafter received by Kentucky under the act of Congress distributing public lands; and voluntary donations, gifts, and grants to aid the education of the colored children of the state. The county school commissioner was to divide the county into school districts and to distribute the county's share of the colored school fund; the per capita amount distributed to Negro schools was not to exceed that distributed to white schools." One per cent of the funds were to go the the school commissioner for administration and 3 $ for each school. He would appoint 3 trustees for black schools. "Teaching certificates were to be obtained by Negroes in the same manner that such certificates were obtained by white teachers with one exception--the Negro's examination could not extend beyond reading, writing, and common arithmetic."

"The 1874 act very specifically required segregated schools: no colored child could attend school for white children and no white child could attend a school for Negro children. If there were not enough Negro children in a given area, one school was to be established where the greatest number of colored children lived and all other Negro children in the county were allowed to attend that school. No schoolhouse for Negro children was to be located within one mile of a white schoolhouse except in cities and towns, where the permissible distance was six hundred feet."

Source: Ky Acts, 1873-74, 63
In two decisions, the Court of Appeals seemed to place the responsibility to care for sick and infirm Negroes upon local governmental agencies. On January 25, 1868, the Court held that county judges and justices did have the legal authority to employ medical aid for the relief of poor persons afflicted with smallpox, without regard to the color of such persons. Whether the responsibility to care for infirm slaves extended beyond the date of emancipation was the key issue in a case decided by the Court of Appeals on January 13, 1869. The Farmer's Bank of Kentucky had bought at auction a group of old and infirm slaves, agreeing to provide for them and bury them for the least sum from the owner's estate. Having been deprived from any control over these slaves by the Thirteenth Amendment, the Bank claimed it was thereby released from any obligation to support and bury them. The Court upheld the Bank's request and stated that such slaves now became a charge on the public treasury.


Institutional care of handicapped Negroes was also provided on a hit-or-miss basis. In 1865, for example, James Rodman, Superintendent of the Western Lunatic Asylum, stated in his annual report: 'As the law now exists, there is no direct provision for insane Negroes. It has been the custom, however, in this Asylum, to admit Negroes who were slaves in limited numbers, when their maintenance was provided for by their masters, when there was accommodation for them such as would prevent indiscriminate mingling of white and black.' He urged that legislation be passed to care for the insane blacks. "But the legislation he requested was not provided until 1868, when the asylum was divided into two branches. This act provided that all Negro lunatics would be sent to the Eastern Division Asylum until such a time as the Western Asylum could provide a separate ward for colored lunatics. The new asylums were established in 1873; at that time it was provided that all Negroes would be kept in one of the two older asylums. In 1874, the General Assembly, faced with the facts that the asylum for colored lunatics at Lexington was full and there were still many colored lunatics in jails throughout the state, passed a resolution directing the Governor to see to it that Negroes were accepted at any of the four asylums that were not operating at full capacity, provided that Negroes and whites were not housed together in the same buildings. The continued need for more space resulted in an 1876 provision that Negroes could be housed at both Eastern and Central Asylums in separate buildings from the white inmates."
Only scattered mention of Negroes in connection with other types of institutions. On March 5, 1867, the General Assembly incorporated the 'Southern Institution for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Deaf, Dumb and Blind Negroes,' and gave this company the power to purchase land (not exceeding fifty acres) and other property (not exceeding in value $50,000), and to appeal for subscriptions in Louisville, Middletown and Jefferson County. There is no mention of any state support for this institution. The Louisville Alms House, in 1870, completed a separate wing for colored persons. In 1871, when a home was established for juvenile delinquents, the legislature specified that it was to be limited to white male and female youths only. No provision was made for Negro delinquents. The charters for other institutions--the Kentucky School for the Blind, or the Institute for Feeble-Minded Children, for example--that were granted within this period make no reference to race or color as a qualification for admittance, so presumably such institutions were legally open to Negroes who met the qualifications. Donovan doubts, however, that blacks were admitted. "Institutional care for Negroes, in general, seems to have been provided during this period only in random cases."

"The 1865-66 General Assembly passed only two bills--apprenticeship and Contracts--to redefine the economic system under the Negro lived."
"This act /1866 apprenticeship law/ was amended by the General Assembly in February, 1868, to provide that the court of the county in which the articles of apprenticeship were executed could issue an order releasing the master from the articles of apprenticeship if it were proved through competent testimony 'that the apprentice has run away from, or has abandoned the service of, or refuses to serve and obey his master, without the fault of the master.' Such a court order thereafter released the master from all liability arising from the articles of apprenticeship. To protect the apprentice, the legislature provided that the county attorney was obligated to 'resist such release and defend for such apprentice.'"

"There was a similar case in 1867. Washington Small, an orphan of Todd County, had been apprenticed to James Small although he had a grandfather of good moral character who was willing to care for the boy. The action of the lower court in apprenticing this boy was reversed and the grandfather was given custody of the boy. In still another decision rendered on October 20, 1868, the rights of the apprentice were further upheld by the ruling that 'an order of the county court, binding a child as an apprentice, should exhibit the facts required by law, for giving jurisdiction to the court. If these facts are not stated in the order, it is void.' The same day the court voided another apprenticeship agreement because the lower court had not given the apprentice to his former master, who had requested his services. +

"Thus both the General Assembly and the state courts were determined to define and protect the rights of the apprentice without regard to his color. The only distinction made on the basis of race by the General Assembly was that the master did not have to teach his Negro apprentice to read and write, but even here a financial incentive was provided to encourage him to do so. With similar regard for the rights of the apprentice, the Court of Appeals consistently held that no child could be apprenticed against his will if he had a relative who was willing and able to care for him." Thomas v. Newcom, 64 ky. (1Bush) 83 (1866); Small v. Small, 65 ky. (2 Bush) 45 (1867); Chaudet v. Stone, 67 Ky. (4 Bush) 210 (1868); Lamb v. Lamb, 67 ky (4 Bush) 213 (1868).
"It is very probable, then, that in terms of contract making, the Negro was still very much at the mercy of his former master, at least until 1871. The Negro apparently protested little about this fate. Kentucky agents of the Freedmen's Bureau in several reports complained that Negroes were not bringing their contracts to the Bureau to be witnessed. Many employers refused to hire Negroes who insisted that their contracts be witnessed by the Bureau, for the Bureau would probably not have approved of a contract such as this one described by a former slaveholder: 'I am requiring of each tenant to clear up reset and repair the fencing of whatever land he cultivates, reserving also to myself in the contract the right at any time of employing labor to do anything he may in my judgment neglecting and to deduct the same from his share of the crop.'

"A measure providing the mode of contract-making could not completely solve the problem of labor control in the state for the Negro continued to wander, chiefly from the country into the city."

"In a sense, the Negro's victory in obtaining the right to testify in state courts was a hollow one. Since he could not yet serve on juries, the Negro's testimony was judged by white persons in a court over which a white judge presided. His lawyer was probably a white man as was his opponent's lawyer. Although his testimony was heard, he was probably less likely to receive fair and unprejudiced treatment in a state court than in the federal court. With the state courts open to him, however, there was greater likelihood that he would bring minor suits to court."
"The second incident which precipitated the demand for stricter law enforcement occurred in Frankfort on election day, August 7, 1871. When an election argument mushroomed into a full-scale riot, some Negroes fired at a crowd of white men killing two men and wounding two others. The man alleged to have fired the shots was arrested and held in the Frankfort jail, in which another Negro man was being held on a charge of raping a white woman. To protect the alleged rapist from lynch mobs, a company of the state militia, the Valley Rifles, had been guarding the jail for the previous two weeks. As the town quieted for the night, the Valley Rifles were ordered to disperse just before midnight. About an hour later a mob appeared at the jail, dragged the two Negroes from the jail and hanged them. Such hangings were not infrequent during this period and this one would probably not have attracted very much attention were it not for the identity of the men who participated in the lynchings and the fact that they were members of the very company that was charged with protecting the prisoners. The four young men charged with the crime were James Alley, Henry Walcott, D. Howard Smith, Jr. (whose father was state auditor), and Richard Crittenden (son of John A. en /begin p 119/ Crittenden who had been doorkeeper of the House of Representatives in the last session of the General Assembly.) These men were identified by two Negroes who had also been in jail the night of the lynchings. Since state courts still prohibited Negro testimony against white men, the four men were arrested by federal officers and taken to Louisville for a hearing before U.S. Commissioner W. A. Meriwether. The degree of concern in high political circles for this arrest is indicated by the

"During the hearing before Commissioner Meriwether, witnesses swore that D. Howard Smith and James Alley had been elsewhere at the time of the lynchings, so the charges against these two men were dropped. Meriwether ordered /begin p 120/ the other two, Crittenden and Walcott, be held in the Jefferson County jail without bail for trial before the United States Circuit Court in October, 1871. On November 4, the U. S. Circuit Court Judge admitted the defendants to $5,000 bail and set their trial for January 23, 1872. The sequence of events from this point on is not completely clear. The bill allowing Negro testimony in state courts was passed on January 18; on January 26, the Courier-Journal reported that the case of U. S. vs. Crittenden et al was argued that day before the federal court; on January 30, the Senate approved a House amendment to the Negro testimony bill, making that bill applicable to cases then pending in Kentucky courts. No further mention is made in the newspapers of the case of U. S. vs. Crittenden et al." Donovan speculates the case may have been transferred to a state court.
1871 ATTACK ON BLACK POSTMAN ON TRAIN BETWEEN LEX & LOU

"The first attack on a black of these happened on January 26, 1871, when a group of white men attacked but did not seriously injure a Negro mail agent on board a train of the Lexington and Louisville Railroad at the North Benson depot in Shelby County. The agent, William H. Gabson, Sr., was a Louisville Negro leader who had served as a delegate to the 1869 Negro education convention and had been recommended for the federal position by U. S. Attorney General James Speed. Governor Stevenson ordered an immediate investigation of the incident and, in a special message to the General Assembly, again emphasized his helplessness in situations such as this. He could neither offer a reward for the apprehension of the lawbreakers nor order either a civil posse or a militia force to the area without a request from the civil authorities of that county. The investigation ordered by the Governor revealed that according to the mail agent at the North Benson depot, four white men, one of whom had been drunk and brandishing a pistol, had come into the station as the train had arrived. The drunk man had threatened to shoot the Negro, whereupon the man's companions had disarmed him; he had freed himself and jumped upon the train and had begun to hit the Negro before being pulled away by his companions." Donovan believes that Fed authorities "magnified the incident far out of proportion to its seriousness" when they sent 10 soldiers to ride the train "to safeguard the Negro."

QUESTIONABLE SINCERITY OF KY'S ACTIONS OPPOSING MOB VIOLENCE AGAINST BLACKS (Post C W)

The numerous examples of mob violence led Gov Stevenson to request 'local circuit court officials' to use troops to maintain order on several occasions. John Breckinridge, ex Confed leader, denounced KKK.

Henry Watterson declared: "It is the universal voice of society, high and low, that masked marauding and marauding without masks should be put down and that masked marauders and marauders without masks should be punished." The editor denied charges that the terrorists were Democrats bent on intimidating possible Negro voters; the villains, he insisted belonged to no party, but were merely thieves and desperadoes, some of whom had fought for the North, some of whom had fought for the South, and some of whom had not fought at all in the Civil War." Yet other notes I have show Watterson bating blacks./
The Lexington Gazette suggested circumventing the Fifteenth Amendment with a law stating that no person could vote 'who has wool or kinky hair on his scalp.' /Jan 26, 1870/ Lexington did secure a change in the city charter which moved the elections for city-wide offices to February, 1870 (the Fifteenth Amendment was not proclaimed until March 30) and lengthened the term of office to three years, thus providing the city with a three-year respite from the inevitable Negro vote." Lex Ob & Rep, Feb 16, 1870, cited in Coulter, p 423.

Paris and Nicholasville amended their city charters, leaving the Negro areas outside of the city limits. In Danville, city regulations provided that anyone owning property in the city could vote in city elections. After trying unsuccessfully to have bank stock or cemetery lots classified as property that would entitle one to vote, a clever group of Democrats bought a lot and divided it into ribon strips four inches wide which were sold to Democrats in the surrounding country, keeping the bills of sale secret until election day. The following year the city charter was amended to classify cemetery lots as property and to provide that only those who had owned property in the city for at least three years could vote."
HENRY WATTERSON'S FAMOUS: "A SHORT EPISTLE TO SAMBO" Feb 1870

Prior to 1870 Watterson has supported blacks in the testimony fight, but in 1870 he took a less favorable stand against blacks: "But on February 17, 1870, in 'A Short Epistle to Sambo' he inaugurated what seemed to be the theme of the paper's editorial policy for that year. 'The Democratic Party of Kentucky does not need the negro vote. It can get along quite as well, or better, without it,' he said, and advised the Negro to stay out of politics."

BIBB'S OBITUARY FOR W. GARRISON, SLAVE PEN KEEPER IN LOU (1851)

"Another Soul-Driver Gone.+

"M. Garrison, of Louisville, Ky., whose whole life has been spent in making brothels, prostitutes, widows, and orphans, is at last dead and gone to his reward. In the fall of 1839 he bought and carried us, confined with irons in connection with other slaves, to the city of New Orleans and sold us. /Henry Bibb, the editor/ We have often witnessed his cruelty towards his victims, both male and female, when they were confined with heavy irons and could not help themselves. We have heard him say that he never felt happier than when he had a female confined and applying a scourge to her back—'ah! how he liked to hear them beg and scream.' He would often travel through the State of Kentucky to buy up the handsomest mulatto female slaves that he could find, without any regard to separating husbands and wives, and would take them to New Orleans, and sell them for the basest of purposes. He kept a slave pen in the city of Louisville for several years. A fugitive, who has just arrived in Canada, from that city, informs us that Garrison had a falling out with one of his slave holding chums, who shot Garrison through the head with two balls from a revolver; which is the way such characters generally settle up their difficulties, before they leave the world."
"Just From Slavery,+

"John Moore, and wife, with two others have arrived safely from Kentucky. Mr. Moore, wishes to be kindly remembered to Elijah Moore, of Ky., his former owner, and that they had a very pleasant trip out, that his wife was in rather delicate health when they left Ky., but a change of atmosphere, coming to where it is unpolluted with slavery, has greatly improved her. +

"This is the second time Mr. Moore, has run away for his freedom. In the summer of 1850 he fled into the state of Indiana, where he hired for the term of two months and saved his wages. At the close of the term he returned to Ky., with all of his wages and handed all over to his master, declaring at the same time that he was sick of freedom, and the abolitionists He wanted a home that he could depend upon in sickness and at all times, that the abolitionists were not to be trusted &c. This of course threw him right into the confidence of his master, and he was received back as a faithful slave. Many of his master's neighbors tried to make him sell him fearing that he had only come back to steal his wife who belonged on a neighboring plantation. But his master refused to sell him on the ground of his being so honest.+

"The man who owned his wife would not allow him to visit her for fear he would steal her off. But Mr. Moore pretended to care nothing about his wife, but would slip in and see her every night about midnight. Finally her master informed him that he might come and take his things off if he wanted them. So he went on Sunday and gathered up his bed, clothing &c., and abused his wife like a dog so far as words could go, and said that he never wanted her to speak to him again. This conduct removed all jealousy from her master's mind--and he would occasionally let her go out Sundays and nights without watching her. So she asked leave to go a visiting on Saturday night with the privilege of staying until Sunday evening which was granted, and her husband took her that night and never stopped short of Canada."
"Free Again.+

"Some five or six years ago Mr. Joshua Zimmerman of Boone county, Ky., brought his favorite servant, a boy named Bill, with his family, seven in number, to Ohio, where he settled them on a farm which he purchased expressly for their benefit. A few days ago during the holidays several of his servants, (9 in number) and among them some of the remainder of Billy's family petitioned for leave to make a visit to the Ohio branch of the family, which was granted, the master furnishing them with a pass to cross and the farm horses and wagon. When they arrived at the end of their journey they wrote to their master that the atmosphere of Ohio was more congenial to their tastes than the corn fields of Kentucky, and that if he would send for his team it would be forthcoming; but they respectfully declined returning to his service.+

"The bereaved mother of one of the above, is now in a land of partial freedom,—and she is anxious to find her son, whom she supposes to be somewhere in Canada, or in the northern States. The boy goes by the name of 'Andrew Jackson,' and is now about eleven years old. If any friend of humanity can give information respecting this boy, they would confer a great favor upon an anxious mother, by communicating the same to the 'Voice of the Fugitive,' at Sandwich, Canada West."

"Slave Case. +

"In 1849, three slaves belonging to Mr. Harper, a farmer in Boone /sic/ county Kentucky, fled to Ohio, and took refuge in Cincinnati. Their master pursued them, and was engaged in ferreting out their place of concealment, when a free colored man of property, named Keyte, entered into negotiations for the purchase of the three fugitives, and finally bought them for $450. Mr. Harper executed a bill of sale in Cincinnati, and Keyte gave a mortgage on some real estate to secure the payment of the purchase money, for which he had given promissory notes. When the notes came to maturity, they were not paid, and Mr. Harper recently filed a bill to foreclose the mortgage. The main point of the defence was that a contract for the purchase of slaves was void in the State of Ohio. Judge Key decided the case on the 26th  ult. He held that as the Constitution and the act of Congress gave a right of recapture, such right of recapture is sufficient to sustain a contract of sale executed by the master in a free State, conveying fugitives then in such free State to a citizen of such State, and a decree of foreclosure was therefore made."
"A Slave Hunting for a Master.

Four young men arrived here, last week, from the land of slavery, one of whom was from Frankfort, Kentucky. His master had been the keeper of a livery stable for several years, but had at length sold out his establishment, with the exception of this faithful servant, who was his principal ostler. He told the slave that he had no further use for him, after the establishment was sold, and that he was to be sold also; but for his fidelity to him during the whole time that he had kept the stable, he would give him an opportunity to go out and find himself a master, such an one as he would like to live with. But the next day his master came home accompanied by a negro trader whose business was to purchase him. He was called out and examined, just as a horse jockey would examine a horse before trading for him; and the only thing that saved him from the chain gang, was the extraordinary price put upon him by his master. After the souldriver was gone, he called his master's attention to his promise which was to allow him the privilege of finding himself a new master. Yes, said the master, I have said that you should have this privilege, and I will not be worse than my promise. So he wrote the slave a pass and started him out to find a master; but, as he neglected to restrict his boundary, he strayed off into an adjoining county, where he found another slave out on the same errand, where they united in hunting masters, but never succeeded in finding one to suit them until the Canadian line was drawn between them and the State of Kentucky. Here they have resolved to serve but one master who is the great Author of the Universe."

1867 BLACK CONVENTION IN LEX: GENERAL INFO

p 3/ The convention met in the A.M.E.Church. H. King of Fayette Co called the meeting to order. A credential committee appointed to inspect credentials of delegates. "During the absence of the committee, the Convention was agreeably entertained with brief speeches by Rev. J. G. Fee, of Berea, G. Burdett, of Jessamine, and others." Pages 3 & 4 list the delegates and their counties. /begin p 4/ For permanent officers of the convention: Pres, Rev. W.F.B Butler of Jefferson; for Vice Pres, Rev G. Burdett of Jessamine, for Recording Sec, Rev R. T. W. James of Franklin; for Asst Sec, A. D. Jones of Warren; for Corresponding Sec, H. Scroggins of Fayette; for Treasurer, Rev. B. Taylor of Shelby; Ser-at-arms, B. J. King of Jefferson. A business committee was appointed of seven people. Gen. Brisbin, Col. W. Davis, Dr. Davison, Dr. Miller, Messrs Burbank and W. Spencer accepted as honorary members of the convention. After "Reports on the condition of the colored people in the several counties" the meeting adjourned until 7 PM. /begin p 6/ "Long before the time arrived, the house was filled to overflowing. The President presented A. D. Jones, of Warren county, as the first speaker, and Rev. R.T.W.James,of Franklin county, his successor. These were followed by a spicy, brief address from the President, and an urgent appeal by Rev. J.G.Fee, in behalf of the Berea Institute. The entire audience appeared highly delighted, and retired home with feeling of deep satisfaction." On Wed. morning at 9 AM reconvened. They agreed to abide by majority vote, to meet from 9 to 12; lunch from 12 til 2 PM. Members absent at roll call were to be fined 25¢; a member could speak only twice on the same subject. /begin p 7/ Each delegate was to pay 15¢ a day to help meet expenses; each member to pay $1 to help with expenses and
1867 BLACK CONVENTION IN LEX: GENERAL INFO

proceed. of state convention of col men, held at lex, 1867, 1867

/p 7 cont'd/ cost of printing the proceedings. They then passed a "Declaration of Sentiment." /begin p 8/ Convention reconvened at 2 PM. Collected $30.30 from the 15¢ tax on delegates. "The Business Committee presented / a/... memorial addressed to the Legislature of Kentucky." /begin p 9/ Memorial to be discussed during the night session. "... the business of the Convention was suspended to hear an address from Gen. Brisbin, which was a grand production, and while delivered, the speaker entranced the entire audience with his irresistible and spontaneous flow of eloquence, as he portrayed those cardinal duties we owed to ourselves, our country, and our God, never to be effaced from 'memory's mirror.'" The Business Committee presented a memorial to Congress "for the elective franchise, which was adopted." /begin p 10/ The Convention adjourned until 7 PM; benediction by G. Burdett. At the 7 PM meeting Hon. W. Davis spoke to a delighted audience on "universal rights, irrespective of race, color or condition." /p 11/ A second reading of the memorial to the Ky legislature, and adoption. Adjourned 9 PM. The convention resumed Thursday morning, 9 AM, Nov 28, and agreed to hold another convention in Frankfort when called by the State Central Committee. They passed resolutions praising (1) the educational institution for blacks at New Albany, Ind.; (2) praising J.G.Fee & Berea. Appointed a state central committee. /begin p 12/ To print 500 copies of the proceedings; thanked Cincinnati Gazette & Lex Statesman for advocating with other Republican journals political equality; thanked citizens of Lex for hospitality. G. Burdett gave $10 to have Fee's address put in the minutes.

Proceedings 13 pages long.

REPORT OF THE CONDITIONS OF BLACKS IN KY COUNTIES; PRESENTED AT 1867 COLORED CONVENTION IN LEX

proceed. of state convention of col men held at lex 1867, 1867

p 4/ Barren Co. O. Crenshaw reports, 1 school house, no churches; many suffering through oppression p 5/
REPORT OF THE CONDITIONS OF BLACKS IN KY COUNTIES; PRESENTED AT 1867 COLORED CONVENTION IN LEX

proceed of state convention of col men held at lex 1867, 1867

p 5/

Hopkins—E. Collin: one Church; five Schools; aid by Bureau.
Jessamine—G. Lewis: two Schools; fair prospects.
Kenton—Rev. C. M. White: two churches; one good School; $50 aid from Bureau monthly; no tax drawn.
Knox—G. W. May: one School; no tax drawn; ill treatment.
Lincoln—Rev. W. Owley: three Schools; no tax drawn.
Logan—L. Hogan: one Church; no School; considerable suffering.
Madison—M. Campbell: three or four Schools aided by Bureau; no tax drawn.
Marion—J. P. McElroy: three Churches; three Schools aided by Bureau.
Mason—Rev. E. W. Green: four Churches and four Schools in the county, with aid from Bureau of $40 per month; considerable suffering; no tax drawn.
Mercer—M. Taylor: two Churches; three Schools, with $30 aid per month from Bureau; no tax drawn; bad treatment.
Montgomery—J. Banks: two Churches; two Schools at Mt. Sterling, with $30 per month aid from Bureau; can have no school in the county; no protection from the Bureau; Agents act wrongly.
Muhlenburg—Rev. S. Elliott: one Church; one school; no tax drawn.
Nelson—W. Lawrence: one Church; one School; no protection.
Nicholas—W. Sears: no Churches; draw no tax; ill treatment.
Ohio—W. G. Foster: one Church; no School; draw no tax.
Oxford—T. Roberts: one Church; two Schools; $20 per month from Bureau.

Pendleton—S. Warren: one Church; one School.
Powell—J. Russell: one School; doing well; accumulating property.
Pullaski—D. Gibson: no Churches; three Schools; good treatment.
Russell—S. Green: no Churches; no Schools.
Scott—T. Monroe: Churches thriving; Schools prosperous; partial support from Bureau.

Simms—J. Martin: one Church; one School; much discouraged; treatment bad.
Shelby—W. Robinson: two churches; two Schools, with $25 per month from Bureau; draw no tax.
Spencer—G. Berkley: no Schools; no Churches.
Taylor—R. Hubbard: poor treatment; one School; no Churches.
Todd—J. Bristow: two Schools; draw no tax.
Washington—G. Crume: one Church; one School; poor prospects; cruel treatment.
Webster—S. Couch: no Churches; no Schools; no tax drawn; no Bureau aid; times gloomy.
Woodford—S. Waters: two Schools in Versailles, one School in Midway; support from Bureau; no School in the country.
Whereas, it is right and proper for citizens to peaceably assemble together and represent their grievances to those in authority; and whereas, we are denied the right to testify against white persons in the courts of this Commonwealth; and whereas, on account of our color we are not permitted to go to the polls and vote as other men; and whereas, we are taxed without representation; and whereas, much misunderstanding and dissatisfaction prevails among our people because we are unequally taxed; and whereas, although we pay full fare, we are not allowed the privileges of passengers on the public conveyances; and whereas, the Freedmen's Bureau has done much to protect and secure justice to our people; and whereas, with a view of exciting prejudices against us, wicked persons circulate false and unjust charges that we have armed leagues and meditate a forcible enforcement of our rights; and whereas, the want of testimony in the courts leaves our females exposed to the wiles of the dissolute and unprincipled, who may approach them with insulting and degrading propositions with impunity, and for this crime of crimes there is no redress in this enlightened Christian Commonwealth—therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates of the colored people of the State of Kentucky, in Convention assembled, will prepare and cause to be presented to the General Assembly, a petition praying them to grant us the right, by law, to testify in all the courts of this Commonwealth.

Resolved, That we will cause to be prepared and presented to the Congress of the United States, a petition, praying the honorable members thereof to secure us the right of suffrage.

Resolved, That we pray the General Assembly of Kentucky to so alter or amend the statutes of the State as to establish one general code of penal, school and pauper laws for all the people of the Commonwealth, irrespective of race, color or condition.

Resolved, That we call the attention of officers of steamboats, railroads, and stage companies to the fact that, although we pay full fare, ourselves, our sons, our wives and daughters, we are not allowed the privileges of travelers but are put in second-class and disagreeable places, where we are frequently abused and insulted by drunken and ill-behaved white persons, and we pray them to relieve us from all unjust and unnecessary restraints, and to cause their employees to treat us as they treat other persons.

Resolved, That we will cause to be prepared and presented to the Committee in Congress on Freedman's Affairs, a petition showing the necessity for, and praying the continuance of, the Bureau in Kentucky until such time as we shall obtain the right to give evidence in the courts and to vote at all elections.

Resolved, That we will provide for our poor, feed our hungry, clothe our naked, promote education, morality, religion and virtue among our people, obey the laws, and live at peace with all men.
PETITION OF BLACK CONVENTION IN LEX IN 1867 TO KY LEGIS
(proceed of state convention of col men held at lex 1867, 1867)

To the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky:

Come Greeting. The colored people of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, through their delegates in convention assembled, most respectfully petition your Honorables:

To so alter and amend the clause of the statute of the Commonwealth, as to permit no person to be disqualified from giving testimony in any of the Courts of the Commonwealth; in actions, both civil and criminal, by reason of birth, color or previous condition. We also most respectfully state that any and all obligations to this much needed reform are based upon the theory that our juries are honest enough to render their verdict to and in accordance with the law and evidence, and that they have intelligence enough to discriminate between conflicting statements, to detect falsehood, to arrive at the truth of every case, and render impartial justice between man and man. Unless this theory is true—and no one asserts to the contrary—the judiciary system of the State is a failure. If true when applied to the white people, it must, by every sound system of reasoning, be equally true when applied to us. To say that a jury of white men, upon their oaths, are honest enough to do justice between white men, and intelligent enough to decide upon the truthfulness of statements made to it by evidence; and, at the same time, too dishonest to do justice between a white man and a black one, and has not intelligence enough to decide upon their truthfulness; is an assertion too absurd for utterance, and is an insult to every right-minded man. As this is the logical argument to be deduced from our present system. If your juries are competent to make their verdicts under the law from the evidence of white persons, they are equally competent to do so from the evidence of black persons. Some may say that we are incompetent to serve as witnesses in a case where a white person is an interested party, by reason of our want of intelligence, or our disregard of truth. We deny this most emphatically. The same objections may with equal propriety, be extended to thousands of white persons in this State. Juries almost daily render verdicts directly opposite to the statement of some witnesses who are competent to serve as witnesses in this State, in cases where the testimony they have no confidence, and many a white man is a witness whose intelligence is no greater than that of the average of our own people. These are matters that should not be urged in general objection to any class of witnesses, whether white or black. It surely occurs that false testimony escapes alike the attention of the court, the jury, the client, and the attorney engaged in a trial, and a rigid enforcement of the law punishing perjury will effectively protect society from all iniquity.

Moral property now constituting the aggregate wealth of Kentucky has been acquired or improved, in whole or in part, by our labor. None know better than the citizens of this State, how we have protected and cared for both the property and the lives of our former owners. Suddenly freed by act of war, we were mostly thrown upon our own resources, without property or means of protecting what little we now have: the product of our toil and care. It is treacherous to steal it from us; it is murder to feloniously deprive one of our people of his life. Is there any member of your Honorable Body who would offer inducement to crime, outrage and lawlessness, by saying that the white man property and the white man’s life are protected under our law, but the property and the life of a black man are unworthy of protection, and beyond the pale of our law? We hope not; but this is what the law now says. If we lose possession of our property, our females may be outraged, our school teachers shot down at their desks, and our ministers murdered in their pulpits, by any person lawless enough to do so, and the sad history of the past few years must convince you that many men, thus lawless, live in Kentucky, and we have no remedy in the courts. If the only witnesses happen to have African blood in their veins, no matter how truthful or intelligent they may be, on many of the lonely farms of our State, in the absence of the owner, the wife and daughter are the only white persons remaining. His property may be stolen, his life and daughter may be outraged and murdered during his absence, the presence of every colored servant on the place, by a white man, and the villain goes free of punishment, if he white man witnesses the awful crime. We believe that such good will accrue, both to the white and the black people, when this right of testimony is given to our people in all cases, and thus society will be more effectually protected from crime of every character than it is at present. We do not expect by our rights of testimony to influence wrongly the action of any court or jury, but simply desire...
PETITION OF BLACK CONVENTION IN LEX IN 1867 TO KY LEGIS

proceed of state convention of col men held at lex 1867, 1867

/p 9 cont'd/

The right of any of our people to go before any court or jury and testify to matters within their knowledge, the testimony to go for what it is worth under the circumstances attending every case. And that equal and exact justice may be administered to both white and black, we ask that all disqualifications on account of race or color, in so far as they apply to testifying, be removed, and that the plaintiffs and defendants in every action, whether white or black men, shall be made competent witnesses, with the right to testify in their own behalf, subject only to such exceptions as are made for white men.

For this simple act of justice as a poor and oppressed race, we appeal to you by every consideration of civilization and love of right. And for your favorable action will ever pray.

PETITION OF BLACK CONVENTION IN LEX IN 1867 TO CONGRESS

proceed of state conven of col men held at lex 1867, 1867

p 9/

The colored people of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, through their delegates in convention assembled, most respectfully petition your Honorable Bodies to grant us the right of suffrage. Your petitioners beg leave to call your attention to the fact that they are not permitted to testify in the Courts of the Commonwealth against white persons, and in consequence many persons who commit murder, rape, arson, and all manner of outrages upon the colored are permitted to go unpunished. Your petitioners would further represent that they are now, and ever have been, loyal to the Government of the United States, more than thirty thousand of their brothers and sons having enlisted in the army of the Union during the late war; that they are peaceable, law-abiding citizens, who pay taxes as other people, but who, on account of caste and the color of their skins, are denied political rights in the Government they are taxed to support. Your petitioners would further represent that, inasmuch as the Constitution of the United States has abolished slavery everywhere within the jurisdiction thereof, so that all constitutions, laws or regulations growing out of the same are null and void; and inasmuch as the same Constitution, in another provision, declares that no State shall make or enforce any laws which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States; and inasmuch as Congress is empowered, by appropriate legislation, to enforce these several provisions which we believe cannot be done without securing the elective franchise to the citizens of color; and, inasmuch as the color of our skins did not th
time of war, prevent the government from claiming our allegiance, and caus-
ing us to bear arms in its defense, and it is a well-established principle of
just government, that allegiance and protection go together, the one being
the consideration of the other, and, inasmuch as the Declaration of In-
dependence promises the equality of the people, and it is the expressly decla-
ded duty of Congress under the Constitution to guarantee to every State in
the Union a republican form of government; and, inasmuch as many white
persons of no greater degree of intelligence than ourselves are allowed to go
to the polls and vote in this Commonwealth, and thousands of men who
fought against the Government in the late war also vote, thereby electing
disloyal persons to office; and, inasmuch as we greatly desire to assist the
Unionists of the State in electing loyal men to office; now, therefore, we
earnestly pray your Honorable Bodies, in such way and manner as it may
properly and legally be done, to enact such laws or amend the Constitution
of the United States, so as to secure to every citizen in this Commonwealth
who may have been a slave, or is the descendant of a slave, or by reason of
race or color is deprived of equal rights, to vote at all elections for members
of Congress, for Presidential electors, for Representatives and Senators in
the State Legislature, for all State, city, town and other officers of every
kind, and upon the same terms and considerations as white citizens of the
State are now or may hereafter be allowed to vote. And we will ever pray,
&c.

"According to the 1850 census, only 28 per cent of the white families in Ken-
tucky held slaves. ... More than half of these slave-holding families held les-
s than five slave each, 88 per cent held less than twenty each, and there were
only five families that held over one hundred slaves each. The total population
of Kentucky in 1860 was 1,155,684. About 20 per cent (225,483) of the state's
population was Negro, and 5 per cent (10,684) of that Negro population was free.
The ratio of free Negroes to the total population was quite high— .9 per cent
for Kentucky as compared with .09 per cent for Mississippi of .4 per cent for
Georgia. Of all the slave-holding states, only Delaware (19,829), Louisiana
(18,647), Maryland (83,942), North Carolina (30,463), and Virginia (58,042) had
larger free Negro population."
"The Negro population, as the following map shows, was very unevenly distributed throughout Kentucky, the distribution corresponding almost exactly to the character of the land. The fertile bluegrass area in the center of the state and the rich flatlands of the Tennessee River in the southwestern part of the state were well suited to the development of large plantations; the proportion of Negroes to the total population in these areas was correspondingly high. In contrast, the hilly character of the land of Eastern Kentucky made the development of large farms impossible; here Negroes rarely made up more than five per cent of the population of a given county. Jefferson County, in which Louisville is located, was 14 per cent Negro in 1860 and 16 per cent Negro in 1870; Fayette County, in which Lexington is located, was 47 per cent Negro in both years."

"There were twenty men in the house who voted consistently in the minority on any legislation regarding the Negro or the new status of the freedmen in Kentucky. All but four of these twenty men were Union Party members (i.e. Republican). There were also twelve men who voted for the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment but otherwise generally voted with the majority. Ten of these twelve were also Union Party members. In the House, then, as in the Senate, the major legislation regarding the Negro was written and supported by Conservative Party members. Furthermore, these Conservatives came generally from the areas of the state which had the largest Negro population. Thus, as was former slave owners or at least representatives of those slave owners who wrote the legislation which was to govern the newly emancipated slave. Further analysis will indicate that this legislation for the most part was a fair and equitable code for the freedman;..."
"The most revealing law passed by the 1866 General Assembly was that which amended the Revised Statutes. Since slavery no longer existed within the state, one would suppose that the legislature might simply delete all mention of slavery and all regulations necessitated by the existence of slavery from the Revised Statutes. But the legislators refused to take such decisive action. Instead, they made minor changes in the statutes: they deleted the section on the prevention of runaways, absolved owners from the responsibility to care for slaves who were aged or infirm, and ended the listing of slaves as property for taxation purposes. But these were all areas that concerned the master more than the slave. This same act also made the freedman subject to punishments already prescribed for free Negroes and gave all Negroes the right to buy and consume alcoholic beverages. The measure was revealing, however, not for what it deleted but for what it left standing. For example, in the Revised Statutes, Chapter Ninety-three, "Slaves, Runaways, Free Negroes, and Emancipation," was the slave code of Kentucky. Instead of merely repealing this chapter and granting to the Negro the same rights the white men enjoyed, the legislators went through it section by section, making only the most obvious changes. The first article of this chapter consisted of nine sections; but the legislators repealed only one of these sections. This was not mere legislative oversight, for Senator James W. Gorin moved the repeal of each section and the Senate rejected each motion. In two of the three votes, a division was called for and the votes were exactly the same. The Senate split principally along party lines, with the Union Party members supporting Gorin, who was a Conservative."

"The sections as they were voted upon were:

Section One defined a slave as any person then a slave under the laws of Kentucky and any free Negro who might be thereafter sold into slavery and the future descendants of female slaves. This section was retained, 17 to 8.

Section Two defined a mulatto as any person who had at least one "Negro grandparent. This section was not included either in the original bill or in Gorin's motion."

Section Three and Four provided that slaves were held to be personal estate and could not be sold by personal representatives except to pay debt. The Senate voted to retain these sections but the vote was not recorded."

Section Five authorized the county to claim and sell slaves for debt. This section was retained by a vote of 17 to 8."

Section Six stipulated that free Negroes could not hold slaves except their own relative. This section was also retained with no division."

Section Seven provided that a gift of a slave must be proved and recorded. This section was retained."

Section Eight required the owner to register the names, ages, and sex of his slaves before the County Clerk each year. This was the one section the Senate omitted, 19 to 5."

Section Nine provided that persons owning life estate in slaves could not move them from the state. This section was retained with no division requested."
"Along with the resistance to the passing of the old order came the beginnings of segregation. The bill providing for the education of Negro children stipulated that separate schools be provided for them. Since these schools were supported totally by the taxes from Negroes, the measure also provided that Negro tax rolls be kept in a separate book or column and that the taxes collected from Negroes be kept in a separate fund. Negroes were also denied certain benefits accorded white men. One act provided exemptions from county and state taxes to any white veteran who lost a leg or an arm in the war; another act exempted the homesteads of white owners from sale for debt. "Most measures regarding the freedman's legal status provided him with a better, but still subordinate, position in the community. He could sue and be sued and acquire and dispose of property in the same manner as the white man. He could by affidavit bring charges against anyone who had damaged his person or property; if the offender were a Negro, the freedman was a competent witness against him. But he could neither testify in court against a white man nor serve on a jury." He was subject to the same punishment a white man received for all felonies and misdemeanors except rape of a white woman, in which his punishment was more severe. A contract between a Negro and a white person had to be witnessed by a white person. His rights under the master and apprentice statute were equal to the white man's except that the master was not required to teach the Negro apprentice to read and write. Regulations governing marriages between Negroes were identical to those governing marriages between white persons. . . . Intermarriage between a Negro or mulatto and a white person was expressly forbidden."

1866 LEGIS LAWS ON INTERMARRIAGE

". . . the General Assembly, on February 14, passed a law which provided that Negroes and mulattoes could intermarry with each other 'in the same manner and under the same regulations that are provided by law for white persons: PROVIDED, That the clerk of the county court shall keep separate records of the same.' In addition to those persons already authorized to solemnize marriages, 'any minister in good standing of any recognized church of colored persons' was enabled to do so. As has been noted, intermarriage between Negroes or mulattoes and white persons was expressly forbidden; such intermarriage was considered a felony and carried with it a penalty of imprisonment for any period at the discretion of a jury not less than five years. This act also tried to deal with the knotty problem of slave 'marriages.' Any couple who had lived together a husband and wife and intended so to continue were to be 'held in law as legally married, and the issue [children, grand-children, etc.] held as legitimate for all purposes' if they made a simple declaration of intent before the county clerk and paid a fee of fifty cents. . . . An attempt was made in the house to amend the marriage bill, making it a misdemeanor for a Negro man and woman to live together as husband and wife without having made said declaration after the first day of July, 1866. Recognizing the impossibility of enforcing such a ruling, the representatives defeated the amendment, 5 to 80."
"The confusion over marriage rights was compounded by the question of who was duly authorized to solemnize marriages. For years slave marriages had been performed by unlicensed Negro preachers; and although these marriages had no legal standing, the couple involved usually considered them binding. Undoubtedly some of these preachers continued to ply their trade after the advent of freedom. Other ministers received licenses from agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, licenses which the state refused to recognize. A case in point is that of one George Robinson, who was convicted of bigamy. He had obtained regular marriage licenses under two different names and married first Joanna Wade, and then Harriet Capps, living for a few months with each. Robinson claimed that the marriages were not legal because the minister who solemnized the first ceremony had no license and the second minister had only a license from an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau. The court held, however, as had been previously held in cases regarding white marriages, that Robinson practiced bigamy. (Robinson v. Commonwealth, 69 Ky. (6 Bush) 311 (1869)). "The appellate court sustained the judgement convicting Robinson of bigamy."

"Education for Kentucky Negroes just after the Civil War was almost totally in the hands of the Freedmen's Bureau and private church and benevolent groups. In Louisville in 1865, for example, two churches—St. Mark's Episcopal Church on Green Street and the Jackson Street Methodist Episcopal Church—opened schools for Negroes. St. Mark's High School for Negroes was incorporated by the General Assembly two years later and its trustees were given the right to buy and hold property not exceeding $50,000 in value. In 1866, W. E. Gibson reestablished a school for Negroes that he had operated before the war at the Quinn Methodist Episcopal Chapel. In 1869, the Roman Catholic Church established St. Augustine's Church and School for Negroes, taught by the Sisters of Charity."

"In addition the Freedmen's Bureau operated schools throughout the state. In August, 1866, the Assistant Commissioner reported 15 schools in operation in Kentucky under the auspices of the Bureau."
"The General Assembly provided for public education of Negro children in February, 1866. As has been previously noted, all taxes collected from Negroes were to be placed in a separate fund; one-half of this fund was to provide for Negro paupers, the other half for Negro education. An additional poll tax of two dollars would be collected from every Negro male over the age of eighteen; the commissioner of taxes in each county was to keep a separate book or separate column listing all Negro males over eighteen and all taxable property belonging to Negroes. While providing rather specifically for the collection of the Negro's taxes, the bill was vague as to the means of establishing the Negro school."

"No provisions were made for the construction of school buildings or for any measure of control over the schools by the Negroes themselves. And the only part of the bill that could be interpreted as obliging the counties to establish such schools was the clause, 'no part of said fund shall ever be drawn or appropriated otherwise than pursuant to this act in aid of common schools for negroes and mulattoes.'"
"The only action taken by the 1865-66 General Assembly to care for such unfortunate freedmen was the establishment of the fund for the relief of Negro paupers that was linked with the Negro school fund."

"... according to Brevet Major General Jefferson C. Davis, the Assistant Commissioner for Kentucky, who was appointed in 1866, the proceeds from that fund were not always available to Negro paupers."

"The apprenticeship law enacted in 1866 was written as an amendment to the section concerning apprenticeship in the Revised Statutes and made few changes in that section. The statutes already provided that 'poor orphans and other children whose parents will not being them up in moral courses' could be apprenticed. The emancipated orphan could be bound out by his guardian (which in many cases was the county court) or by his mother. The apprenticeship extended until a girl was eighteen years old or a boy was twenty-one. The master was responsible for providing suitable food and clothing. Punishment was not mentioned in the revised statutes. The law of 1866 stipulated that the clerk of the county court was to sign the agreement for the minor. This agreement had to include the age of the minor, and the 'art, trade, business, or occupation he would be taught. . . In case of illness or injury, the master had to provide proper medical attention. If the apprentice were not a Negro, he had to be taught to read and write and do common arithmetic; if a Negro, the master could teach him these things or pay fifty dollars to a girl or one hundred dollars to a boy at the end of the apprenticeship. When the apprenticeship ended, each master had to provide his apprentice with a new suit of clothes. If the master were to die before the apprenticeship had expired, the minor could be bound over to another master on the basis of a breach of bond by the deceased master. The former owner of a slave was given preference if that owner were a "suitable person.""
KY COURTS REJECTED BINDING CHILDREN WITH RELATIVES CAPABLE OF CARING FOR THEM (1866)  

m s donovan, 'ky law regarding negro 1865-77,' u of l ma thesis, 1967  
p 64/  

"Obviously, some masters tried to force former slaves into apprenticeship. The Court of Appeals had to deal almost immediately with the case of a boy living with his grandfather who was willing and able to care for him. In a /65/ decision rendered on December 19, 1866, the Court held that where no necessity existed for binding out a Negro boy, the county court had no authority to apprentice that boy, even to his former master." (Thomas v. Newcom, 64 Ky. (1 Dush) 83 (1866)).  

1866 KY LAW GOVERNING CONTRACTS  

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p 66/  

"The 1866 act governing contracts with Negroes was short and to the point. Its only provisions were as follows:  

1. That it shall be lawful, in contracts for labor or service between white persons and Negroes or mulattoes, for the parties to stipulate that the same are to be held as entire; and if either party shall, without good cause, abandon the contract, the other party shall be held to have completed the same.  

2. That all contracts entered into under this act shall be in writing, and attested by some white person.  

"But its brevity should not be mistaken for simplicity, for this act contained a provision unusual to contract law. The stipulation that contracts could be designated as 'entire' /67/ meant that if either party should abandon the contract before its conclusion, the other party owed him nothing. This provision would, of course, usually work to the disadvantage of the Negro. If he should work eleven months of the year's contract, and then leave just before harvest, for example, he would be entitled to no wages for the eleven months he had worked. (If. 12 Representative Henry D. McHenry, of Ohio County, moved to amend the contract bill to provide that if a man should treat a Negro so badly he was forced to leave, that man should forfeit the Negro's year's wages. The amendment failed—L'v Daily Journal. Feb. 8, 1866)."
"Difficulties about contracting for a fixed period of time must have developed for, in 1867, the Kentucky penal laws were amended to provide a fine of not more than fifty-dollars for any person or persons who willfully and knowingly entice, /68/ persuade, or otherwise influence an person or persons who have contracted to labor for a fixed period or time, to abandon such contract before such period of service shall have expired.' And, in the 1871 revision of the Kentucky Statutes, the provision that parties could stipulate that contracts should be held as entire was dropped."

1866 KY LAW DEFINING VAGRANT

Although the act makes no reference to the race of the vagrant, the punishment it prescribes for vagrancy indicates that it is designed partially at least, as a measure to control the ex-slaves. For these vagrants under twenty-one, it provided that they be bound out as apprentices under the existing indenture laws. Those over twenty-one could be /71/ sentenced to as much as twelve months in the county house of correction. If the county had no house of correction, a superintendent was to be appointed who would hire out the vagrant by private contract to 'humane and suitable persons,' giving preference to former masters. The proceeds of his labor, after court costs and a reasonable fee to the superintendent were paid, were to go to the laborer's family, or to pay his debts, or to erect a house of correction is said county. If he escaped, the vagrant would be forced to work a period of time double that of his sentence upon recapture. The master who hired out such vagrants was given the same responsibilities, rights, and powers as the master and apprentice law allowed."
KY PASSED LAW FOR BLACK SCHOOLS TO GET FED. MONEY FROM SALE OF PUBLIC LANDS

m s donovan, 'ky law regarding negro 1865-77,' u of l ma thesis, 1967

p 136/ "A comprehensive plan for the establishment of Negro public schools was passed only when the promise of revenues from the sale of public lands was held out to the states by the federal government."

BELLE MITCHELL REPORTS ON SCHOOL AT LEX (1865)

E B Mitchell in lex to Mr. Whiting, /sept 1865/?/ ama, arc

"I have present the following as the Report of the present condition and past progress of the Missionary Free School of Color, established by the American Missionary Association of New York, in this City on the th of September 1865.

"I opened with 97 pupils, all a, b, c, the Alphabet, for the month comprised in the interval from Sept. 24th to Oct. 27th 1865 the reception of pupils into the School, consisted of 49 Girls and 94 Boys, making a total reception of 89 pupils: of this number, 22 Girls, and 90 Boys, Spell from words of one and two Syllables; 9 Girls and 9 Boys, read in first Grader; the remainder are yet in their a, b, c,'s. The daily attendance is, upon an average about 51.

"The Second month is about equal to the first commencing Nov. 17th will end December 17th.

"I have at present 96 enrolled, about 55 Spelling. 10 reading in the First Reader. 6 in Primary Arithmetic. 10 writing on slates. The daily attendance is, upon an average of 69. Several are Sick. others have not sufficient clothing for the weather.

"The Children Seem to learn with a very willing mind.

E. Belle Mitchell"
School Report of E.B. Mitchell, Jan 8, 1866, AMA, ARC

Report of the Missionary School Secretary to the American Missionary Association.

We opened our School again on the 8th of Jan. 1866; with 35 pupils in attendance and the average daily attendance for the first week was 38; for the Second week 55 3/4; for the third week 57 3/4; and for the fourth week 78 thus showing a steady increase of the average weekly attendance.

The number of pupils enrolled is 84. Of this number their acquirements are distributed as follows:

- Boys in the Alphabet: 17
- Girls in the Alphabet: 7
- Boys in Spelling: 17
- Girls in Spelling: 47
- Reading in the First Reader: 9
- Reading in the Second Reader: 10
- Reading in the Primary: 10

Horace Morris in Lou to E.M. Cravath in New York, Sept 5, 1871, AMA, ARC

Your favor 30th Aug enclosing lease and duplicate of Ely Normal School building for proper signature received. I hereby return them signed by Wm. W. Moms Esq P.A. of the Board of School Trustees, he being the proper authority to sign them.

The documents being signed we expect to open next Monday. We are one week behind as we should have opened yesterday.

The Janitor informs us that a Contract to run water into the yard has been signed but the matter has never been attended to. Do you know anything concerning it?

The Board of Visitors (Composed of nine (9) Colored men) of which I am Secretary is a subcommittee, cooperating with the Committee on Colored Public Schools working under the Board of Trustees etc.

We desire to thank your Association for the great favor, for as such we regard it - you have granted us - We hope now that we have gotten out of the Church basements that we can push our enterprise into respectable notice. Your Association can take itself if we succeed the lion share of praise, because might have deserved it. You are doing Missionary service even in our case and we feel to thank you. With sincere regard I am very respectfully
I hardly know what to tell you about our school. I have been sick for 2 months that school brought me today. There is great deal of dissatisfaction among the Colored Citizens who patronized that school last year. There was more of these aware of the fact of its being rented out. I have seen a great many of the Parents of the Children and there was not one expecting the same teachers this year. That school should have advanced over double of what is last year and renting the school out was one of the best things for the Catholics that was ever done in Louisville.

The advanced scholars of the normal school are going to send to the Catholic school an account of its having the best teachers. They would not have no objections to send to the free school but there are only one Competent Teacher in it. There is a young man there but the Citizens do not want to send to him because they do not know anything about his qualifications. They have utmost confidence of Mr. Pope and these Teachers. and it seems that no one else would do that school any good but Mr. Pope. You would feel very bad to hear the Children being deprived of the Normal sabbath school and that Library. the Children of the Normal school is dissatisfied them using their blinds. & we would be very glad if you could send us a couple of good Teachers for the advanced scholars of the Normal school. It is against our will to send our Children to the Catholic school but we will be compelled to do it. Please let us know immediately what you can do for us. Yours & C

Send Answer to Mr. Peter Lewis

John Sweney

Materials Moved to Lou Sch (1871)

Jesse Montgomery in Lou to E M Cravath, Sept 4, 1871, ama, arc

"I received your letter and moved all the things to the home. 602 West Chestnut St that you told me. the bill for moving them was one Dollar and fifty cts $1.50 and I went to see Mr. Horace Morris and the lease was signed and I delived the keys to him and the Board impload me as janitor of School.

Yours truly,

Jesse Montgomery"
Black Inquires If AMA Will Open A Night School In Lou (1871)

Jesse Montgomery in Lou to E. M. Cravath in New York, Oct 8, 1871, AMA, ARC

"I have been required to write to you to know if you expect to open a night school here as there are a great many anxious for it to open and I am anxious to know also for I have a list of party names who is anxious to go to night school. I hope you will answer this letter and me know. Truly friend,

Jesse Montgomery"

H Morris Tells Of SCH Trustees Discussion To Rent Ely SCH (1872)

Horace Morris in Lou to E. M. Cravath in New York, June 11, 1872, AMA, ARC

"Your favor 25th inst is received. The matter of renting the Ely School building as you well observe is of great importance to us as well as you. The subject has been laid before the Board of Visitors of which I am Secretary and by them referred to the Committee on Colored Public Schools. The following resolution passed by them and approved by the Board of Trustees of Public Schools of Louisville tells its own story better than I can. "Resolved: That the Committee on Colored Schools be authorized if they see proper, to rent the School house on the Cor of 14th and Broadway at a rent not to exceed $900.00 for the school year of ten months beginning Sept 1, 1972. And if said house cannot be procured at the rent named, then that said Committee be authorized to rent two (2) houses, one in the Eastern and the other in the Western district, for the Colored Schools, at a rent not to exceed $900.00 for both."

"As I have before explained to you the funds to run the Colored Schools are only such as we collected from the Colored people. To pay $1500 for rent would leave us nothing to pay the teachers with, and much as we regret to give up the building we see no alternative, unless you come to better terms."

"We know that $900.00 is no great sum for a building such as the one in question is, and were you other than a Missionary Association, I do not think we could have the cheek to ask it. But there is an influence at work that as earnest Americans, as lovers of our free institutions, as enemies to bigotry and all that is repugnant to Protestantism we want to cripple. You know the Catholic Church and school on the adjoining property has started to gain an influence on the Colored people. Its pomp and show..."
its hollow mockery of all that is true and grand in Christianity; its pandering to ignorance and superstition chimes will with the natural inclination of our uneducated people; and that we are ignorant, superstitious and easily led astray by pomp and show, you have had dealing enough with our people to find out.]

"The very class that attend the free school is the class they are after; the class that will attend your School if you reopen it, they cannot hope to reach, for they will be of the more advanced, both educated and more enlightened class of our children, whose parents hate Catholicism, because it would keep the ignorant up and the poor always down."

"We do not want to lease the School building, principally for the reasons above named. We know that if you reopen it, you will have a good school and that we will (as a people) be the gainers by that fact. But can you cripple the insidious smiles of that Roman enemy to civilization and republicanism as much as we can?"

"Please answer this as soon as convenient, before the close of the month, so that we know if hope is gone."

"Will send you the rent maybe tomorrow. Very respectfully
Horace Morris, Secty."

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Your reply of the 29th inst has been received.
The Harney St. Baptist Church having decided to make some changes in the house and place of worship desires to rent the chapel of the Ely Normal School for one year, if they can do so on reasonable terms, at the expiration of that time we will have completed our arrangements. The services we wish to hold are such as are common to Baptist Church service such as Preaching-Sunday School-Prayer meetings and Church business, meetings, etc. The time are the Sabbath, and at night during the week. The property needs some one to care for it, as the boys seem to be using the upper windows as targets and have broken a large number of lights.

Yours truly-

Allen Allensworth"
Allen Allensworth in Lou to Rev. M. E. Strieby in NY, Apr 18, 1876, AM, Arc

"Your letter of the 5th inst granting me the use of chapel of Ely Normal School has been received. I would have answered before this, but I was away when it was received and since my returned I waited that I might examine the Chapel and houses & find the following repairs necessary,-leaks in the roof-$5.00, a new front door-$5.50, window lights out in the chapel and entrance 71-$17.05,(there are 254 lights out altogether) the ceiling plastering is broken in a number of places, occasioned by the leaks, in the roof, cost of patching broken places in wall, cleaning and whitewashing-$20. Miscellaneous repairs $10. Making $57.05, for repairs. Please accept our thanks for your kindness in allowing us its use we will try and have it put and kept in good order. Please give me the agents name who have charge of its sale. In addition to the sum mentioned, we will expend $150 in making the entrance and chapel respectable in appearance and comfort. Hoping to hear from you soon I remain yours truly

Allen Allensworth"
John H. Jackson in Lex to Rev. Fairchild, Dec 5, 1878

I have organized an "A" grade in this City and can have a School room of my own by the 1st of April which will afford Normal School advantages to all of the more advanced pupils of the public city Colored Schools. At present the "A" grade is limited to one city district. The City and State only guarantee primary instruction and will not give any money for a Normal Course. If I could get $400 or $500 from the A.M.A. I can get at least $200 from a City fund here to organize an "A" grade for the Colored Youth of the City. Can you do anything to aid in the organization of such a department. If so you will confer a lasting blessing upon a needy class of people. You cannot know what a thankless mission is that of the Colored teacher in Central Kentucky. Please State the facts in the case to Sec. Strieby of the A.M.A. and see what can be done. Yours truly.

Jno H. Jackson

John H. Jackson in Lex to Rev. Strieby, Dec 6, 1878

Pres. E.H. Fairchild and Rev. Jno. G. Fee of Berea College in this State, can give all the facts concerning me and the work in which I am engaged in Central Kentucky. I regret very much that the educational condition of the Colorcd people of Kentucky is not generally known to the people of the North. The per capita tax is only 50c for each Colored pupil while that of a white child is $1.90. Mere primary instruction is all that is afforded by the State to Colored pupils. I graduated at Berea College in 1876, and have been laboring here on a Salary of $860 per Annum. I have tested the question of higher education sufficiently to form the conclusion that Colored people can neither expect State or City aid to my kind of instruction except what is confined to the mere rudiments of knowledge. Normal School instruction is neither provided for nor encouraged. We have the material here and could with some aid form a Normal Department to accommodate the Colored Youth of this City. I can get a building and Secure $200, I think, from a local fund here, would the A.M.A. contribute the sum of $400 to aid in this much needed enterprise? I hope so.

I regret that Kentucky is almost entirely overlooked by the A.M.A. and other Christian organizations. We have not a single Normal School pursuing such a course of study under State Control. Our teachers are, in many respects, very inferior and becoming more so, as we lack the means and encouragement to equip competent teachers. Prin. Mr. J.G. Hamilton left here. The City has turned Your building into a primary department and refuses to encourage a Normal grade (although the building is ample) because the City Council does not wish to employ a
John H. Jackson

In Lex to Rev. Strieby, Dec 6, 1878, AMA, ARC

Teacher at a higher salary than $30 or $40 per month, for a period of nine months. Being the principal of that building I have and earnestly sought to run it in the interest of equipping competent teachers for the State and in pursuing such normal studies as You designed it. In this work I am hampered and have resolved to organize a department there or in more central part of the City if I can be guaranteed the additional fund of $400, as the city will not give any aid to such a department among colored people. Yours truly-

Jno. H. Jackson

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J. C. Jackson

To E. H. Fairchild, Dec 10, 1878, AMA, ARC (Jackson in Lex)

We are engaged in what I fear at present setting to be a fruitless effort for higher educational facilities. Several months ago I've made a proposition to the School Committee of this city to establish a higher grade in one of the schools than is at present taught. The Committee accepted very favorably to it at first, but to our astonishment we soon learned that it was opposed by Mr. Turner, therefore it was defeated; he assigns his reason for opposing it because "he did not originate the plan"; there seems to be no hope for a higher grade now. 1st the city is not interested. 2nd his influence with the School Committee is great. Write to you first to ascertain if Berea Friends can help us? If you could induce the A.M. Association or friends at the north to pay a teacher's salary we can furnish a suitable building for the purpose. I earnestly hope you will do what you can for us. If we ask to drag along continually with mere nominal instruction the outlook for us is indeed gloomy as nothing can be done.

John has made up his mind to leave Lex & while we should dislike very much to see him go, yet his friends to see him go. Yet his friends all think it best; for to remain longer under the present system and ignorant Board is a degradation to his manhood. It is the open board of Turner that he has begot several hundreds of dollars for Berea College and by School interest, he has been swell frayed for what he begged for Lex. Please inform some what per cent (if any) you paid him for the he begged for Berea? Previous he begged for Berea? Hoping to receive your earnest dedication - I am very early reply. I am very respectfully yours

J. H. Jackson
"Dear Teacher. There has been a considerable struggle between my conscience and judgement for the past three years, as to whether I should engage in the ministry for life or not. It is a settled question with myself now—that I should like to engage in this work were I able to do so, I have been influenced to this decision more from what I have seen among our people than any other influence that has been led to bear up my conscience in this matter. I do not think I am sectarian in my views in regard to the Christian religion. But I am persuaded to believe that as long as its advocates are of that class of people who are influenced and led by that superstition and ignorance that characterized the dark ages of bondage—it will fail to a very great extent to accomplish its mission. I cherish no ill designs toward this class of people; nor do I desire to become antagonistic to them in their views. It is not doctrinal questions in my judgement that are working such a detriment to the church among our people now. But the manner of conducting churches. The influence of some of our best and most intelligent people are lost in the church owing to the weakness and superstition of its leaders. In my travels in the south as teacher I find this complaint more or less on the front of the most intelligent and enterprising people. I am not as well equipped for this work as I would like to be—but by the help of God I expect to be a student all my life. Were I able I would pursue studies further in Fisk University."

I have had several inducements recently to join the A.M.E. Conference here in the south—but its Church government in my judgement fails to meet the wants of this age. I am thoroughly Congregational in theory and practice and therefore I cannot conscientiously unite with any other now. I have not come to this conclusion hastily. If you can facilitate me in getting a situation where I can teach and preach I shall be under many obligations to you in the future. Yours in Christ

Quinton B. Neale"
BURDETT EXPLAINS TO AMA HIS NEED FOR FUNDS: "SLAVE ALL MY LIFE" (1867)

Burdeett in Camp Nelson to "bro Smith," May 21, 1867, AMA, ARC

Your favor has been received and it would afford me great pleasure to comply with your request. But it is not in my power to do so as I am poor and have been a slave all my life until I joined the army and have had to take care of my family which have been much expense to me. And since I have been discharged from the army I have been laboring to help my poor downtrodden people. And now I am in a place where I can get no help but what you give me the people are poor and can not pay more than the rent for the house in which we teach school and have Church so I cannot tax them but am compelled to look to my friends abroad for help.

Though the School that I am now teaching is a district school and the Commissioner of the Schools in this county say I shall have the public money of the district. But if I get that I will not get it until next spring so it would be doing injustice to my family and myself to loan any money now at this time I have borrowed some money and it is now due and I have to pay five dollars rent per month. And have all my provision to buy and my family in want now for clothing. so you see it would be wrong for me at this time to say I could spare any of the small salary that I am now getting.

... I am here in the same place where bro Scofield was and have reorganized the Church and school but the people are poor and unabl to help me any And you must not think hard of me for not complying with your request. Yours in Christ.

Gabriel Burdett"

BURDETT RELATES STORIES OF TWO OLD CAMP NELSON INHABITANTS (1867)

Burdeett in Camp Nelson to "bro Smith," May 24, 1867, AMA, ARC

I promised give you a small scotch of those things that you wrote to me concnig of I am young and have so much to do at this time I fear I will not be able to furnish you with as much as I would like to But if it would be any satisfaction to you to give a small account of some of the old peoples stories.

We have an old man living here in Camp Nelson who came from the state of Virginia when but a youth. But says he well knew when he was a boy that they had an old man on the farme where he lived And the white people were quite hard with there slaves And they tried to lick the old man but he would not take it from them But would run away and they would hunt him with the dogs and ketch him and chain him to brake him as they said they had to brake a negro like a horse.

So they put an iron coler on him once and he ran away and broke off and brought it home thru it down at the door and then went away and made his way of from them.

And though he was old he loved liberty and found it in his old age. Then the old man that related this story to was sent away from his mother when he was but a boy and he says when he was sent away from her she had the preacher to come the night before he was brought away and pray for her child that the Lord would be with him where ever he went and bles him and he says the Lord has been with him.

For when came to this state he fell into hard hands but he remembered the council of his mother and how she use to pray for him when he was but a boy and how she wept over him when he was taken away from her and brought to this country And when he became a man he be come converted, and now he is an abol minister of the gospel and though he was old when the Call
was mad for colored soldiers to go into the field he went into the field like a man and filled his post until he was mustered out like a man. And now he is one of our best men here in Camp Nelson in the first free spot of ground in Kentucky and though he is old he is here doing all he can to elevate his race by preaching and living pious and Godly. And there are many other like stories we might tell but we will relate one more of an old man who lives in our Camp by name Philip Banks he was born in this state but was sold down in the Mississippi and when he was sent there he was quite a wicked man. And belonged to a wicked man who allowed them all to dance and be as wicked as they wished to be. But did not allow them to pray or have meetings But this man was convicted once when on the dancing floor he had promised the Lord before he left Kentucky that he would serve him but he had become quit wicked and gone far a stray from his prommis But one night when he was on the dancing floor he was struck down under conviction And in a few days he was converted to Christ and then began to preach but he had to go into the cave one mild from the hous to keep his master from hearing him pray or preach but he would go at night into the cave and there he would bow down and pray to God to be with him. But at that time ther was not a Chritan in all that country But in a short time there was some of the colorad ones went out to see what made Philip to into the cave But when they went to the place wher he was and heard him pray they became convicted and it went on from one to another until there were some thirty converted to the faith. But his master learned that he was preaching and determined to make him giveit up. But his attempt to do that only made the matter worse So after talking to him about it and seeing he was determined to have his way he tied him down on the ground and said he would give him three hundred licks But as he raised up his hand to strike him the whip fell from his hand. He said to him go preach pray and sing as much as you please. And he then built a Church for his slaves And he preached on until he left that part of the country and came to Kentucky again a short time before the war. But when the time rolled round that the colorad men of this state were called to go fourth he walked out like a man in the name of the Lord as hundreds of others. And now he is here and is laboring like a man to build up our people in the faith. And we are here in the first free place in the state And we want to keep it for the Lord as he has done so much for us we want to gloryfy his name here in the birth place of liberty in this state And we want the prayers of Gods people in our bhalf But those days of Slavery have passed and gon and now liberty is proclaimed in all the land. But now we have to fight now against the spirit of cast. But as we have over come in part we will gain the victory at last. Yours truly.

Gabriel Burdett
"This month being closed I now make a report of our work at this point. We are having good meetings here almost every Sabbath. And on last Sunday we had three additions and quite a number of anxious ones came forward some twenty or twenty five. And the other churches are becoming more and more willing to acknowledge the independent condition that we are in. But we have no school as yet. But want to get one as soon as we can. I wish to have a check if you can accommodate me to it at this time as I need it to go winter clothing for my family. And on the next payment I want to settle all of my book accounts for the year. I remain as ever, yours truly.

Gabriel Burdett"

"The package that was sent to me through the American Missionary Association was received today in good condition. And with a grateful heart to those friends and to God who give them the willingness to labor in behalf of the freed men. I know I am poor but my Father in Heaven is rich and he can put it in the minds of his servants to do many good things for those who love him. I am truly glad that the friends have sent me these books as I am assured that they will give me a great deal of light on the subjects that concern the interest of my people at this time. For I am one that do believe a part of my work is to inlighten my people on the subjects of politics as well as on the subject of religion. And all of the information I can get will do me good in that direction. Yours truly,

Gabriel Burdett"

I will make out a full account of the Church matter here tomorrow and send it to you. G. Burdett."
In reply to your enquiry concerning the Church at this place under my charge. It was organized on the 25th day of September, 1864. Its present pastor is Gabriel Burdett.

I was here when it was organized. But was a soldier then and did not take the charge of it then as pastor as I was a soldier and was not stationed at that time.

But took hold of it in March 1867 as the regular pastor and have been ever since.

When it was first organized it was organized upon the union of all true believers in Christ Jesus, and it has been so ever since.

And as it was thus organized and composed of all true believers we of course denounced all partyism and called it the Church of Christ at Camp Nelson and it has been called by that name ever since.

As to the general membership present.

In the summer the general membership present is about on an average one hundred. Though our number is our one hundred and seventy. And the Church is increasing in firmness and is growing and although we have not had a protracted meeting until in the last two weeks.

We have been receiving one and have received in all twelve members.

But I feel that there is a better state of things in the Church now at this time in the Church at this time than have ever been before since I have been its pastor.

The members are becoming settled in the faith of the gospil of Jesus Christ and not in their former isms.

The Colorad people in this state were once all members of the White Slave Holding Churches and until we were emancipated we were ungoverned altogether by them in their pride and predigies and even now this is the only independent Church in all of the land except the Churches that were independent before the war like that of Berea and Kindred Churches. And I have never been able to see how we could be independent without coming out entily from all of the old slaveholding churches and form an independent Church entirely apart from all of them. And taking an independent stand and to do that we have of course had to contend with those who were of a different opinion from that.

And we have been called by almost every name that would disgrace a people.

But I have been led to believe that the only way to convert the south is to stand firm to this principle and let the world see that there is a reality in the union of the saints of God.

And that the colored people were not the cause of the devision in the south amongst the people but that it was their former owners who counsell them to err out of the way. And the only way to remedy it is to get a way from them entirely and have no fellowship with them unless they forsake their sinful ways and come back to the south as it is in Jesus. And when I look at it and see that the white churches have held dominion over the colored people of the Southern Colored Church that they are corrupted by the white people in the same way that the whites are.

And so great are their prvegedes and their selfishness that they are hindering the grace of God from having a free corce amongst the colored people.
And the most efiseant way to do this is to encorage the misters who were free before the war to take an active part with them and use their utmost skill to keep the colored people with them and under their influence and by that means they hop to keep them devided and thus keep them weak. 

But I have found one man and the only one of the colored men who were free before the war or those who were freed by the war and will come out and take a firm stand with me on the ground of a union of all of the people of God. And he has been trying to find a man of like spirit with himself. And I have been hunting in the same like manner.

But never have met one before and now I am anxious (anshuz) if he was appointed as a Missionary under the Association he would be one of the able men in our country to tair down the spirit of strife in our country. And I am pesuaded that that will be the most efficent way to lead this people and to brake the chains of Slavery of from their necks and to establish schools in the land that will do the people good is to first get the party strife out of the people. And I am pesuaded that while the people are in their infancy that now is the time to do this work.

The man,of whom I speak he is a man who was a slave before to the and is deeply interested in the work of church reconstruction in the south. he is now about my age forty years of age and is free from a party spirit as the air he breathes.

His name is James Arnel and his post office is Motonville Woodford Co. Ky. And he has been preaching over 8 years but would never be ordained by any of the sectarian churches of this age and in this state.

But now he is come up to our Church and have preached with great acceptance with all and is ready to renounce all of the old princlbles of the old Slave holding Church and work for Jesus. Yours in Christ.

G. Burdett
BURDETT DESCRIBES POOR CONDITION TO AMA; NEEDS CHECK (1871)

Gabriel Burdett in camp Nelson to "bro W. E. Whaiting" Feb 28, 1871, ama, arc

I wish if it could be concistant to send me my salary for the past months of Jan and Feb. as it will be of great importance to at this time. I have an account in the which will be due on the tenth day of March and it would help me a great deal at this time I am working hard to get our place built up as it ought to be and have made conceederable sareifice on my part to do it and to accomplish it in time to make it as properros as posible. But have commenced poor and am poor yet but do beleive the Lord will help me to build up a Shool and Church here for Christ. And if you can send me a check it would help me a great deal at this time. Your truly.

Gabriel Burdett

BURDETT BELIEVES HIS MINISTER FRIEND (ARNEL) VOTED DEMO (1871)

Gabriel Burdett in camp Nelson to "bro Cravath," Mar 6, 1871, ama, arc

I have sent in a report of the Church and School our Church has pas resolutions to go forward and rais a portion of my salry and have appointed a committee on collecting and the Church seems to be interested in it. And I think it will be a great help to it to do as you proposed. I cannot learn from bro Arvel what is doing more than he says he has not yet effected his plans entirely in geting this church to do as we proposed. And I have been pained to hear that he has either voted the Democrat ticket or else he did not vote at all and I thought that that was the reason he has been so slow to come or write to me. I have writen him to know the facts in the case. I will now send you a report of January and will report for February. But Bro. Arvel made a report for both Jan. and Feb. But I am happy to do any thing that will promote the interest of the School and Church. Yours truly.

Gabriel Burdett

Arvel?
I.

Our school will close room soon for the present three months term and understand if I am not mistaken that you would get for us ten dollars per month.

And if you can send it through to us it would be quite a help to us now to finish paying on our teacher salary And if we could get it immediately it would be well to send it along to us.

As Mr. Seals wants to go to the west this summer and we want to pay him up before he leaves if we can. Mr. Tracy and I have taken the whole responsibility of the school upon us and have been to considerable expense to run the present three months as you may see from what we have done. We have furnished the Teachers board, and wood for his room, and in addition to that we have bought all of the wood that the school used all of the term which is not less than sixty dollars from us and in addition that we have pledged our selves to see that Mr. Seals gets his money 95 dollars per month for three months.

Now you can see how we stand we have taken this work on ourselves for the purpose of doing what we thought were our duty to our people and when we set in to have a school an thought the people would send more children than they did but after we had made the arrangement with the teacher we would not back down.

But you see it leaves us in an imnarrassed circumstance, But if you will send us the 30 dollars that you promised to let us have, that will help us very much in this our struggle.

And we will also strive to get the common school fund which will help us in the matter if we can get it. But please help us all that you have promised and more if you can as it would so much oblige us. Your humble servant

Gabriel Burdett

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BURDETT'S SCHOOL CLOSING FOR SUMMER; FINANCIAL PROBLEMS (1871)

BURDETT'S CHURCH RAISING MONEY, REPAIRING CH (1871)

Your favor of the 20th was received on the 27th But I was not ready then to to it. As a part of the Church committee we not on and were not until sabbath and had not reported for some time And I could not tell what they would do. But they were on last Sunday and decided to make a conscious effort to raise one hundred dollars at once and if they do that it will be sufficient for me But as they have been repairing the Church and buying and the house in order that they have been and what but they shall have arranged that part of the work be that and will be able to begin the work of raise the one hundred and fifty dollars, But if you could send me a check for the past two months then I will take the risk of getting the other any way.

Do you that the Association will not have the one hundred to pay as was spoke of.
You will do me a great favor if you can send me a check for the last two months as I have been greatly oppressed very much during the past winter by boarding the teacher and other things connecting to the School. But as there is no School and when it begins again we will have the rents on the Hathaway property we will not be so much oppressed as we have been here to fore. And the Church will now be able to pay on the last quarter all of that that was promised or at any rate I will take it for the one hundred and fifty. So that shall not come against the association at any rate. But please send me the check now and you will not have the other to pay.

Yours most truly.

Gabriel Burdett

We are getting along with our church and our school will begin on the 11th of this month. I am now engaged in our state election and am canvassing several counties and I am working hard to accomplish our work as fast as we can. We are getting ready to plant more new churches as soon as possible. And as I am away from home very often and have to hire someone to help me in my business at home.

You would do me a great favor to send a check for the back salary due me now as we have not raised a sufficient amount to meet my wants at this time. Please send it and you will greatly oblige me. Yours truly.

Gabriel Burdett
BURDETT IN POOR FINANCIAL CONDITION (1871)

Gabriel Burdett

I wrote to Rev. E.M. Cravath

Some ten days ago to send me the back dues on my salary. But I have now thought he may not be at home or he was not the proper one to attend to that part of the business.

So I now ask you to please send me what is due up to this time as I am in great need of some money at this time and it would oblige me verily much to send me a check for the balance that is due to me up to this time.

Yours truly.

Gabriel Burdett

BURDETT SAYS WORK AT CAMP NELSON PROGRESSING; SOME DENOMINATIONAL CONFLICT; B.A. Imes, TEACHER FROM OBERLIN (1872)

I am at work the most of my time here in Camp Nelson and indeed all of my time and labor is needed here all of the time. We have a great deal to do here to make a prosperous Church and School.

We have had a great contest here with our white friends who have contended that we could not hold our own as a Church and School and a Colorado village.

The church as independent. All of the sects have been wanting us to become united with them and this work with them as one of the present sects of the country. Here are the Methodist denominations. The Southern Methodists and Northern Methodists Colorado and white all want us to be connected with their conference.

And the Baptist want us connected with their Association. But we have refused to be connected with any of them. But we prefer to be independent and have an independent Church as we believe the primitive Church were.

And that has caused us to have a great deal of trouble and war with them. But I see like that will die out after a time. And taking this stand we have been bothered about the school. But it appears that all of that is passing away and we are having a good school now and we have a splendid teacher from Oberlin Ohio by the name of B.A. Imes. But his time will be out the last of this month. He has over fifty in room in school.

But we cannot have him any longer than this month as he has to go back to Oberlin. But we hope to secure a teacher from some where to continue the School if possible. Our Sunday School is very full and our Church is becoming more awaken in the right direction. Mr. Imes have rendered great service in the Church he has been conducting a young peoples prayer meeting.
BURDETT SAYS WORK AT CAMP NELSON PROGRESSING; SOME DENOMINATIONAL
CONFLICT; B.A. IMES, TEACHER FROM OBERLIN (1872)

Gabriel Burdett in camp Nelson to 'bro Cravath' Feb 1, 1872, ama, arc

which awaken great interest in Church and School. I will send for some
of those papers you wrote to me of some weeks ago. I wish to get some
_tO send out for them. Yours truly,

Gabriel Burdett"

BURDETT STARTING SCHOOLS IN GARRARD CO (HIS HOME CO) 1872

Gabriel Burdett in camp Nelson to 'bro Cravath' Feb 19, 1872, ama, arc

Your very kind and welcome letter 9th inst came to hand finally but I was
then away but have now returned and now I will answer it. I am truly glad
to get a check and But would be glad if it had been 50 instead of 25
then I could have been better prepared to pay of my last year store account.
And if it will not be out of the way to send me 25. more at this time I can
with it meet with my accounts so as to go with my work. I am now spending
all of the week days in getting up Schools and churches. And if I be so
fortunate as I feel that I may I will then be able to do with out
perhaps all you speak of.
I want to put my boy and horse on the railroad in March. I have a horse and
cart and there are good prices offered on the road for carts and a boy to
drive it them, and I want my boy to learn how to drive a horse and take
care of a team.
Bro James will leave for Oberlin Thursday. But there is a man at Oberlin who
wants to come down and teach here and I hope is as good a man as bro James.
and I feel that we are on rising ground with our School matters and we
intend to persevere in the work.
And we need all of your prayers in our behalf for we are poor and need
all of the help we can get. I expect the old man Scofield will be here at
the association the last Friday and Sunday in March. The old man Elisha
Hathoway was here last week to see us. My prayer is that the Lord will do
a great work for his own glory. I have been over in Garrard County making
an arrangement to get up Schools all over the county. This is the community
that lived in before the war And the people want me to come and serve them.
The white people say that I can do more in that work in the county than any other man known in all of the land. And for that work I will get something of course. But my excuse will be a great deal more than it has ever been. But I trust that the Lord will make the way plain for me. Please send me 25 dollars more now for this quarter and ________. Yours truly, Gabriel Burdett.

P. S. I have arranged for one school in this county and one in ________ County and I am of opinion that we can get more.”
I now write you an answer to your request of some time since you know that you asked that the Church here make a donation to that large building that is to be built in remembrance of the great principles of the liberty of the Christian religion. When you send me the next quarterly salary to me please take from it $5.00 five dollars for the building of which you wrote me. I have been appointed by the state convention as the elector for the seventh district of Kentucky. And when the National convention is held now in the next few days then I will have to enter upon the causes in favor of the great principles of the Republican party. And as I will then have to do a great deal of traveling to do in this campaign this is an eventful year to the Colorade man in the South; And seeing what the Republican party has done for the colorad man I feel that it is my duty to do all I can to enlighten my friends the Colorad people And of corse it will tak more to take care of my family in my abcents than if I were present. And as I will have to make some arrangements to leave my family in a condition to get a longe while I may go to do good for others. Now please send me this present quarter pay and keep five dollars in the name of the Church of Christ at Ariel Ky.

Gabriel Burdett"
BURDETT GOING TO NEWPORT CONVENTION; WILL SPEND OCT. IN POLITICS (sept 1872) 3670

G burdett in camp nelson to 'bro Cravath' sept 16, 1872, ama, arc

I write you these lines to let you know how we are getting along.
We have had the best school this term we have ever had [Mother Fare to two sons who have done the best work that we have ever had done in Camp Nelson.]
But alas it will close Thursday. But we want to have some one ready to go right in at once and teach the next six months.
We have had quite an interesting meeting here for the last three weeks and there have been some twenty two additions to the Church and the interest is get great in the community, And I feel that there is a great reformation taking place in the neighborhood and all over our village.
But I will have to leave here for Newport next Friday to the Association.
And I wish you would arrange to send me what is due me for this quarter by the last of this month. Then I will be in the camp up to the election. And I want to say that if I am paid any thing by the American Missionary Association I want to pay it to __?__ ere I get to attend to the Church as assistant Pastor, while I am a way during the month of October.
But that will be in the next quarter. I want you to understand that I will be engaged in policts all of October and do not want the Association to pay me for that time if you think it unfair for me to be paid by two different parties.
But I will pay someone to preach here in my stead And will give all that I receive of the Association to whoever I may do the work But I will need all of what is due me now for my family while I am absent. Yours in Christ,
Gabriel Burdett

BURDETT TELLS OF SOME REL. STRIFE; B F IMES FROM OBERLIN TEACHING AT CAMP NELSON (1872) 3671

G burdett in camp nelson to 'Bro Cravath' Dec 11, 1872, ama, arc

The year is now coming to a close. And I thought I would say something to you in reference to the present state of things in our church and community.
We have had quite a trial in our Church in reference to our union Church. The Methodists have set up an oragonization in our village which has caused some strife abroad, and there is a probbility of its being continued for some time yet to come.
But it is possible that it will all pass away, in time to come But as it may, my purpose is to continue to preach Christ and him crucified. And I hope you will pray for us and lend us your sympathy in __.__.
We have Bro B.F. James now in the School who is a Student from Oberland who is a good man and is doing well in the School And as the year is now near a close and money is quite close, and I have promised Father Wade that if he would supply my place I would turn it over to him and he is quite unwell and is in need of some money and I would be glad to let him have it now and if will suit you to send me a check for the last quarter I can help the old man in this his time of need.
Please do this as soon as posible. Much oblige. Yours truly,
Gabriel Burdett

B.F. Imes
WHILE CAMPAIGNING, BURDETT PROMISED FATHER WADE HIS AMA SALARY (1872)

Gabriel Burdett at camp Nelson to 'Bro. Cravath' in NY, Dec 1872, AMA, ARC

Yours of the 16th inst is before me. I regret veary much that the report did not come to hand. I sent it some weeks ago. And I do not know why it did not get through to you. I mad out the report in Nov. about the middle of the month.

I wish you would send me a check if you have the money on hand. I promised to give Father Wade what was to come to me while I was out on the campaign this fall and he is in great need of it and I want him to have it. And I need the ballance of it that is to come to me veary much. do this and oblige me your humble servant.

Gabriel Burdett

BURDETT'S SCHOOL PROGRESSING (1872, Dec)

Gabriel Burdett in camp Nelson to 'Bro Cravath' Dec 30, 1872, AMA, ARC

I received your letter of the 19th inst. But have been away from home a part of the time. But will now answer it. I was glad to get the check that you sent to me it has come in a needy time to me and to Father Wade. The School is increaseing every day and the probbilitys are that we will have a large School this winter. Yours in Christ.

Gabriel Burdett
BURDETT ORGANIZING SCHOOLS, SENDING HIS SCHOLARS OUT TO TEACH; 3674

BURDETT ORGANIZING CHURCHES (1873)

Your letter of the 1 inst. came to hand yesterday. And the copy of the hymns of Devotion. And I think we will take 50 of them if we can get them for the same discount that you would make on the hundred. Please write me what you can put them at the same discount. And if so I will try to introduce it in the schools where our Scollars will teach this spring and summer. We have about 7 that will be able to go out to teach who have been taught in our school here. And by next spring I think we will be able to send out some ten or twelve. Our school will close today for the winter term. Our Scollars have made very poor progress this winter in their studies and quite a number of them will be able to do good work this spring teaching.

I am now engaged in the work of getting up School houses and organizing School trustees and getting teachers for schools. I spend my week days in this way and preach on sabbaths and keep up the Sunday school here at home. But will have to help this year in the county round about to organize Sunday schools when the day schools will be held. We have here a large Temperance Society the only one in the county that is organized by the colorade people. And we hope to get up one in every school where our students go out to teach. And by having taken additional work it makes my expenses greater of course. And I have to go to Bethesda the last week in this month. And I will need the money that will be due me for this quarter by the 20th of this month, so as to get ready to go to the Association of Christian Ministers and churches in this state. And I hope Bro Cravath will be home by that time.

I wish to go to that meeting and try to make some arrangement to press the work of education in this state. And see if there can be any way by which we can get some help to pay some men who will be willing to work in that field of labor. And do all in their power to organize Schools and Churches on a union basis. Yours truly,

Gabriel Burdett
Your favor of the 5th inst. have been received. I am glad of the prompt response to my request. I was at one of our schools yesterday at Keene six miles west of Nicholasville Jessamine Co.
The teacher is from Oberlin and she has a good school of about 60 in number. And on Hickman Creek about four miles from Camp Nelson one of our young members has a school no. about 30 pupils and at a place called (kiss ?) in this county about 10 miles from this place my daughter is teaching a school numbering about 33 pupils and is doing quite well with her school. And in all of their schools they have a Sunday school and they have a large attendance and a good Sunday school. But in some of our Sunday schools they are not able to buy large hymn books and if they had singing ballots they could make their Sunday schools more interesting.
And if we could get a few hundred sheets of the ballots that are now used most in the Sunday schools I think they would do good.

Yours as ever. Truly,
Gabriel Burdett

"I am sorry of the long delay of the report of our Church here at Camp Nelson. But there were several of the members that were away and who had been speaking of attaching themselves to other Churches So we wanted to learn from them what they would do.
And I was waiting to get another point organized also which we did on the fourth Sunday in Nov. And now be have them in a condition to keep up with them so as to have no trouble with them hereafter.
But I know that you may think it a long time to find out those matters but our people are scattered over a large space of county and it is difficult to get them to gather or here from them all. But often as we have some several young members are now enterin the minstry we can send them to the different fields to labor among the people and get them togather In the community when we set up our own Church in Garrard county a bout 12 miles from Camp Nelson. The people are anxious to have us visit them and help them. And I see more and more every day as I go among the people the great need of some one going to the potions of the county where there is no Church nor school and I am shure I could do much to unite the people togather if I had time to go and means to go with.

Gabriel Burdett"
Yours of the 8th instn before me And I hasen to reply to it. I hope that hereafter there will be no more delay on our part in sending in a prompt repprt. But I would not be offended at a sharpe rebuke for I know it is unpleasat to be disappointed and have to wait and feel that it is on the account of neglect and slothfulness And I had rather have reproof from a wise man than praise from a fool.

My purpose is to do all I can this year in establishing churches where ever I get up a school house. And I have four young men whom are quite promising young men who have a Missionary Spirit and I feel that with their help with the aid of the devine spirit of our master we can do much to build up the cause of Christ. We are preparing to commence a School house the first of January And make it a regular Academy. We are looking for a quaker friend of Levi Coffin and his wife to take hold of the School at one and teach six months then have Howard Fee to take the control of the School and go and make a nice thing of it here. We are going on to repair our large building and have this week put up two chimneys and the first soft spell we will put up the other two then we will be done that part of the work. And I will send you a circular of our institution. And our work here.

Now Bro. Cravath please send me me a check for this last quater for I am in need of it veary much as I want to send my children to school after Christmas.

Yours in Christ.

Gabriel Burdett

Bro Cravath please plase plase circulate our work through the American Missionary."
g burdett at cn to e m cravath, sept 14, 1874, ama, arc

"I wish you would send me a check for this quarter ending with this. I want to go to the Association at Berea on the 25th of September. Our School is in good condition and in opened with some 30 scollars last monady morning But has now 36 which is a better commencement than we have ever had at this season of the year. And I think we will have near a hundred in next month. Howard Fee is the prinicle teacher We hope to have a good School this term. We have hopes of doing a good work this fall and winter in the School But we had hoped that you would help us in the School as we thought. But as you do not see the way now I hope it be so soon that the way may open so you can help us as this is a point as I think that here can be much good done in raising up the youth of the Land in the way they should go. Please give some attention to this matter as soon as you can. Yours in Christ.
Gabriel Burdett"

BURDETT GETS ASST PASTOR W.S.OVERSTREET: DESCRIBES WORK OF CH(1874) 3680

g burdett in cn to e m cravath, oct 21, 1874, ama, arc

"In answering your letter and in filling out the blanks you sent, you will see that our Church has not increased in numbers very much But it may be seen that we have raised more money than we have at any other time since our oraganization or rather re-origanization in March 1867. So it appears to me that our Church is geting Stronger by year and becoming more devoted to the Cause of Christian Union. We have some young men that appear very promising indeed which our Church here is built. And in that case it was necessary for the church here to have an assistant pastor. So at our last church meeting which was last Saturday the Church decided to take as the assistant pastor for twelve months Bro W.S.Overstreet who has been our prinicle and Deacon for some time and a licens preacher here for some time To help the Church in my absence. But the Church would not give us up intirely. But retained the prinicle pastor to visit the Church at least once in two months and more if posible or it is required but want that I give my time and strength in the field which I think I ought to do; Having spent almost all of seven years in this place geting matters here regulated and worked up to what it now is I think I ought to help some other point some now. As our church is in the best condition that it has ever been to stand and do the work of a church. Howard Fee is teaching here now and is doing a good work he has the largest no. that have ever been enroled in the first month since the war. And our Sabbath school no. on last Sabath 105 which is more than we have had on our roles for a long time. So it appears as if the school is on the increase. Yours in Christ.
Gabriel Burdett"
"And it appears to me if there could be a small salary for one of them now and raise some from the Church it would encourage him. But I will leave this matter to Bro. Fee and Fairchild who are better judges of this matter that I am.

Our Association decided at her last annuel meeting September last that if the Church here would let me go on a mission for the destitute potions of Kentucky where ever there could be a union Church origanized or a Sabbath School or day School, it would be a help to the cause And it appear to me that the time has come when we must multiply Churches of the same impartial princibles as that on...."

"Your letter of the 24 inst. was received this morning. I was glad to learn that my letters was received in time to go in with the anuel report. I am pleased to learn that you are pleased with our work here. And as our School increases I hope you will consider that our place needs help and that it is a field in the South where there can be much good done and hope you will be disposed to lend us a helping hand. Now I wish to tell you what our work here is as a normal School our work is to prepair teachers for the work of teaching And this we are going.

Mr. Howard Fee is really doing a good work here and I think ought to be encouraged He has quite a number in the School now that are preparing for the teaching. And I do think that if there is a place any where in this country that teachers are needed it is in Kentucky And if here in central Kentucky there could be raised up a few good teachers who would have the good of the people at heart, they could do a good work. And my impression is that there are no people any where that are better prepaired to do this work than the field of this state when they can be inlisted in the work But like other people they must be treated as people in this State or else they will go to other Stats where wages are better unless they are willing to mak a great sacrifice for the good of the people and work in this state for small wages. For instance Howard Fee works harde here for fifty dollars a month when he could get at least a hundred dollars a month by going out in the state. And so it is with a great many of our advanced Scollars in our School here. They could get more by leaving their homes
And going out of the State. But where they can be induced to stay in the School here and get a more thorough education. And be persuaded to enter into the work of teaching here in Kentucky I think they ought to be helped to go on and do all they could to raise up the downtrodden and oppressed people in this State as well as any part of the south. And I believe that the American Missionary Association could not find a better field anywhere in the south to do a good work than here at this place. Yours truly.

Gabriel Burdett

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Our School under the supervision of Bro. H. S. Fee closed some two weeks ago. But the district school which is taught by my daughter is now going on and is doing well under her instruction.

The Church here at Camp Nelson is doing well though there is no revival in the church at this time yet there is a very deep state of piety in the church at this time.

Now it may appear to you that I am somewhat in advance of the times to ask that you send me a check for this quarter ending May 31. But our Republican State Convention comes off at Louisville on the 13th of this month and I am a delegate to that convention and as it is the urgent request of the friends of this county that I should go but I do not see how I can get off without I can get a check so as to leave some money with my family so it will accommodate me very much to send me a check now at this time. Please do this and oblige. Your friend in Christ.

Gabriel Burdett
BURDETT DESCRIBES SITUATION OF CHURCH & SCH; GOING OUT SPEAKING (1875)

As the year is now coming to a close it appears to me that I should make an annual report. Our church is not having any additions now at this time. But we are getting out of debt since we repaired our church and we are getting the members to see more and more the importance of paying up their monthly dues. And we are now making renewed efforts to have a good School the next term.

Mr. H.S. Fee have gone off now to marry and will be back the Lord will by the middle of Sept to get things ready by the 27th of September. And there is an increased interest manifested on the part of the people in regard to the School by the hope that there will be a permanent teacher in the School.

The people are in good hopes that we will build up a high School that will do much to build up our people. We have quite a number in the normal department that are preparing for the work of teaching.

We have a good Sabbath school, and we are preparing to have a Union meeting here on the Second Sunday in September or beginning on the Friday before the Second Sunday. And will continue one Sunday.

We have the promise that the number of the colored preachers will meet with us on that occasion. At which time we want to try to assure matters to have a concert of action in our work as a people to educate and build up the colored people through the State.

I have not been able yet to go out in the work of speaking much for the College at Berea or at this place by reason of having been compelled to attend the circuit court which is now in session. But I will be relieved on tomorrow and will make a speech at Bryantsville in Garrard county on the importance of education and temperance. And expect to go on then into the work.

G. Burdett

BURDETT EXPRESSES FAITH IN POTENTIAL OF BLACKS (1876)

I send you a report of our work here. The church here are in a better condition it has been for several years it is now becoming settled it appears on a firm basis; The officers appear to be up and doing, and determined to do more this year than they have ever done before.

And at the Church on sugar, we have appointed officers to the church there who are at work and are doing well though I can only preach for them one Sunday in a month and preach two Sundays here at home. The school is doing well at this time under the instruction of H.S. Fee and his wife who in every respect suits the people and condition of this past of the country, Although the people have had much pain and unreasonable prejudice against his Father, yet it appears that some of it is abating to a great extent and will soon die away if we can keep such a man as this young man here in control Kentucky.

And we are not only building up and independent Church and school but we are doing a threefold work here at this point.

First the Church proving that all Christians can be united in one Church, And that the colored children can be educated as well as white children under the same advantages.

And that the colored people can perform the duties of citizens as well as any of the white people of the same state under the same circumstances. And in order to do this we have a vigilance committee to keep order And we have made an arrangement with the county officers to help us in making any one of the unruly ones to come to time and we are making every man that makes an oath pay the usual fine that is one dollar each oath and for getting drunk and all offenses to law and order.
Thus we expect to build up a prosperous Church and School and village. This work altogether makes it a continued work for me to keep things as they should be here. But I hope when the spring comes I will have more time to go to other places where I am asked to come oftent and help them. Now Bro. Whipple please send me a check for the quarter ending this month. I need it so much at this time. I have my children in the school and have not the money to pay their tuition and will have to take them out of the school unless I can get the money to pay for them. Pray for us. Yours in Christ. Gabriel Burdett.

On present time of our Normal School is now closed which was taught by Bro. Howard S. Fee and his wife who did a good work both in the day school and in the sabbath School for more than seven months. But we feel that the work of education is a work that must go on so we have opened the free school now to continue until the first of July which is being taught by my daughter to aid the poor children who were not able to pay the usual tuition in our Normal School and several who have just reached the age of six and need to be in school to learn their first lessons so they may be ready if they are able to go into the Normal School in the fall when it opens in September. But the free schools of this state pays but little to colorade teachers which only amounts to only about 30 cts per scollar for a year. But the children must be taught and teachers will have to learn to deny them selves of many priviliges and so I say to my daughter that she must teach the poor children that cannot pay any tuition and cannot have clothes to go in the winter and in this way I want her to learn to have a Missionary spirit And learn it in her childhood though she is now nineteen years of age and has been in School and teaching together for more than ten years and wants to go as a missionary to Africa. But there is a wide field for her and many more in this country. So I tell her to teach on and I will try to board her as best I can and in that way we will both carry on the Mission work here in Kentucky. But I am at this time in a great straight and hardly know what to do for at times when we eat up our meals of food we cannot tell where the
Burdeett at cn to Geo Whipple, May 6, 1876, ama, arc

Next is to come from as my wife has been sick all winter and I have been trying to keep three of my children in the school so as to keep the School as full as possible. And now that the School is out I have but one son that is large enough to help me any and here wages are so low that he cannot make much at work though he works every day when he is out of school. But we have four children that cannot work so it makes it hard for me to get along at this time.

And now am urged to go to the State convention at Louisville on the 18th day of May and in order to do so it would greatly oblige me to lend me a check for the quarter ending May 31st as soon as possible as I feel that I ought to go to that convention.

Yours in Christ.

G. Burdett

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Burdeett Hopes Children Will Become Missionaries (1876)

Burdeett at cn to M.E. Strieby, May 12, 1876, ama, arc

"You favor of the 9th is at hand which appears to be a God's blessing to a poor man in these hard times. But I am glad that there are yet those who are determined to keep alive the Mission work. For it is greatly needed in this country as well as in the heathen lands. For I hope here in this country where our people have been partly enlightened and prepared to go into the Mission fields at home and abroad. And as we are now being educated I feel that there should be great effort much on the part of the Colorado people to carry the light of the glorious gospel of the Blessed son of God to those who have sat so long in the Regions and shadow of death that they might be brought from darkness unto light and from the power of Satan unto God.

And I feel that apart of my work is to raise up my children to work either here or in Africa in the work of blessing men and showing them the way of life and Salvation. And not only mine But all that I can persuade to give their time to the work.

Gabriel Burdett"
I drop you these lines to inform you that though our day school has
seased for a time yet our Sabbath school is yet continueing. And
though we labor under great imbarresment by reason of the harde times
and the scarcity of money. We are yet determin to continue our efforts
to educate our Children at this point And raise them up to respect the
Republican party with ist princibles those underling principles which
will live as long as God lives himself.
And though it is hearde to maintan these principles in the midst of
threats and intimidations But I have now spent nearly twenty days in
instructing my people in refference to what is their duty in refference
to what is their duty to themselves and their country and their God.
And now I have been invited to Louisville to speake to a large Audience
that will gather there on next friday And I do not see how to refrain
from it in this centennial year when coloradede men of all men should
show their hand in this contest between right and wrong between liberty
and oppression. And when I see what has been done by the leaders of the
Hamburg slaughter I am led to believe if Tildon is elected to the
Presidency there has never been such a time in the south as there will
be then. And I feel that it is my duty to do all in my power to prevent
it that I can. And while I am writing a letter has come to me asking
me to come to speake to the colorade people about three hundred miles.
I have been speaking at the different points around here all of the
nights in the weeks and preaching every Sunday. We want to give as
large a vote as posible from the state in the Aug election so as to
cencourage the northern stats in refference to Kentucky Republicans.

To show that we are not likewarm because we did not get Col Bristow
nominated for candidate for President.
And being called upon I cannot well get out of it But feel almots
compelde to go and do what I can to push on the cause of liberty.
Now I wish you would send me a check for this quarter ending with
August. which would help me on thus fair in the work. Yours in Christ.
Gabriel Burdett"
Yours of the 7th inst was received some days ago And I thought it well to write to you again and let you know that I am still interested in the cause of human rights though the Democrats are doing all in their power to get the colored people to believe that they are their best friends. And a few of them have voted with them and some of them who did not vote stayed at home so they have succeeded to get a large Democrat majority in the State and appear to think the Democrats will get a President and a majority in both houses But I trust the good people of the North will not let those wicked men get into power again to destroy the government again as they did in 1861. They have been tried and we see what they will do when they have their own way.

But I cannot believe they will be able to get in this time unless the Lord is dissatisfied with us and wants to make us humble as we should be but perhaps it would be the best for us to suffer some more yet to make us know who to depend upon But I hope that will not be the case. But if it comes upon us I will say it is the Lord let him do what seemeth him good.

But I believe if they get into power there will be a perfect reign of terror in the South I believe the Missionaries would be driven home and all teachers would have to leave their fields and give up their work. But I still trust in the Lord and hope he will make the wrath of man praise him. Pray for us.

I have an invitation to go to the state of Indiana to speak some there and I feel that I ought to do all in my power to prevent those Rebbels from getting into power again.

And it appears that the Lord has raised me up to do something in his own vinyard, and I do not see how to refrain from going where if I speake I will be heard in behalf of my people and the cause of liberty.

Yours in Christ. Gabriel Burdett"
I have just returned home from a tour in the northern part of the state where I have been laboring to elect a congressman. And finding your favor of Oct 31st I hasten to reply to you and let you know that we most hearty concern in the request that you make concerning holding a prayer meeting on the 14th inst. for the progress of our work. And by that time I hope we will have good news from the election so that while we are in a prayer meeting capacity we may be able also to give thanks for what the Lord has done for us in preserving our government. Our School is in good condition and I hope when the day of the election comes that the Lord will smile upon us and give us a victory over the enemies of right and justus.

And it will be a help to me if you could send me a check for this quarter ending with Nov 30th 1876. Pray for us here in this corrupt State of Kentucky. Yours most truly,

Gabriel Burdett

I wish to inform you of my present intention as I have been employed by your very kind Association for more than ten years and have had no reason to complain. And I have many reason to be greatful for the kindness shown to me by your honorable body. But I feel that I will have to give up the field here some time this year as I have a large family and do not see how I can support them here in this part of the country. And yet I feel that if there was a man here that had no family or at any rate a very small one so that he could get a long on a small salary from the Association and what the church could do for them it would be well. But I have held on up to this time and many days I have to do almost without any thing to eat and am getting entirely without clothing suitable to wait away from home. And it appears that the church can do but little in these hard times. The church are in debt some and are trying to get even with the world again. And I have been quite anxious to see the church out of all outside indebtedness. And have left my own matters so fair as raising money for myself there has been but little done. I have received some $9.40 cts since last November. But I have felt for them and have not oppressed them for I have been in the midst of them and have had an opportuntiy to know how poor they are and how they oppressed by their employers. And here in this part of the State the white people being chiefly Democrats have determined to oppress the Colorado man. And when I see how they are bent on keeping down the colorade man I have lost all hopes of doing much in this State though some are of the opinion that there can be something done yet in this State.
BURDETT DECIDES TO MOVE FAMILY TO KANSAS (1877)

Burdeett at on to strieby, May 3, 1877, ama, arc
And if there are those who think so and are willing to toil on awhile and see what can be done I will give them my hearty cooperation. But as I have been a soldier and have a growing family and feel the making some provision for them so I think of taking of my land And having lived in this place more than ten years since I was discharged from the service of the United States and as my family increases their wants increase with them And as my salary cannot be increased And it is reasonable that I ought to take care of my family I need to have them where I could take care of them some where And if I cannot do it here I should see if I could at some other point. But as I have been a soldier and have a growing family And I feel of making some provision for them so I think of taking of my land And having lived in this place more than ten years since I was discharged from the service of the United States and as my family increases their wants increase with them And as my salary cannot be increased And it is reasonable that I ought to take care of my family I need to have them where I could take care of them some where And if I cannot do it here I should see if I could at some other point. But as I have been a soldier and have a growing family And I feel of making some provision for them so I think of taking of my land And having lived in this place more than ten years since I was discharged from the service of the United States and as my family increases their wants increase with them And as my salary cannot be increased And it is reasonable that I ought to take care of my family I need to have them where I could take care of them some where And if I cannot do it here I should see if I could at some other point.

But I wish to be retained by your Association until I spend a few days in the state of Kansas. Though I cannot go now until the last of this month And I hope you will send me a check for this quarter ending May the 31st And I will write to you and let you know what I determ upon. And I do not want you to think the least hard of Bro. Stieby for wanting to chang my position for I know if you were to see my little ones around my feet and hear them asking where we will get the next bread to eat you would say go and trust the Lord for he is in Kansas as well as in Kentucky. And I feel that there is as much liberty there as here in this State where slavery has once existed and where the same spirit now previls. And prediges rains to its people hights unsurpassed in any state in the union. so taking all togethier I feel that it would be a curse if I were to keep my children here in this condition crushed beneath the iron heel of oppression But please write me and let me know whether you approve or disapprove of my cause And I will be pleased with your frankness any way. Yours in hope of Heaven.

Gabriel Burdett

BURDETT SPEAKS OF OPPRESSION OF BLACKS (1877)

g burdeett at cn to m.e.strieby, undated/1877/ ama, arc
"Your favor of the 7 inst has been received and I am glad that you have such an interest in the interest of the poor downtroden people of the South we have had heard things meete out to us and are haveing heard things meted out to us still. After haveing oppression for about 250 years And now that we are partially free we are still oppressed under control but we still hope the day will come when we as a people will come out from under the yoke of bondage and oppression And seeing that we have some friends who are still helping us up the hill of freedom And seeing that the Presedent has ordered General Sherman to have his troops reay to meet any emmergency I feel all the more encouraged to go on and do all I can have Gov Hays elected for I beleive from what I can learn from the Democrats here they wan a Democrat Presedent so the can go pay for their slaves But God forbid that it may ever be. Yours in Christ.

Gabriel Burdett"
I wrote you some twelve days ago and as yet have received no reply so I thought I would write again not knowing what had caused the delay of your reply as you have ever been prompt to respond to my request. I have written either to you or to Bros. Whiple or Bro. Cravath for the last ten years and always get a prompt reply. But feeling that there had been some miscarage in my letter I thought I would write again and ask that you please send me a check for this present quarter as I need the money very much to meet my present wants. I have been for several years dealing with a very nice grocer man and when I did not have the money to buy such things as I needed he would always wait until the time that I could get my check so I have made a debt with him and he is looking for it and I do not want to disappoint him by my delay in not writing so I will write to you and see what is the reason that you have not answered. I have written to you that I wish to go to Kansas the last of this month. And if I see that it appears plain to me that it is my duty to move my family I think of going in the fall if the Lord will. Now I have thought over this matter and prayed over it all along for more than a year and it appears more and more to be my duty every day to leave this land where the foot of the slave has marked the soil and go to a land where all men are regarded as a man. And at this time there seems to be a great upriseing of the colorade people to that end all over the state of Kentucky. Hundreds of them are going from this county and Fayet and Garrard counties and many other portions of the state so there would be a greater work soon to do in the west than in this state. And I do believe it is my duty to persuade my people to go where their manhood would be recognized and where they could raise up their children under free institutions rather than keep them here crushed down under the heel of those tyrants who look down on them with contempt and disdain.

But some others differ with me on this subject and I am not surprised at it either. But am willing to allow them their opinion in regard to any matter. But at the same time I only ask the freedom of thought and action myself and say to others do likewise. Now I want to go out west in this month to see the country and wish to pay up some of my honest debts that I have promised to as soon as I get my check on this quarter. And I feel that as there are hundreds who are waiting on my my return I should go and see what the state of things are and bring them a true report of all I see and learn in reference to the country. And I will write you of what I think of the country and what I think my duty is when I get out there. Hoping to hear from you very soon. I remain very truly yours.

Gabriel Burdett
"Your letter of Mar 12th came to hand today and brought with it a check for $50.00 and a promis of $50.00 more that is to be sent in case I do decide to go to Kansas. Dear Bro Strieby, I am truly thankful to the Lord for the apparent opening that comes to me at this time you appear to be willing to let me go where I can raise up my children where they can be useful and do good. I have two now in the field a son and a daughter that is teaching but the people are so poor that they cannot give them enough to support them.

And I do think it is unreasonaable to have them crushed down under the slow progress of this dull state. When they might be able to do more good for our race in some other state where the people are alive and active.

Though I am sorry to leave this State where I have spent more than forty seven years of my life 34 of it a slave and 2 of it a soldier in order to free myself and wife and children and the rest of it as a freedman and Missionary And have in my humble way done what I could to build up my people. But as I am now getting somewhat older than I was when first freed and having a family that demands my attention and the hights of my people coming up before me the question comes to me what is the best course to persue. Shall I give my influence in behalf of my people remaining where they will be oppressed all of their life and where it will be impossible for them to rise any higher than their mud sills in this Democrat State where the colored man is looked upon with contempt on account of his color or rather his previous condition And I am weary with this state of things and do not think I can bear it any longer without any hope of being delivered.

Or is it the best course to persuade to say to them the year of Jubelee is come return ye ransom peopl home to liberty For I think the time for Ethiopia to streach forth her hands unto God is come and instead of being helped always I feel that we should begin to help others some. As our friends have helped us so long and so much I think we

should begin to help our selves But we cannot do it here in this country under our present condition And the colorad man must make a mark for himself as others cannot do it for him. I wrote the other day thinking you did not get my other letter. But I remember as ever. Yours truly.

Gabriel Burdett"
When I wrote last to you I was then getting ready to go to Kansas and I have been there and find it much better than I had thought it could be. And am persuaded that that is the place for me. And I want to go out if possible early in September and as I want to complete all of my business here if possible by the middle of August.

And if you could send me the fifty dollars that you promised to send me to help get ready to move my family it would greatly oblige me at this time. I will write more in a few days and give a full statement of what I have seen there and what I think of the prospects in that country.

I remain as ever, Yours truly,

Gabriel Burdett

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Your most welcome letter of July 24 is received with a check for $50 dollars to help defray the expence of my family to the state of Kansas where I hope to be more able to do something for my degraded race and for my family than I can do here in this State. Though there are many that oppose my going away from this state feeling that my work is here in Kentucky, But I feel different from that in regard to this matter. For I have been looking at the condition of the colored people of this state some several years and have watched their course very closely. And have remarked many different times that we were going down as a people rather than climbing up as a people should. And I feel that we should make some change some way for the better and I am persuaded that this is not the place for us to make it.

I have traveled almost all over the state and have made it a part of my business to look into the matter of our people as to what was the hope of them for the future. And I find when I talk with the best informed of my color that their hope for the future is quite limited. For they say that their case gets worse every year.

And it appears plain to my mind when I know how they have to rent lands and houses throughout this state, the farmers rent them lands to till and the labor gives one half of the crop and where the lands are good it will raise about fifty bushels per acre. And this can be sold for 30 cts per bushel which makes fifteen dollars on the acre. And when the pay the half of this for rent then pay two dollars to brake the ground then it is considered worth one dollar to lay off the ground and the corn then it is considered worth 50 cts more on each acre to plough it over four times.
BURDETT ASSESSES CONDITION OF BLACKS IN KY; TELLS WHY HE IS GOING TO KANSAS (1877)

g burdett at en to m e strieby, july 30, 1877, ama, arc

which makes two dollars more to each acre then it will cost at least one dollar and 50 cts per acre to gather the corn So you see that there is no money in renting at that rate when a man has to pay fourteen dollars to get seven dollars and 50 cts and then I have said nothing of the seed corn nor of the work of replanting nor thining of the corn. So I am constrained to beleive what they say when they say they are going back­wards rather than going forward And they tell me what I know is true that this has been the case for more than five years. And I do not see what will make the case any better in this state while there are so many of our people here for there are so many here to do the work and rent the lands that the market is gluted with labors who are compelled to work for what the farmer offers let that be what it may be he has to work for the price that is offered or he must steal and then go to the state prison.

Now I have thought over this state of things carfully for more than a year And have been trying to see the best way for us to travle and to save the life of me I cannot see what we can do as a people in this state. And after taking a careful and candid survey over the whole field I have come to the conclusion that old line Abolitionest have labored hard to get us free And now that it has been done we Should take some steps to take care of ourselves. They have not only freed us but have been under God doing a great work toward educating us and fitting us for higher usefulness.

And now that we have been helped as much as we have I do think we should be greatful to God and to our friends for what has been done for us and go on to perfection. And it appears to me that if we are going to do anything

BURDETT ASSESSES CONDITION OF BLACKS IN KY; TELLS WHY HE IS GOING TO KANSAS (1877)

now is the time for us to do it And from long experience I am compelled to say in my humble opinion that it will be heard for the colorade man to do any thing in this country unless there is a great change in this state and I do not see what that will be unless the colorade man makes it hemself. And that by leaving this state and making the laborors scarce. And then those who may go to some new state or country can do better and those who may stay can do better too. And so for one after a long and careful investigation of the matter I am persuaded in my mind that my influensce is worth more in that direction than any other So I beleive that it is the working of an unseen hand of providence And so I go on as the pillar of cloud moves on. But at this time the white Republicans who are seeking office think the colorde man ought to stay in this State and vote with them. But the Democrat farmer thinks he should remain here to do their work so both partyes are somewhat at outs with me at this time because I will speake my opinion on any matter that concerns me or mine or anything with which I have to do.

But it appears to me to be the leading of the providence of God And in his name I hope to come off more than conqueror through him that over come the world. I remain as ever,yours truly,

Gabriel Burdett
fogle and engerman, time on the cross, 1974

p 159/
"Cassius Marcellus Clay was one of the early architects of the economic indictments of slavery. ... His views were given more than local significance when Horace Greeley printed them in the New York Tribune."

"There were two main elements in Clay's economic indictment. Slavery, he asserted, was an inefficient form of economic organization. It was inefficient because slavery 'im-poverishes the soil,' because, in comparison with whites, slaves were 'not so skilful, so energetic, and above all, have not the stimulus of self-interest'; because three million slaves performed 'only about one-half of the effective work of the same number of whites in the North'; because slaves not only 'produce less than freemen' but also consume more'; because slavery was 'the source of indolence and destructive of all industry'; and because slavery caused the 'poor' to 'despise labor' by 'degrading' it, while simultaneously turning the 'mass of slaveholders' into 'idlers.' The other element in Clay's indictment concerned the effect of slavery on economic growth. Clay asserted that slavery retarded economic growth and development by restricting education, by diverting capital into the purchase of slaves where it became 'a deal loss,' by discouraging the development of 'mechanical' skills, and by retarding the growth of manufacturing." F & E say that Clay's ideas were stated succinctly, and one must remember he was not an economist and printed no evidence to support his ideas. It seems to me that Clay drew these conclusions FROM HIS OWN EXPERIENCE. He was also trying to rally public opinion F & E say.

LEGIS DEAL BLOW TO BLACK EDUCATION BY REQUIRING FUNDS TO FIRST PROVIDE FOR PAUPERS (1868)

m s donovan, 'ky law regarding negro 1865-77,' u of l ma thesis, 1967

p 46/
"... in January, 1868, the General Assembly dealt a blow to Negro education by providing that no part of the Negro tax fund could be allotted to schools until all 477 Negro payers in that county had been provided for. ... A Negro education convention was held in Louisville on July 14-16, 1869. Among the speakers were John G. Fee, President of Berea College; John M. Langston, a prominent Negro spokesman from Ohio; Colonel Benjamin P. Funkle, Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in Kentucky; and E. M. Cravath, Secretary of the American Missionary Association. The convention petitioned the General Assembly to use the school fund for the benefit of the schools rather than for payers. Negro leaders asserted that they had 'applied again and again to the county judges and school commissioners' for the Negro school funds 'and have been invariably refused.' Except in a few districts, 'these taxes have been collected from us, yet we receive no benefit from them.' The delegates even indicated that although they considered the pauper tax unjust because white men did not have to pay a similar tax, they would pay it willingly if they would but receive their share of the school funds."

/48/ "Later that year, in his annual report, Kentucky's Superintendent of Public Instruction, Z. F. Smith, urged the General Assembly to divorce Negro education from its financial connection with the pauper fund ... ."

"It was not until February 9, 1871, that the act which linked the education fund with the pauper fund was was repealed."
"Fortunately for the freedmen of Kentucky, the news that the order removing the F B from the 15th day of February had been modified was promulgated through the Press of Ky even before it had been determined upon."

"Immediately after the issue of the circular of Dec. 11, 1867, the Regrnt in the District of County laying south of Henderson and Owensboro were notified that they must leave on or before the 21st day of February and also warning whites that all tenements rented to freedmen would be burned. To these notices produced terror and confusion among the freedmen. Many of the freedmen reported being told by their owners to leave their homes and it is unfortunately true that they have crowded into the town along the river in great numbers. The whites allege that they crowded into the villages and towns to escape work. The negroes claim that they do so to escape persecution. There is truth on both sides of the story but 75% of it is on the negroes' side. It is not found that the negro refuses to work where he is fairly dealt with, honestly paid, and well treated."

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CAMP NELSON; DEVELOPMENT OF SOLDIERS' HOME (1863) 3699

In 1863 a large military force was gathered in Central and South-eastern Kentucky, as a defense against invasion, and in preparation for an advance upon Knoxville. At this time Camp Nelson was made the most important military center, and the base of supplies for the army south of that point. Numerous large buildings were erected for the Commissary and Quartermaster's Departments, water works constructed, and other improvements of the most substantial character made, such as fitted it to become a large and permanent military encampment. At this time an Agency of the Sanitary Commission was established there, under the superintendence of Mr. Thomas Butler, who was already experienced in our work. This Agency was at first simply a depot of supplies, and from thence Sanitary stores were distributed to the camps and hospitals in that section of the State. A Sanitary train was dispatched to that place from Camp Nelson, in charge of Mr. Butler. Previous to this time a Soldiers' Home had been much wanted at Camp Nelson, to furnish temporary entertainment for certain portions of the great number of troops passing through. For officers there were imperfect accommodations in one miserable apology for a hotel, which was not only terribly deficient in quality, but also entirely inadequate in quantity. For the soldiers, single or in detachments, there was nothing better than could be found.
at the front; and, unless carrying their tents and provisions, they had little chance of being comfortably quartered there. Much suffering was daily and hourly the result of this state of things; and in the winter of 1863-4, the contemplated means of relief, through a Soldiers' Home, were brought into active operation.

The circumstances under which the Home was established are fully given in the first report of Mr. Butler, which is quoted below. Mr. Butler was chosen as its superintendent, and was every way fitted for the place. A man of unusual intelligence and energy, and thoroughly imbued with the true Christian spirit, he was prepared by long experience in our work to bring to bear upon this enterprise all that had been learned elsewhere by our efforts in the same direction.

Dr. J. S. Newberry,

Camp Nelson, Ky., March 15, 1864.

Secretary Western Department Sanitary Commission:

Dear Sir—I have the honor to submit to you the following brief report of the erection and present condition of the Soldiers' Home at Camp Nelson:

In pursuance of the purpose of the Chief Quartermaster of this post, Captain T. S. Hall, to make Camp Nelson, as far as possible, replete with all the resources and facilities of a self-sustaining camp, the conception of a Soldiers' Home, its utility and advantages, pre-

sent itself to the mind of that energetic officer.

Captain Hall, during his career in the Quartermaster's Department, had already erected three Soldiers' Homes for the use of the Army of the Potomac; the fourth he proposed to build at this post, for the use of the "soldiers' organized friends," the United States Sanitary Commission.

Knowing the great demand for such an asylum, to feed well and comfortably lodge the hundreds that daily passed through the camps—also the great desire and anxiety of the Commission to do all within its legitimate sphere for the comfort and welfare of the soldiers—I at once accepted the proposition in behalf of the Commission. A few days afterward I started for Knoxville.

On my return to Camp Nelson, about the 6th of January, I found the Home was in progress.

Captain Hall submitted the plan in detail, when I made several suggestions for alterations, which he readily and cordially endorsed, indicating his desire to render the Home convenient, and in every respect adapted to its object.

After intimating the variety and extent of the furnishings required for such an institution, I immediately reported the whole business, in person, to your office, accompanying which was a plan of the proposed Soldiers' Home.

The following four or five weeks were occupied in collecting and preparing the furniture, also by occasional visits to Camp Nelson in pursuit of the enterprise.
DEVELOPMENT, ERECTION OF SOLDIERS' HOME AT CAMP NELSON

On the 20th of February the buildings were so far advanced that I was enabled to shelter about forty refugees from East Tennessee, who, after two or three days spent in preparation for entering the world at Cincinnati, went on their way thither rejoicing.

The Home is now nearly completed in every particular. The principal structure is in the form of three sides of a hollow square, comprising two parallel wards; the first one hundred and ten by twenty feet, and the second ninety by twenty feet, while the center building, uniting the wards, is eighty-five by twenty feet, and is designed for the dining hall—capacity about three hundred.

The wards are economically fitted up with substantial bunks—easy of ventilation, and constructed with a view to the most effectual cleanliness. The two wards will accommodate about five hundred.

As the buildings are erected on sloping grounds, the front of each ward has two stories, thus affording two suits of rooms of much value, and indeed indispensable to the Home. Beneath the first ward there is—first, the office, with a porch; second, sleeping room; third, Sanitary store room; fourth, store room for the Home. Beneath the second ward there is—first, a bathing room, with a porch, containing four private bath tubs; supplied by double pipes, with hot and cold water; second, a capacious baggage room. About twenty feet in the rear of the dining hall is a range of buildings, running parallel to it, and consisting of—first, a large laundry; second, wash house, capacity one hundred men; third, kitchen, with cooking power for five hundred; fourth, commissary.

Every roof is overlaid with patent roofing, and every floor is double planked, with an insertion of water-proof paper. Ample arrangements have been made for the supply of any amount of hot and cold water in every portion of the buildings.

In the center of the yard, between the two wards, it is designed to place a fountain, and also a hydrant. The grounds surrounding these and in front of the buildings will be sodded, and walks with trees will be laid out. A substantial cedar post and plank fence, commencing fifty feet in front of the porches, encloses the entire buildings of the Home, which, in harmony with the purpose of the architect, constitute the most unique, and, I trust, serviceable and philanthropical institution of Camp Nelson.

The necessity for a Soldiers' Home here has been severely felt for many months past; and now that one has been erected, with ample and superior accommodations, much comfort and benefit may be presumed to be in store for all who come under its care.

Very respectfully yours,

THOMAS BUTLER.
During the year 1864, the work of the Home constantly increased in magnitude and importance, and diverged into all the various forms of relief into which the managers of this, as of all similar institutions at the West, were drawn by an irresistible force. The refugees, the enlisted freedmen, the contrabands, and the occupants of the military prison, each demanded and received a large share of the thought and care of Mr. Butler and his associates. Two large hospital gardens were planted, for which seeds and utensils were furnished by the Sanitary Commission, and from which large supplies of fresh vegetables were furnished to the camp.

In the following report of Mr. Butler he sums up the work of the Soldiers' Home for the year 1864 as follows:

We review our efforts for the relief of the suffering in the District of Central Kentucky with much pride and pleasure. Scores have blessed the Sanitary Commission, through us, for its seasonable and abundant aid, and have thus crowned its work with a satisfactory proof of success. Humanity, in all its variety of phases and relations, and in every degree of need, has sought its helping hand and kindly greeting, and never in vain. While we have endeavored to maintain a righteous disbursement of the means entrusted to our stewardship, none in distress have gone away unsatisfied where we had the power to relieve them. Trials and discouragements have come upon us, such as are incident to the natural course of life, and inevitable in the earnest pursuit of duty; but the constant stream of pleasure which flowed through the channel of our business was an unfailing source of refreshment.

Although justice seemed occasionally to demand it, yet never, through our agency, has a soldier been committed to the guardhouse or prison. A deep regard for his liberty and reputation, and a profound commiseration for those whom I have seen suffer long and bitterly for some trivial offense, have prevented me from inflicting pain upon some soldiers guilty of serious misdemeanors, even while the guards were at the door ready to take them in custody. I feel proud that such good order was enforced through so long a period of time, with our army of soldiers, having soldiers' habits, and commonly reputed troublesome, without the punishment or imprisonment of a single man. The character and value of our efforts, which were exerted for all, no matter how depraved, wretched or destitute, secured to us a corresponding measure of
influence, by which every facility for the successful prosecution of our work came naturally and reasonably within reach.

It would be evident, from the reports made to you during the past month, that we have been exceedingly busy. The raid of Breckenridge through East Tennessee has drawn into this District a large number of troops to resist him. Detachments and regiments, from Knoxville and elsewhere, have come to this camp for supplies, and all have combined to fill up the measure of our work. During the month we have furnished forty thousand three hundred and thirty-three meals and fourteen thousand seven hundred and twenty-two lodgings.

The refugee women and children from the South still come here for protection and assistance. Occasionally we forward a family northward, generally to Cincinnati; while several families, having gone for months through a series of diseases, still remain on our hands.

The prison which, when we commenced our labors in the spring in behalf of incarcerated soldiers, contained several hundred, now contains but forty, and these principally old and sentenced offenders.

The Soldiers' Home, by universal consent, has performed a good work by providing comfortable quarters and well-cooked meals for quite an army. For the past ten months the number of men received has been seventy-nine thousand eight hundred and eighty-three; lodgings furnished, eighty-six thousand six hundred and twenty-nine; meals furnished, two hundred and forty-seven thousand three hundred and forty-nine.

With the invaluable services of Mr. Radcliffe, we enter on the new year with increased facilities, such as will, we hope, secure still greater success in our work.

On the 1st of March, 1865, Mr. Butler reports a marked falling off in the number of soldiers received at the Home, but great activity in the care of refugees and freedmen. From this time our work gradually declined. The subjugation of the principal armies of the rebellion materially lessened our legitimate work for the soldier; although the Home, the regimental hospitals in the field, the sole care of all the white refugees, and an important share of the business pertaining to the colored refugees, gave, for some months, constant employment to our agents.

On the 1st of July, 1865, the last of that corps of faithful men who, throughout the history of the Home, had aided so faithfully and efficiently in performing the great work accomplished there—the detailed assistants—was mustered out of the service, and returned home, to resume again the duties of citizenship. Camp Nelson, like other exclusively military posts, had dwindled into comparative unimportance; and though, had the Home and depot been continued
for months later, there would have been work to do, still in magnitude it scarcely justified the attendant expense; and on the 25th of July the Home was closed, having entertained ninety-five thousand three hundred and thirty-seven soldiers, and furnished them two hundred and eighty-six thousand six hundred and fifty-six meals, and one hundred and two thousand five hundred and twenty-one lodgings. These figures do not include the large number of soldiers' families and other objects of charitable labor who shared, to a greater or less degree, the hospitalities of the Home and the ministration of our agents. All stores on hand, and the entire equipment of the Home, excepting the range and some more expensive articles of furniture, were turned over to the inmates of the camp of colored refugees—a most munificent donation, and one that was of priceless value to several hundred women and children, all destitute, and many sick, who at that time occupied it.
On the 23d of May, 1864, about two hundred and fifty able-bodied and fine-looking men assembled from Boyle county, Ky, at the office of the Deputy Provost Marshal, all thirsting for freedom. When this body of colored recruits started from Danville for Camp Nelson, some of the citizens and students of that educational and moral center assailed them with stones and the contents of revolvers. On their arrival at Camp Nelson, they created great excitement, for they were the first body of colored recruits that had yet come forward. Reporting to Colonel A. H. Clarke, Commandant of the Post, he refused to accept them, stating that he had no authority for so doing.

There was, at this early stage of the question, great indecision and incompetency shown by those directed to manage the enlistment of colored men. Recruits were hurrying to the army, but no officer was appointed to receive them. These two hundred and fifty men left their homes in the morning, suffering great violence, while the Provost Marshal offered no protection and promised no redress. They arrived in this camp in the afternoon, in obedience to the call of Congress, the President and General Burbridge; yet no order had been sent to the Post Commandant concerning their acceptance, and no provision had been made as to rations or quarters, or to protect them against the efforts of their late masters to recover them. Night was rapidly approaching. They were hungry and tired, and the dust of sixteen miles of travel covered them thickly from head to foot. In these circumstances the men were grievously dispirited. They had suffered all manner of indignities for their patriotism at the hands of their enemies, and now they were punished for their loyalty by delinquent agents of the Government.
BLACK TROOPS SENT TO CAMP NELSON'S SOLDIERS' HOME: RECEIVED BY
THOS BUTLER

j s newberry, the u s sanitary comm in valley of miss, 1871; report of thos butler

p 520/

Shortly after the Post Commandant had refused to accept them, the Provost Marshal of Camp Nelson, in an unofficial manner, as if to avoid responsibility, sent them to me, expecting them to be accommodated at the Soldiers' Home, although there was a commodious camp of vacant hospital tents, which would have shielded fifteen hundred men.

When they reported to me, I took them to our spacious wash house, and, with the assistance of several employees, dressed their wounds and bruises to the best of our ability. I then threw the entire buildings open for their use, otherwise making the best possible arrangement for the accommodation of the white soldiers who needed them.

RECRUITS AT CAMP NELSON; MEALS, LETTER WRITING, DRILLING (some by black self-appointed officers) May 1864

j s newberry, the u s sanitary comm in valley of miss, 1871; report of thos butler

From May 23, 1864, recruits arrived every day from the counties lying about Camp Nelson, so that early in June I had over fifteen hundred colored men ready for enlistment. The labor necessary for the care of such numbers kept our kitchen busy day and night, and our dining hall filled from before sunrise till long after sunset.

With this was the ceaseless retinue of outside wants, night and day. Hundreds of letters were written by Mr. Radcliffe, Mr. Payson (the Hospital Visitor) and myself. Stories of trouble at home, wrongs committed on their wives, children and aged parents, had to be related, in hope of procuring redress. Discouragements pressed heavily upon them, which we sought to dissipate by all means in our power. Several of the officers of the camp came on pleasant evenings, and, for curiosity's sake, reviewed the men in line; but when any responsibility was involved they were careful not to be found. Non-commissioned officers took a pride in drilling them, and the camp, throughout the day, was alive with squads on drill. They were not distinguished for superior dexterity or aptitude, yet the heartiness of their purpose incited them to untiring practice, which resulted in improvement surprisingly rapid. Their morality was highly commendable, and their subordination to their self-appointed officers, even of their own color, was a salutary example for soldiers of another caste.
ATTEMPTS OF SLAVE OWNERS TO ENTICE, KIDNAP THEIR SLAVES AWAY FROM CAMP NELSON (June 1864)

Soon after the introduction of colored recruits into camp, their old owners came in carriages and on horseback every day to allure them by all kinds of promises and threats, and in many cases to kidnap them back to bondage. On the 26th of June two citizens murdered a colored recruit near camp, and many other outrages were perpetrated in the immediate vicinity. In a neighboring county the ears of two recruits were cut off, and two others were fastened to trees in the woods and flayed alive.

I have said the slaveholders attempted to kidnap and re-enslave those they had once owned. A single example will suffice for proof of the truth of the statement:

A boy had been sent on an errand within the camp limits by myself. I was surprised at his delay; but finally he returned, and stated that, within hearing distance of the Home, he was seized by two men, forced into a buggy, and driven off. When the buggy reached the pickets, he told them he wanted to remain in camp, and they compelled his captors to release him. He felt like a man delivered from the jaws of death. Similar examples of violence were of every-day occurrence.

USE OF SLAVE WIVES BY OWNERS TO ATTEMPT TO ENTICE SLAVES TO LEAVE CAMP NELSON (June 1864)

The slaveholders frequently sent their wives, who brought with them the wives of the would-be soldiers, and through them they attempted to bring back the servant and husband to slavery.

From the first day that the slaveholders commenced their visits to the Soldiers' Home to effect the recovery of the recruits, I found it necessary to make a requisition on the Post Commandant for a squad of soldiers to perform guard duty around the entire buildings, and to enforce the restriction that recruits from within and citizens from without should not cross their beat. None were allowed to cross the line except with a proper pass.
CAMP NELSON PROVOST MARSHAL CONSPIRED TO RETURN RECRUITS TO OWNERS
(Summer 1864)

J S Newberry, sanitary comm in valley of Miss, 1871; report of supt thos butler

The whole care, in fact everything which pertained to the management, protection and employment of the colored recruits, devolved upon us, and we were left to ourselves to devise and prosecute plans to keep them as intact as possible in the service of the Government. The labor imposed upon us was incessant, night and day; and the utmost vigilance was demanded, in order that no event or incident within our field of operation should escape us.

The schemes for the re-enslavement of recruits were numerous, and almost invariably resulted in the discomfiture of their promoters. Here is one of many incidents:

I had heard that about twenty men had been induced by the Provost Marshal of Boyle county to return to their allegiance as slaves. The nature of the inducement held out to them I know not, but do know that passes were furnished them by that officer. I immediately communicated the fact to the Post Commandant, and requested that he would send an order to the pickets, countermanding the passes issued by the Provost Marshal. This was promptly done by Colonel Clarke. Meanwhile our office orderly, a Michigan soldier, and a shrewd, dashing fellow, desired permission to take a squad of recruits, hasten in pursuit of the men who were returning to slavery, and prevail upon them to come back. Fully recognizing that all I had done to encourage the enlistment of negroes and defeat the machinations of their enemies was unofficial, and having no support from any officer of the Government, I refrained from giving any positive instructions in answer to the request of the orderly. I simply told him that I would spare him for the afternoon. Shortly afterward we saw him at the head of a hundred of the recruits, marching in military style, at double-quick, in the right direction. On the return of the orderly, an hour after, he reported that the Post Commandant's order was delivered, and the twenty men detained by the pickets.

On their return to the Home, the orderly and his command met a cavalcade of carriages, containing the Provost Marshal of Boyle county and a number of slave owners. The vehicles were instantly drawn up to barricade the road, when the orderly commanded them peremptorily to make a way, or he would force one. The Provost Marshal alighted, and inquired by what authority he had done this thing. The orderly, turning to the men, asked them, "Is there a man here who desires to become a slave again?" Every one responded, with vehemence, "No!"—except a poor, weak fellow, whose master's eye was upon him. He stepped from the ranks of freemen, and entered one of the carriages with his master. The orderly then ordered the obstructions removed from the road, and duly arrived at the Home with nineteen of the recruits who had been illegally ordered away.

One bright morning in June the Provost Marshal mustered nearly three hundred recruits into line, and marched them to a grove, distant half a mile from the Home. I had watched the
panying the Marshal, my suspicions were aroused. I very soon rode over to the grove, and found the men drawn up in single line, apparently under inspection. I saw the Marshal select a number of recruits, whom I recognized as the healthiest and smartest of all he had contributed, and heard him direct them to start at once toward Boyle county. I immediately turned to the men thus illegally rejected, and asked them if they were still willing to enter the service as soldiers. They all replied, “Yes.” “Then,” said I, “there is no man here who has the authority to order you back to your masters; and while you have the liberty to return at your pleasure before you are enlisted, you have also the liberty to remain here until a proper medical officer examines you.” The Marshal was very much enraged, and asked, “By what authority do you interfere with my business?” “Very much better,” I rejoined, “than that by which you presume to order these men back to their masters on the plea of physical disability, when most of them say they have never been sick a day in their lives. Moreover, you are not an officer authorized to examine these men, with power to decide upon their fitness or unfitness for the service.” He threatened me with arrest—a threat I felt safe in disregarding, surrounded as I was by my sable friends and guards. I took the men with me back to the Home, and carefully prevented others from being enticed away.

During a part of June the colored recruits under my care exceeded fifteen hundred; and finding it altogether impossible to provide quarters for all, I requested Major ——, commanding the large, vacant “Camp of Distribution,” to receive some or all of them under his care. The Major, though a Northern man and an officer in the army, with ample facilities for doing what I regarded his duty in the matter, was averse to the emancipation movement, and positively refused to have anything to do with them. I then, as advised by Captain Hall, by giving my personal receipt, obtained sixty-five tents, and, taking one hundred men, pitched them in Major ——’s camp, and reported to the Major one thousand recruits; whereupon he very considerately reported them back to me. I however succeeded in transferring to him all the men who had been examined and accepted. I repeatedly endeavored to procure the Major’s receipt for the tents, but he steadily refused to give it. Thus the whole labor and responsibility of the work was thrown by the Government agents upon myself and those associated with me.
About this time fears were entertained that John Morgan, the notorious rebel leader, would attack Camp Nelson, as he was then at Lexington, eighteen miles distant. All the recruits, therefore, were employed to strengthen the defenses; and to their immense labor the camp is indebted for its present almost perfect impregnability. The enlisted men were worked very hard and, to somebody's disgrace, very poorly fed, receiving nothing but what could be taken with their bare hands, and not more than half rations of that. Five thousand pounds of new straw had been donated for their benefit, but an order was issued to burn it, and that order executed after it had been slept on but two nights. The men came to me every hour with complaints of abuse and hard treatment; so I concluded, if possible, I would remove them elsewhere. On a representation of the matter to Captain Gillis, the engineer officer under whose superintendence they were working on the defenses of the camp, he readily consented to quarter them among his own employees. The same day I procured wagons, and, with the aid of a detail, removed all the tents and one thousand enlisted men from the camp of Major — to that of Captain Gillis, who I knew would deal justly and kindly with them.

Before the close of June, Colonel T. D. Sedgwick was appointed superintendent, and charged with the work of organizing colored troops at Camp Nelson. A few days after the Colonel's arrival he said to me, "Mr. Butler, I am very much gratified by the reports made to me of what you and your assistants have done. Had it not been for the Soldiers' Home here, I am persuaded that I should not have found a recruit where now I find five thousand to begin with;" and more to the same effect, not necessary to repeat.
The work of enlistment commenced at the Soldiers' Home. Everybody about me was deeply interested in the matter, and, in conjunction with others, we succeeded in procuring the appointment of three unconditional Union surgeons for the examination of recruits. All were alive to the task of detecting plots laid to effect the return of the slave to his master. These (for many were discovered) were duly communicated to the superintendent of organization and the examining surgeons. In a few weeks two regiments—the 114th and 116th Colored Infantry—were mustered into the service at the Soldiers' Home, and shortly afterward swelled Grant's army before Richmond. Many hundreds of others were accepted, and ordered into their camps. Very soon after, the pressure upon us was lessened by the establishment of suitable camps for colored recruits and soldiers.

Nine or ten thousand troops were raised at Camp Nelson, nearly all of whom found food and shelter at the Soldiers' Home. From the day when colored recruits came first into camp, it became necessary that permanent provision should be made for them; and after the throng had passed away into their camps, the north wing was retained exclusively for colored troops and the south wing for white, so that all soldiers of the army might find a home—without distinctions in quarters, quality of food, bedding or attention—at the Soldiers' Home.
Throughout the District of Central Kentucky, the Soldiers' Home was extensively known, and not a little hated, by slaveholding citizens. At least five thousand letters were written on Sanitary stationery, and forwarded by the colored soldiers; so that to mention the Soldiers' Home signifies to many a master a place preferred by his darkies to his own house. For myself, on account of the active part I have taken in making the recruits satisfied with the change they had made, to protect them in that change, and to frustrate the measures pursued by the masters to recover the slaves, I have reason to believe I am cast out as evil and that my personal safety outside of camp is by no means assured. I could not, however, help hailing the evil feeling that had been engendered against me as the lawful sequence of a full and just discharge of my duty to God, the country and the slave.

A camp of reception was finally established, to which the recruits were at once taken, so that by the close of autumn the Home had settled down to its original life.

We had given to the colored men every facility for their devotional exercises. Nearly every night they occupied the large dining hall as a place of worship, while on every Lord's Day, from sunrise to taps, their devotions scarcely ceased. Rev. Dr. Woods and Rev. A. L. Payson (Hospital Visitor) manifested much interest in directing their worship and giving them ministration and information.
It may be well to state that disease of every description assailed them with extraordinary violence, which made it necessary that a hospital should be early established for them. Until some of the sick became so far convalescent as to be able to nurse, it was very difficult to keep a corps of nurses on duty at the hospital. Nearly every morning it became necessary to select a number of new nurses, as during the night the nurses selected on the previous morning had deserted the hospital. The colored men then had a strong antipathy to duty in such a place.

The colored soldiers, so numerous they scattered over the country, preserve their memories of the Soldiers' Home at Camp Nelson as the first oasis they reached, and from which they were ushered, with a God-speed, into the world of freedom. Many blessings have been showered upon the Home, and very many will gratefully remember it as long as recollection continues. For myself and those associated with me in the management of the Home, the experience connected with those times will ever be a source of happy retrospection and great profit.

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{FAMILIES OF BLACK RECRUITS ARRIVE AT CAMP NELSON 1864-65} \\
&\text{the care of the families of colored soldiers and colored refugees.}
\end{align*}
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Scarcely a day passed in all those months following the debut of colored men in the capacity of soldiers, without bringing their wives, children and relatives into camp, either on visits or in pursuit of new homes, and scarcely a night has passed during that interval in which from one to thirty colored women and children, without means, did not receive food and shelter at the Home. Our attentions to the wants of colored recruits gave them and their families so much assurance of our readiness to help them, that soldiers have frequently sent for their families, and on their arrival have come to us for entertainment as confidently as they would to their own homes.

This branch of our business becoming large and exhaustive of our limited means, we were compelled to prescribe the stay at the Home of this class of persons to one night, except in special cases, when they were relatives of soldiers seeking hospitals. Yet in the aggregate, hundreds of colored women and children, forming the families of colored soldiers at Camp Nelson have, like them, found in the Sanitary Commission a true and almost their only friend.
An attempt to describe the crowd of colored refugees who flocked to Camp Nelson, their numbers, their sufferings, and the efforts made for their relief, would extend the report of the Sanitary Commission relief work at Camp Nelson beyond reasonable limits. Suffice it to say that there were for months from five to fifteen hundred colored women and children in Camp Nelson, who were not only otherwise homeless, but who, in their destitution and misery, constituted the most pitiable class of refugees. Nowhere in the whole range of my observation of misfortune and misery occasioned by the war, have I seen any cases which appealed so strongly to the sympathies of the benevolent as those congregated in the contraband camp at Camp Nelson. Fortunately they were not solely dependent for relief upon the efforts we could make on their behalf; for, aside from the interest taken in their fate by Captain Hall, Camp Quartermaster, and Mr. E. D. Kennedy, a worthy man, who was appointed their superintendent, Rev. John G. Fee and Elder A. Scofield, representatives of the American Missionary Association, with their colored assistant, Gabriel Burdett, a noble and extraordinary man, with tender and indefatigable efforts, labored for their welfare night and day.

The Sanitary Commission was prominent in all measures for the amelioration of their condition, and heartily co-operated with the good men I have mentioned in the care and assistance of the contrabands, so materially needed. In common with all others who came to Camp Nelson to do good to the unfortunate, Messrs. Fee, Scofield and Burdett made their homes with us at the Soldiers' Home, and received all the assistance and cooperation we could render them in their work. Dr. R. S. Mitchell, who was appointed surgeon of colored refugees, also labored faithfully in connection with Messrs. Fee and Scofield. There were others who were nominally engaged in the work of relief among the contrabands at Camp Nelson, but, I am sorry to say, with little benefit to those for whom their time was professedly spent and little credit to themselves.

Great difficulties and discouragements were encountered in our efforts in behalf of those so utterly helpless and friendless as the contrabands proved to be. And—what was most disheartening—much of our difficulty and much of their suffering was plainly the result of incompetence on the part of those who had been constituted their special guardians. The history of our experience in this connection would be a sad one, and as it is likely to be given to the public by others, it is not necessary that I should here make further reference to it.
In addition to all other causes of suffering among the colored refugees, disease was always specially rife among them. In the month of February, 1865, the population of the colored refugee camp was about eight hundred women and children, of whom four hundred were sick. Their hospital was always crowded, and the condition of the inmates may be gathered from the testimony of Mrs. John Christopher, of Louisville, a lady who spent much of her time in good works at Camp Nelson.

After visiting the refugee hospital, Mrs. Christopher says: "I found the poor people huddled together in rags and dirt. The wards were full of human wretchedness. I found poor women dying amidst filth and suffering, for the simplest food, within twenty steps of the superintendent's office," (we are glad to say that the superintendent mentioned here was not Mr. Kennedy.)

After doing for these people all things in our power during our stay at Camp Nelson, on the breaking up of the Home, in accordance with instructions from Dr. Newberry, the furniture of the Home, and other property used there was, with few exceptions, turned over to the colored refugees.

With one more word we must leave the sadly-neglected colored refugees at Camp Nelson. A very large percentage of the people in the colored refugee camp had claims against the Government. Their husbands, sons and brothers had died or become disabled in the service; so, among the many demands for assistance which they honestly made upon us, were claims for back pay, bounty and pensions. For several months prior to the close of Sanitary business at Camp Nelson this feature of our work assumed great importance and labor. Mr. Radcliffe's whole time was engaged in the work of the Claim Agency. At least two hundred claims against the Government exist in the colored refugee camp, while from every section of the District the families of colored soldiers still come into camp to commence application for such dues.
TYPICAL ACTIVITIES OF FREEDMEN'S BUREAU AGENTS IN KY

general information in Record Group 105, national archives

The FB agents were busy adjudicating contacts, burying dead, issues involving loyalty, school reports, contracts, complaints about relatives bound in apprenticeships.

In general, the FB records show a mean spirit in many Kentuckians toward blacks.

BEREA COLLEGE TO SELL 50 SCHOLARSHIPS TO BRFAL (Sept 1870)

b runkle to oo howard, sept 1, 1870, lrco, M 752, roll 70.

"The Prudential Committee voted to sell the BRFAL fifty scholarships, each giving four (4) years tuition to the holder in any Department of Berea College." $40 each.
LOUISVILLE SCHOOLS TO BE SEGREGATED (1867)

Lou Pub Sch Laws, Section 101, Feb 13, 1867, An Act to Amend the 10th Article of the Charter of the City of Louisville. Found in Bd. of Ed.

"Children of tax payers beyond city limits admitted to schools. Colored Children not to go to schools for white children. Tax of colored people for separate colored schools."

"That nothing in this act shall permit or authorize the General Ass. Council of the City of Louisville, or Board of Trustees of said Public Schools, to suffer children of African race to become pupils of said schools with white children; and that said General Council and Board of Trustees, shall keep as a separate fund the school tax levied by said city, and paid by persons of the African race within said city; and shall apply and use said school fund or tax so paid by persons of the African race in the education of the children of parents of the African race residing in said city, or who pay a school tax in said city; and for that purpose may establish such schools in said city, and adopt rules for their regulation and government."

GOVERNANCE OF LOU BLACK SCHOOLS (1870 LAW)

Lou Pub Sch Laws, Section 17, March 3, 1870, Found in Bd. of Ed.

"The Committee on Public Colored Schools of the city of Louisville shall have immediate control and supervision of the Public Colored Schools, and report from time to time upon their condition, character, and efficiency. In connection with the Committee on Public Colored Schools, there shall be a Board of Visitors, composed of nine colored men, who shall be appointed annually by the Committee on Public Colored Schools, and whose duty it shall be to visit said schools, and report to said committee the efficiency of the teachers and schools, and who shall exercise a general supervision over said schools, and through whom the moral character for all applicants for positions in said Public Colored Schools shall be known to said committee. The Board of Visitors shall report directly to the Committee on Colored Public Schools, and exercise their authority only through said committee."
LOUISVILLE BOARD OF EDUCATION, MINUTES D, SEPT 6, 1867.

The Finance Committee reported the following resolution which was adopted:

"Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to ascertain from the Sheriff of the County and Assessor of the City what amount of money will probably be realized under a law passed by the Legislature of Kentucky, assessing a tax upon the Negroes of the Commonwealth, for their benefit, with the view of carrying out the object contemplated by said act."

LOUISVILLE BOARD OF EDUCATION, MINUTES D, SEPT 20, 1869

On motion of Mr. Lainez, the Special Committee was authorized to rent the Church of California for the school year, at $15.00 per month-unanimous.

On motion of the Special Committee to procure a permanent schoolhouse in California was instructed to solicit from the General Council an appropriation for renting additional school house."
A petition from Mr. Woodson and others, regarding colored schools and the following resolutions, were presented by Mr. Pope, the resolutions adopted, and Messrs. Pope, Levi, and Lieber appointed upon special committee:

"Resolved: That a standing committee be appointed, under the provisions of sec. 80, 84, and 86 of the New City Charter to be styled the Com. on African Schools."

"Resolved, That a committee on African Schools report at the next meeting of this Board a mode by which the tax levied upon property owned by Africans in this city shall be applied to the support and maintenance of schools composed exclusively of children of the African race."

"Recommends of the Committee on Colored Schools in Lou (1870)

Louisville, Board of Education, Minutes D, Sept 22, 1870.

"Your Com. on Colored Schools respectfully reports that, for the best information they have been able to get, the amount of City School taxes paid, and to be paid, by the people of the African race in this city for the years 1866-'67-'68-'69-'70, is $3,299.25, which, together with $1,53 due the colored people from the State, amounting all together to $4,428.85, we recommend shall be placed to the credit of the colored school fund."

"We recommend further, that, on the 1st of October, two schools for the colored people shall be opened; one in the Charity St. African Methodist Church, and the other on the 5th St. African Baptist Church; and, as soon thereafter as a suitable place can be obtained, another school shall be opened, making three in all; that, in each of these schools, three teachers shall be employed; one who shall be principal, at a salary of $40.00 per month; one at $30.00 and the other at $25.00; and that, toward paying the expenses of these schools for this school year, $3,500 be appropriated."
SEVERAL MEMBERS OF STANDING COMMITTEE ON COLORED SCHOOLS APPOINTED IN LOU (1870)

Louisville, Board of Education, Minutes D, Aug. 15, 1870

p 282/ "Messrs. Kendrick, Drupdale, Pope, Leber, and Dr. Miller were appointed upon Standing Committee on Colored Schools."

BLDG AT 14TH & BROADWAY (OR TWO OTHER BLDGS) TO BE RENTED FOR BLACK SCHOOL (1872)

Louisville, Board of Education, Minutes D, June 3, 1872

p 357.

"By Col. John D. Pope : Resolved, That the Common Colored Schools be authorized, if they shall see proper, to rent the school house on the corner of 14th & Broadway, at a rent not to exceed $500 for the school year of July months beginning Sept. 1, 1872; and, if said house can not be procured at the rent named, then that said committee be authorized to rent two houses, one in his Eastern and the other in the Western District, for the colored schools, at a rent not to exceed $900 for both. Adopted."
BLACK TEACHERS, JANITORS ELECTED IN LOU BY SCH BD (1872)

Louisville, Board of Education, Minutes D, July 1, 1872.
p 365/

"And the following teachers were elected:"
"Western District School—J. W. Ferguson, Principal; W. L. Adams, 1st asst.; W. W. E. Shavers, 2d asst.; M. Lorton, 3d asst.; Alice Woodson, W. C. Greer, & Mary C. Baker, Asst. Teachers."
"Eastern District School—Wyatt Stewart, Principal; W. J. Davies & Florence Furrer, Assistants; Geo. Mulfus, Janitor $20.00."

FEE BELIEVES FISK & PALMER WILL BRING VIRTUAL FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACKS IN KY (1865)

j g fee to geo whipple, july 18, 1865, ama, arc (roll 3, no 44160

"Genl. Fisk has been here [Camp Nelson] We like him very much indeed."
"He will relieve Mr. Williams & Capt. T. P. [Wall & put in a Military Corp—superintendent—mexico several others—urge the able bodied to scatter them & work. Genl. Palmer has ordered that free negroes go & return at will—when any where thy will—freedom to all who shall be found within camp—military posts—whok—whok wish t go & get employment. This is virtual freedom to Ky—all can have freedom who will come within a military post."
COL JAQUES ARRESTED IN LOUISVILLE FOR ABORTION CASE (1865)
(CAMP NELSON SUPT)
fee to me strieby, sept 26, 1865, ama, arc (roll 3, no 44211)

"Last evenings Louisville news brought the published account of the arrest of
our superintendent, Col. Jaques, for complicity in a case of abortion & conseque-
tient in 4 hours of his paraly or "Miss Fess & Georgia woman". He left here in
pretense of going to his family in Ill went to Louisville wrote back he was sick the
re. He was arrested by the police in the work of abortion procuring."

POST C W SCHOOL ACTIVITY IN LEX, DANVILLE; BELL MITCHELL

edwin p smith to me strieby, oct 4, 1865, ama, arc (roll 3, 4429-30)

In Lexington "There are five pay schools already in the town $1.25 a month mo.
tuition-about 275 or 300 pupils in all leaving a large number of children out of scho-
ol who are not able to pay-especially soldiers children. A large number of soldiers
families have moved into the town. The cold people had a 'mass convention', sic,
as a Baptist preacher told me, a few days ago & appointed a comm to take measures to
open a free school for these poor children. He says they will find a room for the sc
hool if a teacher can be procured. Wants a cold teacher on acct of the noise that
might be raised if a white teacher shoul'd come."

"I have arranged with Miss Colton on e of the teachers here (without employment
for a few days) to go over to Danville & see if B/ ekle Mitchell /will go to Lexington
& if she consents, to go to L. & make the necessary arrangements for her to go.
at once & open her school."

This morning spent in prospecting that town /Lexington/ as a possible field for
missionary labor. Here are five pay schools already in the town $2 per mo.
tuition-about 375 or 500 pupils in all leaving a large num of children out of sch-
ool who are not able to pay-especially soldiers children. A large num of soldiers
families have moved into the town. The cold people had a 'mass conventio' as a
Baptist preacher told me, a few days ago & appointed a comm to take measures to
open a free school for these poor children. He says they will find a room for the sch
ool if a teacher can be procured. Wants a cold teacher . . . ."

"In coming here /Camp Nelson/ I have heard no little of Belle Mitchell the teacher
served by p. Je for this camp sent off by the nephio's of our sympath. & officers
of teachers, among which latter I see as sorry to find were some in our employ-
Lbly lived in Danville, 15 miles-I am have arranged with Miss Colton, one of the
teachers here . . . to go over to Danville I see if . . will go to to Lexington
if she consents, to go to . . make the necessary arrangements for her to go at . . ."
MARY COLTON TOOK BELLE MITCHELL TO LEX TO TEACH IN FREE SCH FOR BLACKS 3735 (Oct 1865)

mary colton to geo whipple, oct 10, 1865, ama, arc (roll 3, No 44234)

"Acting under instructions from you last, Mr. Smith, who recently visited this Camp, I have been to Danville, after some persuasion gained the consent of the parents of Miss Mitchell, etc. All to allow her to remain under your auspices. She has taken her to Lexington to take charge of a free school for the children of cold soldiers. She secured her board in the family of Mr, Mitchell. She also board at the Methodist minister, at 16, per month. This is not high. For Lexington. My cousin, Mr. Skillman, is yet living & after speaks of you. . . ."
"The Gen. Barrett who fills Jacquess place, is not much more of a friend of these poor people than he was. Williams is still here, I think Gen. Fisk winked at a great wrong when he did not reinstate Bro. Fee. But then Miss Mitchell would have been brought back and that would not suit these lady teachers."

Teachers at Camp Nelson on the payroll of the AMA are Caroline Damon, Ella M. Reed, Marie Balentine, Emma Jones, and Anna Smith.