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

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GENERAL INDEX TO
MARION B. LUCAS’S RESEARCH NOTES FOR:

This index, general in nature, is organized under seventeen larger topics: Camp Nelson, Slavery, Slave Hiring, Free Blacks, Underground Railroad - Fugitives, Post-Civil War Living Conditions, Social, Cultural, Medical Care, Professions - Employment—Professions, Freedmen’s Bureau, Civil Rights, Politics, Recreation, Population, Segregation – Changes in the 1890s, Civil War, Education, and Religion. Under these general headings, there are numerous subtopics. The research notes are numbered and presented in numerical order, and they are searchable by note numbers, names, dates, events, and topics (occasional hand-written numbers may not appear in searches). There are no missing notes, but there are occasional missing numbers, especially near the end of the research notes. The areas of missing numbers are between notes 4099 and 5000 (the largest group), between 6325-A and 6412, between 7148-D and 7158, and between 7328-B and 7379. My hope is that historians at all levels interested in African American history will find my research notes helpful in their research.

I am thankful for the assistance of several individuals and organizations during the preparation of these research notes. Elissa Belak, a Western Kentucky University history major and student assistant in the History Department typed the index, and Carl Wicklander, a history graduate student, was largely responsible for scanning these research notes into an Adobe Acrobat file.

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Alexander Campbell of Woodford County succeeded Elder Davis as pastor in 1864, serving until his death 12-15-1870. Membership increased. Jan. 1871 Elder H. M. Ayers, of Danville, became pastor. Congregation then 180. Cong. tore down old church and rebuilt the new church in 1874 at a cost of $3,550. The building is still standing. The Cong worshiped in this building until Oct. 1880. In Aug 1880 Cong. purchased bldg on Constitution Street from a group of whites who had split from another church. The bldg had cost $14,000 but sold by the court to the blacks for $5,000. The church at the time had 300 members. The elders at the time were Albert Taylor, E. R. Hathaway, Simeon Gardner and Allison King. The trustees were Elder H. M. Ayers, G. W. Reed, Allison King, Avan Dupree, Nelson W. St, Simeon Gardner and A. W. Reed. In 1881 Nelson West was Sunday school supt with enrollment of 100. On moving to Const. St. the bldg was sold to Christ Church (white) for $2,500 for the Negro Episcopal Church. For a number of yrs. the East Second Street Christian Church was known as the "Little Church Around the Corner," but now East Second St etc.

Elder D. R. Wilkins became minister (from Paducah); J. W. Spurgeon pastor 1895-1897. Elder W. M. Warmack came 1897-1898; Next pastor Elder George C. Campbell came in 1900. Campbell paid indebtedness 700.00.
The Board of Negro Education and Evangelization was organized at the Convention held in Des Moines, Iowa, 1890. At the National Convention held at Allegheny, Pa., 1891, C. C. Smith was chosen Corresponding Secretary of the Board, and he has remained in charge of the work of this Board from that time to this. For seven years the Board of Negro Education and Evangelization was maintained as a separate organization with headquarters at Louisville, Ky. January, 1898, a union between the American Christian Missionary Society and the Board of Negro Education and Evangelization took place. The work was administered, however, as formerly, by the Board at Louisville, the union having to do with the raising of funds. At the Convention held in Kansas City, in 1900, the entire control of the work of this Board and all its property were turned over to the Christian Woman's Board of Missions, C. C. Smith being retained as the field secretary. During the administration of the B. N. E. E., three schools were organized."

one was the Louisville Christian Bible School, A. J. Thomson, principal, with the first session in Oct. 11, 1892.

PHILOSOPHY OF CHURCH OF CHRIST SCHOOLS FOR BLACKS

p 170/ From the beginning the Board E has been governed by several principles in running its schools. "First, it has been the aim to conduct the schools, as far as possible, in a manner acceptable to the Christian people of the South, believing it not to be necessary to override social conditions in the South in order to elevate the negro. Second, we have aimed to equally train head, hand and heart; to give a common school education, industrial education, moral and Christian education; to train the whole man, making him intelligent, industrious and Christian. Third, the motto has been, not how much done, but how well done; not how many trained, but how well trained. Fourth, we have in-/begin 171/ vested in brains and character first and in lands and buildings second."

The property in Louisville was worth $5,000. "Self-help has been one of the fundamental lessons taught in all our schools." "The good will and support of the white people has been gained wherever our schools are located."
This sketch would not be complete without mention of the first Louisville Bible School. In 1873, through the efforts of W. H. Hopson, a school was established in Louisville, Kentucky and was successfully conducted by Prof. P. H. Moss for four years. Some of the leaders today, among the colored people, were educated here.

In 1884 a property was purchased in New Castle, Kentucky and a school known as the New Castle School was opened in 1886. It was conducted for one year by Dr. J. M. Mainwaring. In 1888 the second session was held, with T. Augustus Reid as president. The school continued under his management until its close in 1892. The New Castle property was eventually sold for $2500 and the property on Duncan Street in Louisville purchased.

In the fall of 1892 the present Louisville Bible School was opened in Louisville, Kentucky, with Prof. A. J. Thomson as Principal. For the first two years Prof. Thomson was the only teacher, but at the opening of the third year O. Singleton, who had been educated in part at the Southern Christian Institute, and had graduated with honors at Hiram college, was engaged as assistant and superintendent of dormitory. This arrangement continues until the present time. Praises Thomson as teacher "O. Singleton has been a wise and prudent manager of the young men's home. He is also a good instructor and has become a true leader of his people." Thomson helps students get jobs in Louisville, students fill pulpits in "negro churches", about 40 attend, from as many as 9 states. The emphasis is on the Bible and English and speaking and a trade.
Chapter XL. COLORED CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIANS.

FAYETTEVILLE, TENN., May 14, 1879.

To the General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian church, Memphis, Tenn.

The General Assembly (colored) of the Cumberland Presbyterian church, which convened at Bowling Green, Kentucky, May 1, 1879, conferred the honor upon me to address your reverend and honored body, to set forth our warm sympathies and Christian love. We look upon you as our fathers and our refuge in time of need, and feel assured that you will hear the cries of your poor, humble, destitute children. We have been set apart only a few years, and through much prayer and hard struggles we have been able to sustain the doctrine of our fathers, which is as dear as life itself to us. As children, you have our prayers that all the proceedings of your body may be guided by the unerring counsel of the God of our fathers. We pray that the day may not be far distant when our poor, young preachers shall be imbued with the spirit and wisdom which distinguishes your noble body. You have our sincere and heartfelt thanks for your liberal donations to our young preacher at Lebanon, Tennessee, at your last sitting, and we humbly solicit and pray that you will still remember us, and provide some means to aid us in the publication of our little paper, which we desire to issue in the interest of our church. I herewith send you a circular letter, which will set forth our desires and intentions. Should it trespass upon your precious time and suspend your business to read this article, please allow your minds to reflect upon our deplorable condition when we were set apart, by our own request, expecting after we had made earnest endeavors to help ourselves, that you would extend the aiding hand to succor your child that looks to its father for assistance.

We truly regretted that we were deprived of the counsel of our corresponding delegate at Bowling Green, as he did not appear or send any communication whatever. We value your prayers for the fulfillment of our desires, and shall ever expect your earnest petitions to ascend to the throne of grace in our behalf. If nothing else is done but the offering of your prayers in our behalf, the dark cloud will be dispersed, and then we shall be able to rejoice in the God of our fathers.

Please remember the colored Cumberland Presbyterians in your devotional exercises. If you do this, we feel confident that the obstacles will be removed, and we shall be able to advance in our work, ever holding up the Cumberland Presbyterian banner, with the precious name of Jesus inscribed upon it. May God be with you and conduct the business of your body to the approval and approbation of the Supreme Moderator of the universe.

Yours fraternally,

J. F. HUMPHREY,
Stated Clerk Cumberland Presbyterian Assembly.
After the war, in October, 1868, the colored people of the Cumberland Presbyterian church held a convention at Henderson, Kentucky, to decide what steps should be taken. The convention was not large, but the prevailing voice was for ecclesiastical separation from the whites.

Unlike the other churches in the South, the Cumberland Presbys did not have any separate churches for blacks, but worshiped in white churches with whites. There were, however, some black preachers, and they often held services for blacks on special occasions, often in the churches of the whites. "State laws generally required that some steady white man should be present at these meetings. This requirement was always complied with."

The school for colored Cumberland Presbyterians at Bowling Green, Kentucky, has never received any considerable assistance from the wealthy. Perhaps the whole church has not contributed as much as ten thousand dollars for its establishment and support. It is a struggling enterprise, yet it has done some good work in spite of its disadvantages. At the meeting of our General Assembly at Covington, Ohio, May, 1887, nearly $2,700 was raised for the benefit of this institution, thus freeing it from debt."
p 453/ Cumb. presbys had a custom of sending corresponding delegates to other groups to show Christian friendship.

"The custom of sending corresponding delegates to bear fraternal greetings to General Assemblies and conferences was then at its zenith. For fourteen years it had been growing. The churches which generally had representatives on the floor of our Assembly were the Presbyterian (both branches), the Lutheran, the Evangelical Union, the Colored Cumberland Presbyterian, the Congregational, and sometimes others." The year was 1874 discussing memorable visits from a Scottish church. /p. 455/ delegate sending started in 1860. /p. 455/ Apparently the only group still sending corresponding delegates in the late 1890's were the Colored Cumberland Presbyterians; /p. 435/ in 1870 trouble occurred at the General Assembly met and Rev. Moses T. Weir appeared with a commission for the Greenville Presbytery (colored), asking for a seat in the assembly. "Fears were entertained by Southern members that somebody was trying to use Weir for political purposes, and there were in the Assembly indications of serious trouble about this matter." Weir's commission was read, discussed several times, then laid on the table (meeting Warrensburg, Mo); The next year the same thing happened (laid on table). "Since then all strife about the relations of our church to the colored people has ceased."
Chapter III
A Brief History of Negro Baptists
HOMER E. NUTTER

1. THE BEGINNINGS

 Much of the early history of Negro Baptists in Kentucky, prior to the emancipation of Negroes from slavery, is lost due to the fact that most of the Negroes could neither read nor write. However, enough of the early history of Negro Baptists can be gleaned from the biography of London Ferrill by A. W. Elder 1854, published by The Kentucky Gazette in pamphlet form; Spencer's History of Kentucky Baptists, copyrighted in 1885; the minutes of the General Association of Negro Baptists published yearly since 1869; The Golden Jubilee Volume 1915; The Diamond Jubilee Volume, 1943; The Centennial Volume 1908; and the Scrap Book of Dr. William J. Simmons, the first President of State University (now Simmons Bible College), to make certain of much of the early history of the Negro Baptists of Kentucky. Quoting from Spencer's History, "There were only a few white churches that did not have some black members before the Civil War. At the beginning of the Civil War there were 17 Negro Baptist churches in Kentucky, aggregating 5,737 members, and ministered to by pastors of their own color. These churches were; Maysville, Mayslick, Danville, Harrodsburg, First, Green Street and York Street in Louisville, Frankfort, Tates Creek in Madison County, Stamping Ground in Scott County, Hillsboro in Woodford, First and Pleasant Green in Lexington, Paris, Versailles, Nicholasville and Paducah. The first colored church organized in Kentucky was composed of Separate Baptists, and gathered at Lexington by a colored man named Captain. The exact date is not known, as it kept no records; nor is it likely that the church was constituted with much formality, or in very strict accord with Baptist usage.

 "Old Captain, as he was called, was a native of Caroline county, Virginia, and was born the property of Capt. Durret, about 1733. At the age of 25, he was pugnently convicted of sin, and was brought almost to the point of despair. But he finally obtained hope in Christ, and experienced great joy. His heart now deeply felt for the situation of his fellow servants, and, immediately after he was baptized and received into a Baptist church, he began to exhort from house to house. Several years after this, the man who

owned his wife, being a pious Christian, determined to emigrate to what was then the wilderness of Kentucky, and being unwilling to part man and wife, he exchanged another slave for Captain, by which means the latter was brought to the new country. Soon after his arrival in Kentucky, Captain went into the organization of a small Separate Baptist church, which was constituted on the 'Head of Boone's Creek,' in Fayette county, in 1785. In a few years this little church was dissolved, and about the same time, Captain hired himself and his wife of their master, and moved to Lexington. Here he was kindly received, and John Maxwell allowed him space on his land for a cabin, aided him in building one, and continued to be his friend as long as he (Maxwell) lived. As soon as he was settled, he began to hold meetings in his cabin, and to visit from house to house, exhorting the colored people to repent and turn to God. Soon a number professed conversion, and desired him to baptize them. This request he declined at first, because he had not been ordained. But finally he went to South Kentucky Association, accompanied by fifty of his converts, and applied for ordination. The fathers and brethren, after having taken the matter into consideration, did not consider it proper to ordain him, in form; but being fully informed of his character and labors, they gave him the right hand of Christian affection, and directed him to go on in the name of the Master. After this, he examined such as applied to him, and satisfied of their conversion, immersed them. When a sufficient number had been baptized, he gathered them into a church, about the year 1801. But he seems either to have misunderstood the design of the "fathers and brethren" or to have ignored it, for South Kentucky Association, at its meeting in 1801, which was the last it ever held, passed the following order: "Bro. Captain, a black man, who was a member of our society, and who is now preaching and baptizing without having been ordained, is advised to join some convenient church, together with those he has baptized." It is not known that Captain was ever formally ordained. He probably regarded the giving of him the right hand and directing him to go on in the name of the Master, a sufficient solemn ordination.

However, this may be, he continued to watch over the church he had gathered, and it greatly prospered. It is said to have numbered, at one time during his ministry, upwards of 500 members. He continued to hire the time of him-
self and his faithful helpmeet till they were too old to be of any value as slaves, and to labor in the gospel till his strength failed. He died at his cabin near Lexington, in the summer of 1823, at the age of 90 years.

London Ferrill, the second pastor of this church, was born the property of Mrs. Ann Winston in Hanover County, Virginia, about 1789. At the age of about nine years, his owner having died, he was sold to Col. Samuel Overton for $600.00. He was taught the trade of a house carpenter, and at the age of 20, was baptized on a profession of his faith, by Absalom Waller. Some time after his baptism, he began to exercise in public, and soon became a popular preacher. The law of Virginia forbade slaves to baptize, and, as a consequence, they were not ordained to the gospel ministry. But Ferrill’s brethren solemnly authorized him, as far as their power extended, “to go forth and preach the gospel” wherever the Lord might cast his lot, and a door should be open to him. Soon, about fifty persons professed conversion under his ministry, and were baptized by a white preacher of the name of Bowles. His master perceived his remarkable natural gifts, and resolved to educate him, but died before he could execute this purpose.

Soon after the death of his master, having been freed from slavery, he moved to Kentucky and settled near Lexington. Old Captain having become too feeble to discharge the duties of a pastor, the colored church desired Ferrill to unite with it, and become its pastor. This he declined to do on the account of that organization’s not being in fellowship with the Baptist denomination, although holding to the faith and general practice of the Baptists, but instead, entered into the constitution of the First (white) Baptist Church, in 1817. He preached extensively among those of his own race, and made so favorable an impression, that the trustees of the town of Lexington engaged him to preach to the colored people of that corporation. In order to secure his membership and pastoral services, the African congregation applied to the white church to be received as a branch of that congregation. On receiving this application, the First church sent to Elkhorn Association, in 1821, the following queries:

“Ist. Can persons baptized on a profession of faith by an administrator not ordained, be received into our church under any circumstances whatever, without being again baptized?”

The queries were taken up by the Association, and a committee, consisting of ____________, was appointed to consider the matter, and report to the Association at its next annual meeting. The committee reported, in answer to the first query, “that it is not regular to receive such members;” in answer to the second, “that they know of no reason why free men of color may not be ordained ministers of the gospel,” the gospel qualifications being possessed by them.

In accordance with the latter opinion, adopted by the Association, London Ferrill was regularly ordained to the full work of the gospel ministry by the First Church at Lexington, and, notwithstanding the irregularity of the baptism administered by Old Captain, a compromise was effected by which the African congregation, which had now been constituted upon a written covenant (July 1822), was admitted to fellowship by the First Baptist Church of Lexington and, in 1824, received into the Elkhorn Association. London Ferrill now took regular charge of this church, on its new foundation, and served it 32 years, during which it increased from 280 to 1820 members, and became the largest church in Kentucky. On the 12th of October, 1854, the faithful and venerable pastor was called to his final reward. The funeral procession which followed his corpse to its burial, was said to be the largest that ever passed through the streets of Lexington, except that which attended the remains of Henry Clay.

London Ferrill was a remarkable man. He was descended from a royal family in Africa, born a slave in Virginia, and was without scholastic training. Yet, Dr. William Pratt says of him: “He had the manner of authority and command, and was the most thorough disciplinarian I ever saw. He was respected by the whole white population of Lexington, and his influence was more potent to keep order among the blacks than the police force of the city.” His moral courage was dauntless, and his Christian integrity unwavering. When the cholera visited Lexington in 1833, he was the only minister that remained in the city. The scourge was terrible, as many as 60 dying in a single day. He remained at his post, burying the dead, white and black, including his own wife, until the fearful plague subsided in the city, after which he went forth to aid and comfort the sick and suffering in the surrounding country. He died at his cabin near the city of Lexington, in the summer of 1870, at the age of 81 years.
er, he was clear, strong, and remarkably effective. He baptized at one time 220 persons in 85 minutes, and at another time 60 in 45 minutes. During his ministry, he baptized over 5,000. In marrying slaves, he pronounced them "until death or distance did them part."

Frederick Braxton succeeded Elder Ferrill in the pastoral charge of the old First African Church. Under his ministry, it continued to prosper, and at the beginning of the War in 1861, numbered 2,223 members.¹

The following is taken from a history of the First African Baptist Church, written by A. C. Quisenberry:

"The first independent colored Baptist Church ever organized in Kentucky was what is now called the "First Colored Baptist Church", situated at the corner of Short and Deweese Streets, Lexington, Kentucky. The exact date of its organization is not known, as the church kept no records in its early years, but it was probably instituted, in an irregular way, about the year of 1790. It was gathered by a colored man who had no other name than "Captain", and who was known to everybody, white and colored, as "Brother Captain", or "Old Captain".

First Baptist Church has in its possession a brief history of "Old Captain" written in 1824. From this history "Old Captain's" correct name is Peter Duerett. When Brother Captain with his master Col. Duerett, made the journey from Virginia to Kentucky, Bro. Captain wore a soldier's uniform, and because of this the people called him "Captain".

"The First Colored Church in Louisville was the second organization of the kind in the state."

This church is now known as The Fifth Street Baptist Church of Louisville. Henry Adams was the first pastor of this church.

2. THE GENERAL ASSOCIATION

Perhaps no man in Kentucky knew more of the history of the General Association and what is now Simmons Bible College than William H. Steward, who served as Secretary of the General Association and Chairman of the Trustee Board for more than fifty years. He gives the following account of the organizing of the State Convention and the General Association:

"Shortly after the slaves were freed in this state, the Baptist ministers decided to meet for the organization of the State Convention of Colored Baptists in Kentucky. This was effected in the Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville, Ky., on Wednesday, before the third Sunday in August, 1865, when messengers from twelve Baptist Churches met and organized with the late Henry Adams, pastor of Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville, as President; Bro. Vincent Helm, Green Street, Louisville, Vice President; Rev. E. E. Hansbrough, Secretary; Brother Peter Smith, of Frankfort, Ky., Treasurer. The churches represented in the meeting were: Fifth Street Baptist Church, Green Street Baptist Church, York Street Baptist Church, Louisville; First Baptist Church, Danville; Baptist Church, Greensburg; First Baptist Church, Pleasant Green Baptist Church, Lexington. The convention met for three years, and in the 1868 meeting held in Louisville, it was determined to change the convention to the General Association of Colored Baptists in Kentucky. The following committee was appointed to formulate plans to make the change: H. Adams, J. Monroe, R. T. W. James, W. J. Brown, E. W. Green, R. Lee, P. Johnson, L. Slaughter, and D. A. Gaddie. The offer of the White Baptist Association to assist in the evangelization and education of our people was accepted and Rev. H. Adams, who had previously acted, continued to look after this phase of the work.

"In 1869, the General Association was formed at the First Baptist Church at Lexington, Kentucky, with Rev. H. Adams, moderator; Rev. R. T. W. James, Recording Secretary; Q. B. Jones, Corresponding Secretary; Peter Smith, Treasurer."


The Negro Baptists of Kentucky have given to the world many outstanding preachers, laymen and business men. We shall not attempt to name them for fear we might omit some
3. STATE MISSIONS

It is interesting to note that in the organization of the State Convention in 1865, the first State Missionary was appointed. Rev. Martin made his first report in the second meeting of the Convention in 1866 at the First Church in Frankfort, Ky; He reported: Collected $22.98, expenses $13.60, balance $9.38, which the Convention let him have as his salary. The State Mission work has had tremendous growth in the past one hundred years. The work is now conducted by the State Mission Board.

There are also 17 District Associations with their different auxiliaries. Space will not permit us to give the dates of the organization of these bodies. Mention should be made of Dr. Wm. M. Pratt, pastor of First Baptist Church, (White) Lexington, Ky., for being present at the first session of The General Association, who gave valuable assistance in directing the officers along the proper and systematic lines in the prosecution of the work of the Association.

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one who should be mentioned. Perhaps it will not be out of place to mention a layman who wielded in his day as much influence as any preacher, William H. Steward, from his positions as Secretary of the General Association, Chairman of Board of Trustees of Simmons, and Owner and Editor of The American Baptist, all of these positions he held for more than fifty years, was an unusual character. With all of his influence, he remained an humble servant of God.

The following State Conventions are auxiliaries of the General Association: The Baptist Women's State Education Convention, Baptist Women State Missionary Convention, The United Christian Leadership Conference, and The State Laymen's League.

4. THE AMERICAN BAPTIST

In the first session of the General Association, the need of a religious journal was discussed. Moderator Henry Adams appointed the following committee: G. W. Dupee, R. T. W. James, W. J. Brown, I. Slaughter, R. Lee, F. Braxton, Q. B. Jones, H. Scroggins and H. Samuels. The committee was given the following instructions:

"To investigate the subject of the publication of a religious paper and correspond with those parties favorable to the enterprise and if possible secure a good organ as soon as practicable."

The General Association failed to take the necessary action at its next meeting to begin the publication of a denominational paper, but Rev. G. W. Dupee, the chairman of the committee, was so convinced of the need of a denominational paper, that he took it upon himself to start such a publication.

Between the years of 1869 and 1875, Rev. Dupee began the publication of what was first known as The Baptist Herald, with Rev. Dupee as the owner and editor. It was made the official organ of the General Association. Each pastor was urged to have his congregation subscribe for The Baptist Herald. The first year the General Association donated fifty dollars to the support of the paper, and the second year increased its support to seventy-five dollars. We are unable to find the exact date when the name was changed from The Baptist Herald to The American Baptist. It was between the years of 1869 and 1875.

In an editorial dated November 15, 1879, appeared the following: "We announce the name of Brother W. H. Steward of this city, (Louisville) as one of our associate Editors. This, we are satisfied, will give general satisfaction to our subscribers. Brother Steward is well and favorably known to the brethren in this and other states, and, what is better than all, he is emphatically in earnest." Shortly after this, W. H. Steward acquired sole ownership of the paper and became the Editor. He purchased printing equipment including a cylinder press. The circulation greatly increased and a large percentage of the job printing in the state was given to The American Baptist. This was due in a large measure to the fact that Mr. Steward was Secretary of the General Association and Chairman of the Board of Trustees of what was then State University. An advertisement was carried in the paper in 1887, referring to The
American Baptist as the “Oldest Religious and Family Journal in the South among colored people. It is bright, newy and ably edited. The Organ of the American National Baptist Convention, the General Association and all District Associations and Convention in Kentucky.” Mr. Steward after publishing the paper for fifty-six years, and having passed his eightieth birthday, and with the desire to see that The American Baptist would live, donated the paper to the General Association free of debt. This transaction was made in 1933. Mr. Steward, with the approval of the General Association selected Rev. William H. Ballew as his understudy in publishing and editing the paper. Dr. Ballew served as an understudy until the death of Mr. Steward, learning many of the fine points in operating the paper. The first years were trying in every respect. The depression caused us to lose our school site. This caused many to despair and fail to give the needy support for the paper. Dr. Ballew with a strong determination and hard work built the circulation to its highest point.

In 1935, Dr. Ballew was elected Moderator of our General Association. This forced him to give up as Editor of The American Baptist. Rev. S. E. Hoard was elected Editor, but served only a short time due to the fact that he was called to a pastorate in Dayton, Ohio. Dr. M. H. Gant, who was serving as the Superintendent of State Missions was elected to serve as Editor until an editor could be found. The following have served as Editor of The American Baptist: L. H. Woolfolk, Charles N. King and the present Editor Rev. Victor McKinney. We should mention that Dr. William J. Simmons served as Editor while he was President of State University. Not only did Dr. Ballew succeed in raising the circulation to its highest point, but he led the General Association to purchase a building to house the paper and the buying of much new printing equipment.

No history of The American Baptist would be complete without due recognition of the labors of Mrs. Henrietta P. Butler. She has been with The American Baptist since the General Association took possession of the paper. Mrs. Butler started at a salary of $5.00 per week, which was not paid to her regularly. When Dr. Ballew was elected Moderator, she assumed management and editing the paper until Dr. King was elected. No one connected with the paper has made greater sacrifices to keep the paper alive.

5. EDUCATION

One of the brightest chapters in the history of Negro Baptists in Kentucky is their contribution to education. No other educational institution in Kentucky has made a greater contribution to the educational advancement of our people than has Simmons.

The sound of the clanking chains of slavery had not died before some God-fearing men became possessed with the idea of making possible the Christian education of their offspring.

According to a deed, dated August 12, 1866 (Frankfort Courthouse), John H. Thomas, Robert Martin, Tabb Smith and Henry Samuels purchased what was known as the Hill property from E. A. Dudley and wife for $2,000.00 in Frankfort, Ky., to organize and set up a school for Negro Baptists in Kentucky. They purchased the property without any authorization by the General Association. These men led the General Association to accept their idea of organizing a school, and the General Association voted to purchase the property for the amount these men paid for it. The property was conveyed to the General Association by deed, dated August 21, 1866. The General Association voted in 1869 to set the school up in Louisville, Ky. The vote was 25 to 24. Ten years later, the property in Frankfort was sold and the Zane property in Louisville, better known as 722 West Kentucky Street was purchased for $13,800.00, according to the deed, dated May 25, 1879. This was the home of the school for 52 years.

The first name of the school was The Normal and Theological Institute. Rev. E. P. Marrs was the first head of the school and bore the title of Principal, and served 1879 and 1880. The first class was composed of 39 students. In 1880, Dr. William J. Simmons was elected the first President. He was the pastor of the First Baptist Church, Lexington, Kentucky. He was the first Negro preacher in Kentucky to be a graduate of a recognized college, Howard University, Washington, D. C. His dynamic leadership of the First Baptist Church, Lexington, Ky., attracted the attention of the trustees of the Normal and Theological Institute. A committee of trustees, led by the late William H. Steward, who was Chairman of the Trustees, went to the First Baptist Church, Lexington, Ky., and persuaded the church to release Dr. Simmons so that he could become President of the school. Dr. Simmons wasted no time in demonstrating his
ability as an educator and administrator. Having been reared in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, with excellent connections with the White Baptists, he was able to secure $1,500.00 from the American Baptist Home Mission Board of New York as a yearly grant to assist in paying the salaries of the teachers. He also secured a gift of $500.00 from John D. Rockefeller, Sr. and $500.00 from the White General Association of Kentucky.

As soon as the first high school class graduated, the normal department was added, and then the college department. The name of the school was changed from the Normal and Theological Institute to State University in 1884, with a full college curriculum. It was really a University as they had a school of medicine, which gave to Kentucky and other Southern states their first doctors. Also, a school of law. Mr. Wright, one of the founders of the Mammoth Insurance Company of Louisville, Kentucky, was a college and law graduate of State University.

When Dr. Simmons left the First Baptist Church, Lexington, Ky., he carried with him three promising students out of the church, namely, Charles H. Parrish, Sr., Charles Sneed and Sarah E. Nelson. These persons became the first three graduates of the College Department of State University.

In those days the graduates gave orations during the commencement exercises. According to the records, Charles H. Parrish graduated with first honors. The subject of his oration was, "The Analysis of Thought". Charles Sneed graduated with second honors. The subject of his oration was, "Necessity, The Mother of Inventions". Sarah E. Nelson graduated with third honors. The subject of her oration was, "The Starry Heavens". This notation followed her name,—"The first lady of color in Kentucky to take the title of A.B." The records of this commencement contained excerpts from each oration. The first three graduates went on to make their mark in life. Dr. Parrish was called to Calvary Baptist Church, Louisville, Ky., in 1886, before he graduated, became the President of the school in 1918, and at his death was recognized as one of the leading Christian statesmen of the world. Charles Sneed was recognized as one of the leading physicians of Louisville. Sarah E. Nelson made her mark as a public school teacher of Lexington, Ky. When Dr. Parrish was elected President of State University in 1918, he led the movement to change the name of the school to Simmons University, in honor and memory of Dr. William J. Simmons.

For a number of years Simmons (State) University and Berea College were the only schools in Kentucky where a Negro could secure a college degree. When the Day Law was passed in Kentucky prohibiting Negroes and Whites from attending the same school, Simmons was the only college in Kentucky where Negroes could earn degrees. Many of the early teachers and principals in Negro schools in Kentucky were graduates of Simmons. Credits from Simmons were honored by many of the white colleges and Universities of the country. Graduates of Simmons have made a worthwhile contribution in many states of our country and in foreign lands. Space will not permit us to name them.

Simmons experienced its greatest expansion and growth during the administration of Dr. C. H. Parrish, Sr. The enrollment went over 500 students and a boys dormitory costing $225,000.00 was erected. The depression which closed a number of banks in Kentucky, closed the bank which held the mortgage on the boys dormitory. This forced Simmons to sell its property and close the college. A tract of land at 18th and Dumesnell Streets was purchased and a building costing $140,000 was erected and is now debt free. The school, now Simmons Bible College, is given to the training of preachers and missionary workers. The present building is named for Wood F. Axton who, because of his friendship with Dr. Parrish, gave large sums of money to Simmons University, and at his death had Simmons in his will for a trust fund which amounted to approximately $65,000. The book value of this trust is now around $100,000. Dr. W. L. Holmes is the present President of Simmons. All of the presidents of Simmons have been highly trained men, graduates of some of the leading colleges and universities of the country. The following is a list of the Presidents:

- E. P. Marrs, Principal 1879-1880
- W. J. Simmons, President 1880-1890
- J. H. Garnet, 1890-1894
- C. E. Purse, 1894-1905
- W. H. Steward, Acting President, 1905-1906
- J. R. Diggs, 1906-1908
- W. T. Amiger, 1908-1915
- M. B. Lanier, Acting President, 1916-1918
- C. H. Parrish, 1918-1930
M. B. Lanier, 1931-1952. Made President-Emeritus 1952
J. V. Bottoms, Acting President, 1953-1955
W. L. Holmes since 1955

No group has played a more important part in education
in Kentucky than the Negro Baptists. For many years in
most counties in our state, there were no high schools for
our people. Many of the district associations organized
schools and academies for the training of our people. We
mention the following: Hopkinsville Male and Female Col­
lege 1883; Cadiz Normal and Theological Institute 1884;
Glasgow Normal 1887; Eckstein Normal 1890; Danville Poly­
technic 1891; Pleasant Hill Seminary 1903.

DOCUMENTATION
6. Ibid., p. 16.
10. Ibid.
12. Dr. Simmons’ Scrap Book, Library at Simmons.

Chapter IV
Women’s Part in Support of 200 Years
Mrs. George R. Ferguson

In other chapters of this book tribute has been paid to
men who came to Kentucky as pioneers, preaching the
gospel as they came. Women were pioneers, too? This
chapter is written with gratitude for them and in recogni­
tion of their contributions to Baptist work in Kentucky.

1. BIBLICAL COMPARISONS

Women as pioneers begin with Sarah, the wife of Abra­
ham. She was the first woman distinctly portrayed in the
the dramatic history of mankind’s spiritual development. When
God said to Abraham, “Get thee out of thy country and from
thy kindred and from thy father’s house into a land that I
will shew thee” (Genesis 12:1-2) Abraham’s life became
Sarah’s life, too. She went wherever he went, sharing the
uncertainties and the dangers of the way. She was not a
shadow, but a strong influence. She became what Peter
calls an “heir” with Abraham of “the grace of life”. (I
Peter 3:7).

Dr. Elton Trueblood has been quoted as saying if we
watch, in the Bible for the phrase, “and his mother was”,
we will usually find this followed by “and he did that which
was good in the sight of the Lord” or “and he did that which
was evil in the sight of the Lord”, depending on the
character of the mother. Similar influence of mothers and
wives on the lives of preachers in Kentucky is to be noted
as we read Kentucky Baptist history.

2. PIONEER WOMEN

By man’s side went woman into Kentucky. The wilder­
ness road was her peril, too. The burdens and responsibili­
ties of pioneer life fell on her shoulders, also. Love for
Christ and a desire to share her knowledge of it was a joint
heritage. She cherished it, nourished it, and transmitted it
as best she could. Long before churches could be built she
gathered little children and other women into her pioneer
cabin home for the study and discussion of Bible teachings.
Early churches often met in the homes at the invitation of
devout Baptist women.

Pioneer women shared in the preaching of the gospel
in Kentucky in many ways. Let us look at some of them.
for those counties giving cash relief and commodities.¹

The relief of pauper negroes and mulattoes.--One of the poor shortly after the Civil War, between 1866 and 1871, was the provision for pauper negroes and mulattoes. By an act of 1866 all taxes collected from negroes and mulattoes, including a two dollar tax on every male over eighteen years of age, were to constitute a fund, half of which was to be used for their education and half for the care of their paupers.² The trustees of the school districts were to establish a separate school for negro and mulatto children for which they were to receive their share of this newly created fund.³ As to the negro and mulatto paupers, the county courts were to certify the number to the auditor of public accounts who could proceed to give the counties their proportionate share of the fund based upon the number of negro or mulatto paupers in each county.⁴

In the following year, 1867, the act was amended. After two dollars and fifty cents had been granted to the county school commission for each negro student who had attended school for three months or longer,⁵ the remainder was to be used as a pauper fund. The responsibility for the latter fund was vested in the county courts, and the courts of claims were to make an annual audit.⁶

However, the act of 1866 was amended again in 1868, so that only the remainder of the fund was to be used for school purposes after provision had been made for the pauper negroes and mulattoes.⁷ But in 1871, the act of March 9, 1867, was repealed. Henceforth the negroes and mulattoes were to pay the same per capita taxes and the same rates on real and personal property as the whites, except with reference to the taxes for common school pur-

¹Ibid., p. 23.
³Ibid., sec. 4.
⁴Ibid., secs. 5, 7.
⁶Ibid., sec. 7.
The Court of Appeals, in 1875, was asked to pass upon the legality of a claim for the care of a negro pauper under the act of March 9, 1867, which had been repealed. A man by the name of Featherstone had been allowed fifty dollars a year for the care of Lucy Brannam, a negro pauper in Franklin County, for the years 1868 to 1870, but he was paid only forty dollars of the one hundred and fifty dollars. In order to collect the remaining one hundred and ten dollars he brought a mandamus action against the judge and justices of the Franklin County Court of Claims to compel them to levy a tax sufficient to meet this debt. Although the lower court, the Franklin Circuit Court, dismissed the petition, the upper court did not agree. The Court of Claims maintained that the allowance for the care of Lucy Brannam for the three years was to be paid out of the funds obtained from the negro property and poll taxes. However, the funds collected for the three years 1868-1870 were not adequate; therefore the claims were pro rated.

The upper court held that before the act of March 9, 1871 was passed, Featherstone's claim had been allowed, and the unpaid part was a debt against the county. It was the duty of the court of claims to use all possible means to raise money to discharge the debt. The act of March 9, 1871 placed the same per capita tax and the same real and personal property tax (except for common schools) on negroes and mulattoes as on whites. It repealed the act of March 9, 1867, and the responsibilities of counties for the care of negro paupers were therefore enlarged.

During this period, 1866-1871, some special plans were made by the legislature for the care of destitute negroes and mulattoes in Fayette and Mercer Counties. In 1866, the county judge of Fayette County was authorized to make orders on the negro tax funds for their support because of infancy, old age, or sickness. The recipients had to be residents of Fayette County for twelve months, and no grant could exceed ten dollars at a time. The judge was to appoint someone to receive the money from the county treasury which was to be spent for absolute necessities. This person was not to receive a salary, but he was to make a detailed statement of his expenditures. One half of the funds was to be appropriated by the judge for the paupers of Lexington, and the other half for those outside the city.

In 1871, the County Court of Mercer County was empowered to appoint a superintendent to care for, manage, and control the negro paupers. All colored persons who were residents of Mercer County, who had not been brought there to become a public charge, who owned no property, who could not labor for their support, and whose parents could not aid them, were said to be paupers. The superintendent was to give them proper maintenance and provide medical and burial services. He could make contracts for their care at not more than sixty-five dollars a year and allow not more than ten dollars for burial expenses. The negro pauper funds were to be used first for the payment of contracts of hire, but the superintendent could contract out only those for whom an order had been given by the county court or by the county judge in vacation. The superintendent was to make an annual report of his activities to the county court showing the amount of money collected and disbursed, and he was also to indicate from whom the money had been received, to whom paid, the total number of paupers, their names, and their contracts. He was to be bonded with good security for the faithful performance of his work, and a reasonable compensation might be paid him by the county court.

Drought, flood, and cyclone relief.--During the early part of the 1860's, particularly in 1881 and 1882, the counties had difficulty in taking care of the poor because of drought conditions. Provision was made in 1882 for the Hart County Court to borrow not more than three thousand dollars for the care of the poor and destitute of the county. The rate of interest was not

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1Ibid., sec. 2.
2Ibid., sec. 3.
4Ibid., secs. 1-2.
5Ibid., sec. 3.
6Ibid., sec. 6.
7Ibid., sec. 8.
8Ibid., sec. 9.
this chapter defines discusses the attempt to set up a state "...system of Common Schools, which shall be equally accessible to the poor as to the rich." A "Common School," must meet the qualification set by the state and is one in which "... every white child residing in the district, between the ages of six and twenty years, has had the privilege of attending, whether contributing towards defraying its expenses or not." No child having negro blood is entitled to the benefit of the school described in this section.

KY BAR ASSN ADVOCATED RIGHT TO TESTIFY OF BLACKS 1871-1872

Ky lawyers met in Lou in an effort to "create a public sentiment in favor of such a change in our Statutes as would enable negroes to testify, both for their own protection and for the protection of the white people as well." The Legis in an act of Jan 30, 1872, revised the law to allow blacks to testify against whites.
INTRODUCTION

FIRST EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE BAR OF KENTUCKY.

It is probable that the first general meeting ever held of the lawyers of Kentucky to give their united support to a proposed legal reform was that which was held in Louisville shortly after the Civil War to bring about such a change in the law of the State as to make negroes competent witnesses in all cases in the courts.

The Revised Statutes of Kentucky (Chapter 107, Section 1, page 470) provided:

"That a slave, negro or Indian, shall be a competent witness in a case of the Commonwealth for or against a slave, negro or Indian, or in civil cases to which only negroes or Indians are parties, but in no other case."

This was the law before the Civil War and when the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States became effective in 1865. The Civil Rights Bill was soon thereafter passed by the Thirty-seventh Congress to give negroes "the same right in every State and Territory in the United States to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, and give evidence, inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property as is enjoyed by white persons."

In the case of Bowlin vs. Commonwealth, 2 Bush, 5 (June 5th, 1867), the Court of Appeals held that a negro in Kentucky could not testify against Bowlin, a white man, who had been indicted for grand larceny, and that the Civil Rights Bill was not intended to give negroes such a right in the State courts, and that, if so intended, it was unconstitutional. Judge Robertson wrote the opinion of the court, but Judge Williams wrote a long concurring opinion.

After this opinion was rendered and before the session of the General Assembly that began on December 4, 1871, a banquet in Louisville was arranged by the lawyers of the State to create a public sentiment in favor of such a change in our Statutes as would enable negroes to testify, both for their own protection and for the protection of the white people as well. The banquet was held in a hall on the north side of Market street, between Sixth and Seventh streets. Senator Stevenson, Isaac Caldwell, General Humphrey Marshall, General Eli Murray and other distinguished men of the State, many of whom had been in the Confederate Army, were present. The speaking was fine; the jollity and the champagne were super-abundant. These lawyers had in mind, not only the serious purpose mentioned above but also the public and private advantage to be gained by more friendly intercourse between all the members of the profession in the State. General Humphrey Marshall, huge in size and big in brain, was one of the noteworthy speakers; and, in his deep, powerful voice said:

"The purpose of this meeting, gentlemen, is to bring the Court of Appeals into harmony with the law of the land."

One of the earliest and most honorable efforts that Mr. Henry Watterson made to put Kentucky in the right attitude after the war was his bold and brilliant advocacy of the negro's right to testify in the courts. The Thirteenth Amendment (1865), the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) and the Fifteenth Amendment (1870) were not ratified by
Kentucky. The Legislature met December 4, 1871. By an act, approved January 30, 1872, the General Assembly revised the Statutes governing "the laws of evidence in this Commonwealth." The seventh section of that act provided:

"No one shall be incompetent as a witness, because of his or her race or color."

Thus was removed another unreasonable barrier that helped to keep some light from the courts, though the courts need all the light they can get. Other barriers, maintained on plausible but unsound reasoning, still remain.

In 1877 the American Bar Association was established. Its organization gradually brought about the formation of many State associations. The desire for better standards of practice in the profession and for improvements in the principles and procedure of the common law encouraged the lawyers of the country to unite for the general good. In 1879, the Hon. Benjamin H. Bristow, a Kentuckian, who had been Secretary of the Treasury under Grant, and who had later moved to New York, was elected President of the American Bar Association. Mr. Bristow in his address at the third annual meeting of the Association at Saratoga Springs, August 18, 1880, reviewed the multitudinous acts of the Legislatures of the States during the preceding year and showed the evils of special legislation. He called attention to the important and somewhat radical revision of the New York Code of Civil Procedure and the opposition of the older lawyers to the changes made. He discussed "the railroad problem," then beginning to have great importance and to call for prompt attention; and he mentioned the fact that Georgia had then established a Railroad Commission, with large powers, for the investigation and regulation of railroad rates. He noted the beginnings of local-option legisla-
To be a member you had to be nominated for membership and then approved by a majority of the membership committee. This seems to open the way to exclude blacks, though blacks are not mentioned in the procedure or the book.

Irony: Assn born out of issue of allowing blacks to testify as equals in court.
Another source of Republican votes in western Kentucky and in the Bluegrass was the Negro, who voted for the first time in 1872. In that election the Democratic percentage dropped by 20 to 30 points in a number of counties where the Negroes constituted a substantial proportion of the votes. The Republican party usually carried only a few counties outside of its mountain stronghold, but it consistently won a substantial minority in many other counties with the help of the Negro vote. Although Kentucky was predominantly Democratic for three decades after the Civil War, the Republican party did not degenerate into a small patronage-minded clique as it did in most of the southern states. In Kentucky it possessed a strong base of support that seldom fell below 40 percent of the electorate. From 1872 through 1892 the Democratic party consistently won presidential elections, but with a median percentage of only 54%. The Republican party ran its first gubernatorial candidate in 1871, gaining a respectable 41 percent of the vote, and in the next five gubernatorial elections its support never fell below 39 percent.

The election of 1896 transformed the politics of Kentucky and made it a two-party state. When the national Democratic party adopted William Jennings Bryan as its candidate and free silver as its platform, the Democratic party in Kentucky was split apart. William McKinley carried the state by just 281 votes, as conservative Democrats, particularly in the larger cities and more prosperous agricultural counties, voted Republican.
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<td>Mrs. W. H. Steward, Louisville</td>
<td>Rev. J. E. Wood, Bowling Green</td>
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<td>Mrs. R. R. Giltner, Bowling Green</td>
<td>Mrs. Chas. Sample, Louisville</td>
<td>Rev. J. M. Murry, Henderson</td>
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**INTER-RACIAL COMMITTEES AUTHORIZED BY THE STATE INTER-RACIAL COMMISSION**

**JUSTICE BEFORE THE LAW**

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<tr>
<th>Hon. H. V. McChesney</th>
<th>Judge J. J. Svider</th>
<th>Mr. J. E. Kuykendall</th>
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<tr>
<td>Prof. John F. Smith</td>
<td>Prof. H. F. Jones</td>
<td>Atty. H. W. Bond</td>
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<td>Rev. L. Garland Penn</td>
<td>Mrs. Chas. Sample</td>
<td>Dr. C. H. Farrar</td>
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<td>Prof. F. C. Button, Frankfort</td>
<td>Dr. M. B. Adams</td>
<td>Dean Kirke Smith</td>
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<td>Rev. L. Garland Penn</td>
<td>Prof. F. M. Wood</td>
<td>Miss Olivia Orr</td>
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<td>Miss Marie L. Roberts</td>
<td>Mrs. H. F. Matthews</td>
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**EDUCATION**

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<th>Prof. J. A. Hayes, Lincoln Ridge</th>
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**SANITATION AND HOUSING**

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**TRAVELLING FACILITIES**

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**ECONOMIC JUSTICE**

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**RELIGIOUS CO-OPERATION**

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**INTERRACTION COMMITTEE AUTHORIZED BY THE STATE INTER-RACIAL COMMISSION**

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<th>Mrs. Chas. Sample</th>
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Ky's Black Heritage

This book is for supplement of Jr High texts on ky hist.

p. 37/ "William H. Steward was appointed a letter carrier in the Louisville post office, becoming the first black man in the State to hold such a position in 1876. In 1882, Steward was elected by his co-workers, mostly white men, to be their representative at the National Letter Carriers Association."

Early schools for freemen

Ky's black heritage

p. 39/ "Among the first to begin this task were 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 Blacks. The following year, William H. Gibson reopened a school for Blacks that he had begun in 1843 at Quinn Chapel AME Church. In 1868, St. Mark's High School for Negroes was incorporated. The next year, the Roman Catholic Church established St. Augustin's Church and School for Negroes, taught by the Sisters of Charity."
Black Public Schools

Ky's Black heritage

p. 39  first black education bill 1866-little done; first comprehensive public schools system 1874; 1883 white and black funds combined with no distinction on account of race; 1891 const states separate schools; in 1890 56% of Ky's blacks could not read and write.

Fee opened Berea, 1866, for blacks and whites

Ky's black heritage

p. 41  
"After the Civil War, close on the heels of Confederate troops retreating from the Lexington area came the abolitionist educator, John G. Fee. Re-establishing the school which he had founded in 1855 in Berea, Kentucky, he opened its door to Black as well as white students. Thus, in 1866, Berea became the first Kentucky school with both black and white students. The first catalogue listed 187 students, of whom 96 were Blacks.+

"This early school was what we would call today a high school. In 1869, a college department was added. By 1881, 280 black and 122 white students attended Berea which was to remain for many years one of two interracial colleges in the South.+

"Receiving some financial support from the American Missionary Association, Berea especially aimed to educate the needy and deserving students. One of America's most famous black historians, Carter G. Woodson, attended Berea. A 1892 graduate of Berea was James Bond, the first director of the Kentucky Commission on Interracial Cooperation. He arrived at the school leading a calf to pay his entrance fees. The grandson of James Bond is Julian Bond, a Legislator in the Georgia General Assembly."
In 1879, the General Association of Colored Baptists in Kentucky opened a school which ultimately became known as Simmons University. This Louisville school included both high school and college courses and, eventually, post-graduate work in law, medicine, music and theology. First director of the school was Elijah P. Marrs, an ex-slave from Shelby County who had been taught to read by his master.

"Dr. W. J. Simmons became President of the college in 1880. Under his direction, the college became an important institution of higher education for Kentucky Blacks. After his retirement, the school was named Simmons University in his honor."

EARLY NORMAL SCHOOLS FOR BLACKS

Eckstein Norton Institute, just outside Louisville, closed when Lincoln Institute was established in Lexington. Western Kentucky Normal School at Paducah.
Ky's black heritage

NEGRO REPUBLICAN PARTY

Party organized and held first convention in Lexington in Nov. 1867.

William F. Butler of Jefferson County was chosen President; Henry King, Gabriel Burdette, C. Clarke, Eliah Greene and E. Red, Vice Presidents; R. T. W. James of Frankfort, Secretary; Henry Scroggins of Lexington, Corresponding Secretary; and Bartlett Taylor, Treasurer.

This convention adopted resolutions requesting the right to testify in state courts, the right of suffrage, and the right to receive fair treatment and decent accommodations on all common carriers. The convention also asked that the Freedmen's Bureau remain in Kentucky until the state passed laws that could sufficiently protect the freedmen.

REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION REFUSES TO SEAT BLACKS, 1868

p. 45/ When the Republican State Convention met in Frankfort in March 1868, Blacks tried unsuccessfully to be seated on the floor of the convention. But in March, 1872, after the Fifteenth Amendment granted Blacks the right to vote, black delegates were seated on the floor of the Republican State Convention.
The right to vote was granted to Kentucky's black citizens in 1870 by the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. This amendment stated that the right to vote could not be denied or abridged on account of race or color. When it was presented to the Kentucky General Assembly for ratification, it was rejected by the House 80 to 5 and by the Senate 27 to 6.

J. Allen Ross

J. Allen Ross of Frankfort was the secretary of the National Negro Democratic Executive Committee and served as State organizer for the Democratic Party in Kentucky. Before becoming involved in politics in his native state, Ross lived in Mississippi where he had been elected sheriff of Washington County and a State Legislator on the Republican ticket.
"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 ribbon strips four inches wide. These were sold to Democrats in the surrounding county, keeping the bills of sale secret until election day. Republicans complained bitterly of fraud but to no avail.+

"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. The outcry against this fraud was so loud, however, that the following month, March, 1871, the General Assembly amended the charter again to provide a twelve-month residential requirement instead of the previous three-year requirement.+

"Such maneuvers to exclude black voters were confined to a relatively few communities."

Elijah P. Marrs fought for freedom on the battlefield, in political conventions, and as an educator. In 1864, when Shelby County was threatened by Confederate soldiers, Elijah P. Marrs, then a slave, mustered a company of twenty-seven men, armed them with clubs, and as their captain marched his company to Louisville to enlist in the Union Army. He served as sergeant of Company L, Twelfth United States Heavy Artillery during the Civil War.+

"After Emancipation, Marrs was a delegate to Kentucky's first political convention in 1869 and was appointed to the convention's committee on resolutions. He was also a member of the convention which nominated Harlan for Governor.+

"In 1879, Elijah P. Marrs became the first president of the Kentucky Normal and Theological Institute, which later became Simmons University."
voted set the pattern for state elections for the next forty years. Black citizens voted generally for the Republican candidates; and the Republican candidates rarely won the elections.

Although poll taxes were used in some local communities to keep Blacks from voting, such illegal methods as "grandfather" clauses and literacy tests (widely used in the deep South as late as the 1960's), did not develop in Kentucky. This was probably because there were not enough black voters to defeat Democratic lawmakers already in office.

As many Democrats had predicted, the solid black block vote for the Republican Party gradually broke down. Some Blacks began to look to their former masters for political guidance. Others became disenchanted with the Republican Party because the party did not run black candidates for office on the Republican ticket.

HONORABLE NATHANIEL R. HARPER, who won the fight for mixed juries before Jefferson Circuit Court in 1886, was the first black judge appointed in Kentucky.

In 1895, Louisville Republican leaders chose Harper as their candidate for state representative from the Tenth Ward. Statewide Republican leaders, however, objected to having a black man on the ballot. So these leaders changed the procedure for choosing the party candidates for representative. Before that year, party leaders in each district chose the candidate from that district, as the Tenth Ward leaders had chosen Harper. In 1895, however, the Republican Convention voted to choose all the candidates by a vote of the total convention. And thus, a white man was chosen to be candidate from the Tenth Ward.

Harper was hired to make campaign speeches throughout the State for a Republican ticket that had no black candidates. That year, because of a split in the Democratic Party, a Republican, William O. Bradley, was elected Governor. Bradley appointed Harper Commissioner of the Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Statistics of the Colored People of the State. The story of Nathaniel Harper indicates that the Republican Party of that period was willing to appoint but not to elect black candidates to public office.
At the same time, the General Assembly of Kentucky passed the measure that banned the carrying of concealed weapons. This bill specifically stated that it was the duty of local officials to arrest each violator. If a local sheriff refused to apprehend such violators, the sheriff could be fined $100.

Thus, state authorities were more able to deal with violations of the law in areas where local law enforcement agents were hesitant to arrest the lawbreakers. The federal soldiers were taken off the train and agent Gibson continued as mail agent without further harassment.

However, the legislature refused to pass a law that would allow state troops to enforce the law in counties that did not request their aid. So black citizens appealed to the federal government.

Black Citizens Petition Help of Congress

On March 27, 1871, six black citizens—Samuel Damsey, B. Smith, B.T. Crampton, Henry Marrs,
One early protest involved the Louisville streetcars. Three different streetcar companies operated under charters from the city in 1870. Each company made its own regulations regarding Blacks. Black women were allowed to sit inside the coaches by all three companies. Black men were required to stand on the platform outside the coach on some lines and excluded altogether on others.

In October, 1870, black leaders decided to test the legality of these restrictions. They organized a public rally at Quinn Chapel, AME Church, followed by a peaceful march to the streetcar stop where three respectable black businessmen—Horace Pierce, Robert and Samuel Fox—paid their fares, boarded the car, and sat down. The driver ordered them to move outside and, when they refused, called other drivers to his assistance and forcibly ejected the customers. At this action, the black crowd was indignant and began hurling stones and mud at the car. Police arrived shortly and scattered the crowd.

Next morning, the three men sued the Central Passenger Railroad Company for damages. Since, as Blacks, they were not allowed to testify against the white conductor in state courts, they demanded that their case be heard in federal court where Judge Bland Ballard presided. Judge Ballard decided that a public carrier is obliged to carry customers who pay the same fare under the same circumstances, and awarded damages of $15.00 to the Blacks.

Once the judgment was made public, black men moved to test its validity. They paid their fare, boarded and sat inside streetcars at many different stops on the line. Reactions of the individual conductors varied. Some simply stopped their cars and black and white men faced each other in silence. Others forcibly ejected the unwelcome passengers. One young Black, Carey Duncan, proved his faith in passive resistance by refusing to move or to defend himself. He was dragged from the car and beaten by neighborhood "toughs."

As the violence increased, city officials met with streetcar company presidents to find a solution. Faced with the determination of the black leaders and the inflexibility of the federal court ruling, and anxious to prevent further damage to streetcars, the streetcar presidents capitulated. They agreed that all passengers could ride seated inside the coaches. From that time onward, the city streetcars remained unsegregated.

**Anti-Separate Coach Movement**

Having learned that positive, direct action was able to prevent segregation in the Louisville streetcars, black leaders were equally as aggressive on a statewide basis when an attempt was made to segregate interstate railroad coaches.

In December, 1891, a bill was introduced into the Kentucky General Assembly to require separate coaches for white and black travelers on interstate railroads. Hoping to defeat the bill by immediate action, black leaders from across the state met and appointed a committee to appear before the Governor to ask him not to support the bill. Professor C.C. Monroe of the State Normal School in Frankfort was elected chairman and C.H. Parrish of Louisville chairman of the committee on resolutions.

C. C. MONROE, first Kentuckian to speak out against Jim Crow coaches, was removed from his teaching position at Kentucky Normal School because of his role in the anti-separate coach movement.
MRS. L. M. SNEED OF LOUISVILLE AND MISS LENA B. TIBBS OF DANVILLE were members of a statewide delegation of women who went to Frankfort to protest the separate coach law. Other black women in this delegation included Miss Mary V. Cook of Bowling Green, Miss Lizzie E. Green of Frankfort, and Miss M. E. Britton of Lexington.

On January 29, 1892, these men appeared before the joint railroad commission of the Senate and House. Even the women got into the action; a delegation of black women protesting the bill visited the General Assembly. All the efforts were fruitless; on March 15, 1892, the separate coach bill was passed.

Black leaders from throughout the state met in protest at the State Capitol. Electing Jordan C. Jackson, of Lexington, chairman, the delegates decided upon a plan of action. The group would press for an immediate court decision on the constitutionality of the bill. Committees of correspondence were established in various Kentucky communities. Each black family would be assessed to pay the necessary legal defense funds.

Less than a year after the passage of the bill, the court test was ready. The Reverend W. H. Anderson and his wife boarded an L&N Railroad car in Evansville, Indiana, with a ticket to Madisonville, Kentucky. When the train crossed the Ohio River into Kentucky, the Andersons were requested by the conductor to move to the “black” car. When they refused to move, they were forcibly put off the train at Henderson, Kentucky. There they bought two more tickets to Madisonville, boarded the next train and sat in the “white” section. Again, they were asked to leave but refused and were put off at Robards’ Station. Then, they filed suit against the L&N Railroad for $15,000.

The case was heard in U.S. District Court in Owensboro. On June 4, 1894, Judge John W. Barr announced his decision that the Kentucky statute was unconstitutional because it attempted to regulate interstate commerce, a function of government plainly reserved to the United States Congress. Kentucky black leaders were jubilant; they had won a great victory.

Plessy v. Ferguson

Their victory was short-lived. For in May, 1896, in the Plessy v. Ferguson decision, the United States Supreme Court ruled that state laws requiring segregated railroad cars were indeed constitutional as long as the facilities provided were “separate but equal.”

This case was one of many civil rights cases in which Justice John M. Harlan from Kentucky disagreed with the majority of the Supreme Court.

“The thin disguise of ‘equal’ accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead anyone, nor atone for the wrong this day done,” objected Harlan. “The arbitrary separation of citizens on the basis of race, while they are on a public highway, is a badge of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and the equality of the law established by the Constitution. It cannot be justified upon any legal grounds.”

REVEREND W. H. ANDERSON tested the constitutionality of the separate coach act of Kentucky by bringing suit against L&N Railroad.
Regardless of Harlan’s objections, the damage was done. The *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision opened the door to another means by which black citizens could be denied full and equal participation in American society. Once segregation of railway coaches had been declared legal by the Supreme Court, then segregation of public buildings, schools, parks, and other means of transportation became possible. The bright hopes for full citizenship which had inspired Kentucky black citizens during the first years after the Civil War disappeared when the Supreme Court condemned Blacks to a separate but equal existence.

**Charles Henry Parrish, Sr.**

One of the many active black citizens of this period was Charles H. Parrish, Sr. Parrish was born in Lexington in 1859, the son of slave parents. His father was a teamster; his mother was a seamstress. His mother’s master taught him to read.

Parrish was only six years old when Kentucky slaves received their freedom so he was able to attend one of the public schools established in Lexington for the freedmen. Encouraged by his teachers to continue his education, Parrish moved to Louisville to enroll in the Louisville Normal and Theological Institute (which later became known as Simmons College).

Since he had little money, Parrish had to work to pay for his living expenses while he attended school. Although a college degree seemed an almost impossible goal for this former slave, Parrish continued his double program of work and study until 1886 when he finally received his B.A. degree. He was twenty-seven years old.

After he was graduated, Parrish received a call to become Pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church in Louisville. He also served as professor of Greek at his former college. Although still a young man, he was elected delegate to the Republican State Convention, the Colored Educational Convention of 1884 and the National Convention of Colored Men which was held in Louisville in 1883.
When Blacks met in Frankfort to form the Anti-Separate Coach Movement, they elected Parrish chairman of the very important resolutions committee and sent him to meet with the Governor as a spokesman for the black citizens of Kentucky.

As Blacks were increasingly excluded from political circles in Kentucky, Parrish turned his leadership ability to religious and educational matters. He became President of Eckstein Norton College—a boarding school that trained young black men to be teachers in Kentucky's new schools for Blacks. In 1918, Dr. Parrish became President of Simmons University and continued as its president until 1931.

His prominence as a church leader became worldwide. In 1923, he was one of the American delegates to the Baptist World Alliance Meeting in Stockholm, Sweden. There he was named to the executive committee of the Baptist World Alliance. He was one of only two black men on the eight-member committee.

Summary of Chapter Eleven

Throughout this period of the Kentucky black man's first years of full citizenship, he was quick to organize in committees and convention and to stand up and demand the rights that were his. He was not reluctant to approach the Governor or the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, even though he knew that these bodies were controlled by Democrats who were often unsympathetic to his requests.

In two specific cases, the desegregation of the Louisville street cars and the Anti-Separate Coach Movement, black leaders organized protests that included the use of passive resistance and court orders to gain their goals. One of many active black citizens of the period was the Reverend Charles Henry Parrish, Sr.

The stereotype of the black man during Reconstruction is that of a poor freedman in tattered clothes, homeless, ignorant, wandering from place to place in search of some kind of occupation. It must be emphasized that there is another side to this picture. The Kentucky Reconstruction picture shows educated black men meeting, selecting officers, making speeches, visiting the Governor, calling upon members of the General Assembly, even petitioning the United States Congress to gain those rights for which they too had fought as Union soldiers. These were proud citizens with great faith in the democratic processes and legal institutions of their day.
"C. C. Monroe, first Kentuckian to speak out against Jim Crow coaches, was removed from his teaching position at Kentucky Normal School because of his role in the anti-separate coach movement."

"In Louisville, for example once the decision to desegregate the General Hospital School of Nursing had been made, authorities found there was no regulation (either on the part of the hospital or on the part of the city) to prohibit placing black and white girls in the same dormitory. And so, the School of Nursing simply accepted black applicants and assigned them rooms in the same manner they assigned white students rooms."
ISAAC MURPHY, BIOG: 3 TIME DERBY WINNER

k b heritage

p 66/ "Isaac Murphy, first jockey to ride three Kentucky Derby winners: Buchanon (1884), Riley (1890), and Kingman (1891). Of the first 28 winning Derby horses, 15 had black jockeys. The eleven black jockeys who won the Derby during these years included one triple-winner (Murphy) and two double-winners (Willie Simms and James Winkfield). Winkfield, whose second victory was in 1902, was the last black jockey to win the Derby. Since 1911 no black jockeys have participated in the Kentucky Derby."

BLACK CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS IN LOUISVILLE

k b heritage

p 70/ "Black Kentuckians had already recognized some problems that could be solved through joint efforts. In Louisville, for example, in 1887, a group of Blacks organized the Colored Orphans' Home which was maintained for many years by donations from the black community. The St. James Old Folks Home was incorporated in 1887 by many of the same black citizens. This home provided care for old and infirm Blacks who had no one else to care for them."
Believe that they owe their freedom to the self-denying labors of such men as Mr. Fees, President Fairchild, Prof. Rogers, and that class of men throughout the country who are sustaining Berea College. They know we are their friends and that we will not deceive them. They believe in our political principles, and though they find it difficult in their modesty to associate with white people on terms of equality, they believe in the principle, and rejoice to see it wrought out. They have their own church relations and modes of worship, and are attached to them like other people, and will not easily fall in with any ideas or modes that are new to them. Yet we are welcome always to all their religious gatherings, and they rejoice to hear the counsels we have to give. Like all uneducated people, they will very gradually learn to appreciate the importance of education. They will not rush into everything good more than other people. But it was never the privilege of any Christian laborers to work for a more grateful, impressible and confiding people.

God has laid upon us special responsibilities in regard to them. Till within two years the State has made no provisions whatever for their education, and the provisions now made are entirely inadequate.

They have no share of the general school fund. The white people will not submit to be taxed for their education. There is no general desire for their education. No conventions are held, no general subscriptions are made or solicited to promote it. They have a special common school law, which denies them the right to vote in school matters. The county school commissioner, a white man, has the sole responsibility of organizing the county into districts and appointing colored trustees. If he is indifferent or reluctant it will not be done. The fund provided by the law has thus far amounted to only fifty cents a scholar for the year. This furnishes, in a district of fifty scholars, only twenty-five dollars to keep up the school a year. White districts receive one dollar and ninety cents a scholar. It is a question whether this school law is of any benefit whatever to the colored people. It produces great dissatisfaction, as it ought to, and the money it furnishes hardly compensates for the trouble it makes. Two other features of the law exhibit the spirit which dictated it. A colored school-house in the country must not be within a mile of a white school, nor in towns within six hundred feet. Also it is unlawful for a colored child to attend a white school, or for a white child to attend a colored school. This law is a fair indication of the interest of the people of the State in the education of the colored people. To the honor of the city of Louisville it should be said that within two years much zeal has been exhibited in the establishment of colored schools. They have erected two large and commodious school buildings, which are filled with pupils, and teachers are well paid. A third large school is taught in a less commodious building, and a fourth in the large building erected by the Freedmen's Bureau. The colored people have not their equal share in the management of the school, as they ought to have, but they are allowed a Visiting Committee.

Lexington also has made a good beginning within a year, and has maintained eleven teachers, who have had less than half the pay of white teachers. Six of these teachers are students of Berea College, as are a large proportion, perhaps a majority, of the colored school teachers in the State. Other towns probably have done something for colored schools, but if so it is very recently.

With such a law, and with the public interest it indicates, it is manifest that the colored people will be but poorly provided with schools, unless aid comes from some other quarter. In a few places they are able to support their own schools, but the most of them are very poor. Ten years ago they were, with few exceptions, entirely destitute of property. They had no homes, no lands, no stock of any kind, no education, no experience in business, no school-
houses, few churches and no teachers. They were in the midst of a people who looked upon them as their property, of which they had been wickedly robbed. They had always declared that the negro could not take care of himself, and were disposed to make their declarations good. Before the courts they could neither testify, plead, nor judge, but were entirely at the mercy of men who had always held it to be right to compel negroes to work for whatever they were disposed to give. It is not strange that a people so circumstanced are not yet able to sustain their own schools. Nor is it strange that some of them are not able to see, as many wiser people are not, why, having paid taxes like white people, and even a dollar poll tax more, they should not have free schools as well.

These poor people are on our hearts and hands continually. We meet very few who give any indications of caring for them as we feel we must. A few noble men and women there are in the State who see and deeply feel their wants, and will do to the extent of their ability. There were always such, and the number has not greatly increased. In proof of this statement we mention the fact that year after year the State Sunday-school Convention has called together the warmest-hearted Christians of the State, and never till this year has a single inquiry been made concerning the wants of that most needy, most accessible and most impressive people constituting one-third of the population of the State. And this year it was not in the programme, but was introduced by the special request of a most noble Christian gentleman, who superintends a large colored Sunday-school in Lexington, and takes with him his wife and a...
BLACKS AT BEREA: CUSTOMS, PROBLEMS, ETC (1875)
e h fairchild, berea an interesting hist, 1875

Prof. A. P. Peabody, of Harvard, closes his very able article in the Unitarian Review, on the Coeducation of the Races, with the following paragraph:

Of all the experiments in coeducation that have been instituted, we regard Berea College, in Kentucky, as the most important in its sphere of influence and in its prophecy of enduring benefit to the colored race. It has carried the war into the enemy's camp, and has brought its whole Christian panoply and armament into the immediate encounter with the surviving spirit of slavery—a spirit made all the more virulent by the destruction of its body. At other institutions black students are admitted to an equality with the white; at Berea white students are admitted to an equality with the black. The trustees and professors at Berea cannot invite their white neighbors to unite with them in throwing the doors of their Institution wide open to all that choose to come. They must first gather their little flock of black pupils, with a very few white youths from their own or friendly families, and then they must make their light shine bright enough and far enough to win the regard and confidence of a distrustful and scornful public, and to demonstrate to that unwilling public that it is for their own and their children's interest that they patronize this Institution. This has been effected. The College has shown its large educational capacity. Its public exercises have been attended in successive years by persons of established reputation as educators and literary men, and have received their unqualified commendation and praise. There is, for many miles around, no institution of learning that does nearly so much or so well for its pupils. The consequence is that those at first vehemently opposed to it are fast falling into the ranks of neutrals or friends. Many who deemed it a nuisance have already sent their children to it. Its sterling value as a seminary of education is now recognized on all hands. But it is of much more worth for its silent, yet most efficient, propagandism of the due relation between the races; for coeducation includes within itself, or involves as its necessary consequence, equality in all civic and social rights, immunities, duties and obligations.

Moreover, a State in which white citizens already seek for their children the privilege of coeducation with colored youths, can not long retain its hostility to public schools common to both races. The universal establishment of such schools in the late slave States is, as we

have said, essential to their political and social well-being; and for the advancement of this end Berea College is now doing more than can be effected by any possible legislation, by any action of political parties, or by the combined influence of press, platform and pulpit.

For two principal reasons we advocate the coeducation of the races. 1. It is impossible to educate both races separately. In the rural districts it is impossible to maintain two sets of schools. In the cities it may be done, but in the country it can not. In hundreds of districts there are very few, from five to twenty-five, colored children. They must be admitted to the schools which white children attend, or be left without schools. In other districts the same is true of white children. 2. The separation fosters a spirit of contempt, and haughtiness, and domineering on the one side, and a sense of debasement, and a spirit of servility or surliness on the other, entirely inconsistent with the highest good of either. It is cruel and abusive to teach the colored children from the very beginning that they are only fit for servants of white people, and are not at all to be tolerated in the same school-room with white children. Such treatment will never make them self-respecting, patriotic, independent citizens.

There is nothing, in the absence of coeducation, which can secure the mutual regard, confidence and honorable deportment which must exist between these races, if we are to have a peaceful, intelligent and virtuous community.

We are well aware that in seeking to work such a revolution in southern society, we accept a herculean task. We are not greeted with cheers and applause at every step. We have learned to get on without them. We know that God approves, and that many true friends pray for us, and are ready to share the burden. We also know that our cause will triumph. We have seen much greater revolutions both at the North and the South. Forty years ago the whole nation was agitated when a single college admitted colored students. Now very few colleges at the North reject them. In common schools the change is hardly less. The South will change more rapidly, for there is little color prejudice to be overcome. If the laws of the State prohibiting coeducation were repealed, many districts would at once admit the few colored children they have.
Berea Col, an interesting history (1875)

p. 86/ Mt counties, generally Republican; not abolitionists and had no special sympathy for the colored people as slaves, there are now several bonds of union between them. They agree in politics, and are working together to overthrow the aristocratic rebel party; and they are destined to succeed. They are much alike in their style of living. Being generally poor, they are obliged to work for their daily bread, and enjoy but few of the luxuries of life, and look with the same sort of jealousy upon the aristocracy. They have alike been deprived of the advantages of education. One-fourth of the adult population of the mountains can not read."

p 87/
"It is from the mountain people that the most of our white students come. It is generally a great trial to them to think of associating with colored people. They have their prejudices to overcome." Many would come if they had the money.

p 89/
"This is the field of Berea College. We have had students from ten different States at a time, but our great work is among the poor people of Kentucky. Young men have walked sixty miles to get here, and sometimes without a dollar, hoping here to find work to pay their way. Two young men came sixty-five miles with a pair of two-year-old calves before a cart to haul their baggage, and a boy to drive the team back."

KLAN DOES NOT BOTHER THEM AT BEREA

p 94/ "The Ku-Klux have never paid us a visit." Rumors tell of our buildings being burnt, but not so. "For a year or two, about 1870 and later, the country was completely under their control. There was no protection for anybody against whom their violence was directed." Took possession of Richmond with 150 riders, took a man out of jail and hanged him. /begin 95/ Took two blacks from the jail, whipped one and hanged the other. "They hung a man one Saturday night within three miles of Berea." doesn't say who. Writer believed they were people engaged in settling old grudges, etc. /begin p 96/ "The negroes were constantly in alarm, and white Republicans nearly as much so, for it was understood that neither of these parties was represented in the bands."

"These organizations seem to have disbanded two or three years ago, soon after a large number of them had been arrested by United States authority."
Berea col, an interesting hist, 1875

p. 98

"It is the common lot of most teachers of colored schools, and, to some extent, of businessmen from the North, to be isolated and deprived of all, or nearly all white society. It is not so here. While many people undoubtedly have no desire to cultivate our acquaintance, we have right about us more white Kentucky friends of excellent character, who invite us to their houses, than we have time to visit as we desire. Some of the principal families in Richmond exchange visits with us, and some in Lexington, and some in Louisville, and so in many places through the Blue Grass region we are welcomed, and almost everywhere in the mountains."

Location of Berea College; description

Berea col, an interesting hist, 1875

p 3/ in 1875

"Berea College is near the center of the State, in the southern part of Madison County, one of the most populous counties of the State." Berea is a small village of about five hundred inhabitants, scattered poor people.

p. 4/

"Berea ridge is about two miles long, of irregular shape, sometimes narrow and sometimes wide, and sometimes branching, and elevated about fifty feet above the surrounding country. The College grounds are about the center of the ridge, and on its widest part. Toward the south and east we look out upon a mountainous region, broken into more than a dozen distinct knobs from four hundred to eight hundred feet high, and from one mile to six miles distant." "To the north and west lie the rich, undulating blue grass lands, famous everywhere for their hemp, pastures, cattle, horses and magnificently formed men."

"The autumn scenery view from the observatory of the Ladies' Hall is exquisitely beautiful. It is hardly surpassed by any scenery on the Hudson River. The air is perfectly pure, every lot is easily drained, the water is soft and generally good, and is obtained by digging about fifteen feet. The climate is delightful, especially from April to December... The nights are always comfortable when the days are hottest," soil not rich, but when properly worked can produce gardens and fruit.
And when we look upon the crowd of two thousand people, white and colored, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, mingling without distinction and with perfect order, listening to speakers and singers of all shades of complexion, the words on the College seal seem wonderfully appropriate: W'God hath made of one blood all nations of men.' Twenty miles from this line, on either side, such a company could not be gathered.

John G. Fee--Biog. of Berea founder.

Fee born in Bracken Co, ky, in 1816; father a farmer & Presby. owned 13 slaves. Fee converted, entered college at Augusta, ky, 2 yrs at Oxford, Ohio, then graduated at Augusta; then took theological course at Lane Seminary; convinced slavery a sin; parents disowned him./begin p 9% labored in Bracken and Lewis counties for 8 yrs; organized anti-slavery school in 1855. First teacher was Wm E. Lincoln from England who was studying at Oberlin Col. /begin p 11/ In 1856 mobs begin to attack Fee, made no resistance, not harmed; pp12-14 also tell of mob activities.
Prof. J. A. R. Rogers, of Berea—BioG

Berea col, an interesting hist

p 14/ Rogers a native of Cornwall, Conn, educated at Williams and Oberlin; called to Ky in 1858 in association with American Missionary Association /begin p 15/ enthusiastic teacher.

Berea Charter and Const

Berea col, an interesting hist

p 20/ In Sept 1858 at Fee's home, several people met to discuss a const--J. G. Hanson Secretary, Fee Chairman, Rogers Chairman of Comm to draw up a const. A const was agreed upon, and signed, and finally approved in July 1859. /begin p 22/ Signees: John G. Fee, Rev. J. S. Davis, Rev. Geo. Candee, John Smith, Wm. Stapp, T. J. Renfro, John G. Hanson, Rev. J. A. R Rogers, and & 4 other men. /pp 22-23/ tell of the ill effects of John Brown's raid on attitude of the people in the area toward these school and its founders.
Berea col, an interesting hist, 1875

p. 32/ a native of Bracken Co, Ky; mob decided to expell Hanson in March 1860 when Hanson returned to saw and sell some logs in Berea. pp 33-37/ tell of Hanson's narrow escape from mobs.

Negro school in Covington

McVey, Gates open slowly, hist ed.

p 263/ "A school for Negro children was provided in 1873. The support of such a school rested upon taxes paid by Negro property holders, which included forfeitures and a poll tax. In Covington, as elsewhere, this financial support was insufficient to pay for a good school."
1st laws on black education.

McVey, Gates open slowly, hist ed

p 147/ "The public conscience was to some extent aroused and expressed itself in a kind of hoist-yourself-by-your-own-boot-straps act in 1866. This act specified that one half of all the money that accrued from the taxes on property owned by Negros should be used for the education of colored children, and the other half of such tax moneys should go to take care of the paupers of the Negro race living within the state. Not to be overcome by the failure of the law to provide sufficient funds for these purposes, the next year the legislature levied a poll tax on all Negro males over eighteen years of age, and, in addition, required the county commissioners to pay $2.50 to the colored schools for each child attending for three months. As might have been foreseen, the needs of a people thrown upon their own resources after decades of enslavement were greater than could be met by the funds raised through taxes; so an act of 1871 placed the same rate of tax on the Negros as that levied upon the /begin p 148/ whites."

Cities estab. schools for blacks. 1st high sch 1882 in Louis.

McVey, gates open slowly, hist ed.

p. 150/ 1870 Louisville Bd of Ed opened schools for blacks "on the same basis as those for white children. Lexington and Maysville followed the general movement; Covington, in 1873, established schools for colored children which, in the judgment of the board, could furnish sufficient educational facilities for them. It was not until 1874 that the city of Ashland took control of the colored schools and merged the two systems into one." separate organizations ended one by one; but facilities not equal. "The first high school for colored boys and girls was opened in Louisville in 1882."
"During the years prior to 1885 the leaders in Negro education asked for a State Normal School where students might be trained in teaching procedure. In 1886 the legislature authorized the establishment of a State Normal School for colored persons at Frankfort."

"The two men differed in certain ways. Fee was a country minister, though no ordinary one; Clay was a landed country gentleman whose greatest interest was politics with special emphasis upon freedom of speech. When Fee spoke in public, he appealed to men's conscience by words which Clay said were full of tender passion, by his rather sad expression, and by his style, 'concise, terse, and earnest.' Clay used the impetuous style of address common to southern orators of his day, characterized by strong words, fiery charges, and black denunciations. Fee always went unarmed, but Clay was likely to have a bowie knife stuck in his belt and at least one pistol close at hand. The two men differed also in their arguments against slavery. Fee based his antislavery talks on the idea that slavery is a sin against human brotherhood. Clay emphasized the evils arising from slavery: depression of education, manufactures, agriculture, the fine arts, and constitutional liberties, as well as the encouragement pressed upon white non-slaveholding people to emigrate from Kentucky because of the low condition of their economic life and their schools. When Clay sold land near the Ridge to such a liberal as Hamilton Rawlings, when he gave a homestead to Fee, and when he let it be known that he was Fee's defender, he was laying the foundations for his democratic free community in the hill country."
The aim of the College was clearly stated in the first bylaw: "The purpose of the College shall be to furnish the facilities for a thorough education to all persons of good moral character, at the least possible expense, and all the inducements and facilities for manual labor which can reasonably be supplied by the Board of Trustees shall be offered."

"There was no statement made in this document as to any specific area or group of people that this institution would serve."

In the winter of 1858-1859 the young men of the Dialectic Society had discussed long and earnestly the question of whether Negroes should be admitted to the school, if any applied. This question was soon discussed throughout the neighborhood. The view of the teachers and of John G. Fee was that certainly they should be admitted, if the school was to be truly 'anti-caste.'"

Political campaign of 1860 approaching, let also to unrest, also John Brown's raid led many in Ky to believe that Berea was a Fifth Column for a similar rising.
"They completed the incorporation of Berea College on April 5, 1866. Then on May 23, 1866, since the College was now able to hold land, they secured a deed for the Woolwine tract."

Accordin to its first catalog (1866-1867), the "Berea Literary Institute," as the catalog called it, had a total attendance of 187, of whom 96 were Negroes and 91 whites. Emancipation had changed the constituency of the Berea institution while it was still in its swaddling clothes.

March of that year John G. Fee wrote to Gerrit Smith: "The opposition party called a meeting to vote him out of the schoolhouse. They could not get the people to vote against the school when they were convened. We have now quite a large majority in favor of the school." The question of admitting Negroes to a private school did not face the patrons as a practical matter, however, till after the Civil War.

Before the war there were plenty of men in Kentucky who were opposed to the institution of slavery, but were "castemen" instead of what Fee called "anti-caste," that is, they were not yet reconciled to the idea that freedmen might ride in a white coach, partake of communion along with white church members, and attend school with whites. When slavery came to an end at the close of the war, Berea had to struggle with the problem of the Negroes' social privileges; and Berea College, for which a constitution had been made and land bought to serve as a campus, lost some of its students and even some of its trustees on the issue of the admission of Negro students to the Rogers-Fee school.

The problem of Negro attendance was faced in the first term after the war. By a compromise the first two months of this term were to be considered as part of the district school,
and therefore Negroes would not be admitted until March 1, "so that none might make charge of usurping privileges in using the district house." At the same time John G. Hanson "as architect and builder for the College" was directed to build before September two new cottages where classes might be held without offense to any patrons of the district.

Early in March, 1866, the first Negro pupils were admitted. W. W. Wheeler, assistant to Professor Rogers, reported later that the attendance for the term was low "on account of absence of 27 members who unceremoniously and in a disgraceful manner left the school at the end of two months on account of the presence of colored children who had been admitted to equal privileges with others." Across the road from the schoolhouse the wives of the two teachers sat at a window of Berea's first boarding hall, which was managed by Wheeler and his wife.

Since it was against the law to enroll Negroes in the district school, Mrs. Wheeler had been teaching several Negro children in her own quarters. On this March day they could enroll in the private Rogers-Wheeler school, which met by agreement in the district schoolhouse since the new buildings were unfinished. Mrs. Wheeler later wrote: "From the front window Mrs. Rogers and I watched the little black children enter on that memorable day, and watched until we saw the flight of the white boys and girls."
In April of this year, 1866, several adult Negroes registered in the school, one of whom was Angus A. Burleigh, a sergeant who had met Fee at Camp Nelson. Someone had told the sergeant that a man wanted to see him at the chaplain’s office. “There was a small man, grey of hair and with kindly face,” wrote Burleigh in later years. “He arose as I entered, and took me by the hand. ‘I am Mr. Fee,’ he said, ‘John G. Fee.’” Fee had asked Sergeant Burleigh what he intended to do when war ended. When the sergeant had replied that he meant to get an education, Fee had said that he was looking for young men to go to Berea for schooling and that everyone would have a chance to work his way through school. “He took out of his pocket a small notebook. . . . ‘I have here forty-one names, and yours will make the forty-second. Will you come?’” When Angus Burleigh had said that he would come as soon as he was mustered out, Fee had told him to take the stage to Lexington and change for Richmond. From Richmond, he had said, it was only a fourteen-mile walk to Berea. When the sergeant arrived in Berea, he found a welcome. “Mrs. Fee met me at the door with the same gentle smile she always had. Next morning bright and early I was in the school embarked on an education.” He was assigned to Professor Rogers’ room. Before long he was converted and was baptized in Brushy Fork. Nine years later he graduated from Berea College with a B.A. degree.

After the Civil War the freedmen poured into Berea to secure the magic of education. The catalog of 1866-1867 listed 187 pupils, of whom 96 were Negro, 91 white. In 1875-1876 there were 237 enrolled, of whom 143 were Negro, 94 white. In the total enrollment of 369 in 1880-1881, 249 were Negro, 120 white. In the last year of President Fairchild’s administration, 177 were Negro, 157 white. In one year only between 1866 and 1894, namely 1877-1878, did the record show more whites than Negroes, 144 to 129.
There came a time in Berea’s history, especially before and after the passage of the Day law (1904), when many people, both white and Negro, believed that Berea College was founded for the Negro people; and in the decades since 1911 even more people have believed that it was founded specifically for the people of the southern Appalachian mountains.

From the first Constitution, approved in 1859, until a revision made in 1911 the purpose of the College was to be the promotion of the cause of Christ by offering a thorough education to all persons of good moral character. No special preference was given in this statement to any one group of people. From other sources than the Constitution itself it is clear that from the earliest days of the school the founders intended it to be for all people regardless of race. Already in 1855 John G. Fee had spoken of the school as an anticaste institution; and in 1858 Professor Rogers declared that he would not teach the Berea school unless it was open to all. In the first catalog (1866-1867) appeared two paragraphs under the title “The school is greatly needed.” The first paragraph spoke of the need of the Negro people for a higher school in the state; and the second spoke of the educational need of the white people of the mountains of Kentucky and adjoining states.

In 1869 the first freshman class of the College Department was enrolled, and in 1873 the first degrees were bestowed upon graduates who had completed an exacting four-year course. During the sixteen years between 1873 and the close of the Fairchild administration, 1889, forty-three four-year degrees were awarded, thirty of them to white students, thirteen to Negroes. Although in the lower departments the Negroes almost always outnumbered the whites, the Negroes were less numerous than the whites in the College Department because: (1) the Negroes had to start lower in Berea’s school system because of previous lack of preparation; (2) they were more likely to stay out of school for an occasional term to work; (3) they were more needed as teachers, especially after 1874, when the first public schools for Negroes were set up by law in Kentucky.
Even though Negro graduates were few in this period, they became outstanding leaders, especially in education. Eleven of the thirteen Negro graduates became teachers, one a lawyer, and one a minister. Only two were women, both of whom became teachers. The men teachers taught in Louisville, Lexington, Danville, Covington, Princeton, Somerset, and Maysville. One of them, John H. Jackson, became the first principal of the present State College for Negroes in Kentucky, and served for fourteen years. Another, James S. Hathaway, was its principal for nine years. It is noteworthy that most of these graduates came from Kentucky cities, where educational opportunities for Negroes were better than in the country. Of the eight from Kentucky, three were from Louisville, three from Lexington, one from Danville, and one from Mount Sterling.

Possibly the Negro teachers who left the Preparatory or the College Department before graduation were even more important than the graduates, because they were so much more numerous. When an Ohio man wrote in 1878 asking President Fairchild what he could say about Berea College, the president replied: "Not less than 100 Negro schools were taught last year by colored teachers educated at Berea." Kentucky did not at this time have a state normal school for training Negro teachers.

President Fairchild in an A.M.A. conference at Nashville in 1881 expressed clearly the reason why he wanted to provide a college education for as many promising young Negroes as possible. While his sympathy was with the slow of wit, his hopes for the advancement of the American Negro lay with those who were able to do college work. "They must be as well prepared as white people in every way, in order to secure the respect of the white people and maintain their own respect." In his baccalaureate sermon of the same year Fairchild developed this idea in greater detail: "They need to be scientific farmers and skilled mechanics, artists and architects and contractors, as well as common farmers. They need to be qualified for magistrates, jurors, lawyers, and judges; for teachers, preachers, editors, physicians; for professors and presidents of colleges; for legislators and congressmen; for consuls, ambassadors; in short, for every position which citizens are expected to occupy." Later in the same address he said: "Not only must common school education become general and of a high order; many thousands of colored men and women must become highly educated—graduates of colleges and seminaries; of theological, medical, and law schools; of musical conservatories and schools of art... Thorough education, high culture, exalted character, sound judgment, exquisite taste, and eloquent delivery will win their way in spite of prejudice and custom."
Integration at Berea (cont'd)

During this administration Negroes were officers as well as members of all campus organizations. Take the men's literary society, Phil Delta. There were five elective offices, and Negroes were sure to be elected to any two or three of these positions without discrimination. The minute books show that a Negro was just as likely as a white man to be elected president. The Phil Delta weekly programs give first-hand evidence of the good relations existing between the two races. This society consisted of such College and Preparatory men as cared to join, and its motto was "We love discussion." A program consisted of various literary offerings, but a meeting without a debate was rare indeed. In a debate there would be Negroes on each side,

either assigned beforehand or volunteers; but these discussions were carried on with a tradition of interracial forbearance. One night in 1882 the subject for discussion was: "Resolved, that the colored people should emigrate to the mountains of Kentucky." If the debate had been carried on with mountain boys on one side and Negro boys on the other, the situation might have been unfortunate; but with an assigned Negro speaker on each side to lead the discussion, there was no trouble. Upon this occasion, a situation arose that elsewhere might have been decided by prejudice. When the treasurer (white) challenged the negative speaker's right to present his argument because he had an unpaid fine against him, the Negro's privilege of speaking to the question was upheld by a unanimous vote of the house.

A white member of this literary society, and also of the brass band and the baseball team in the Fairchild administration, wrote many years later: "Were I to make a list of former students whom I would genuinely enjoy meeting again, to sit down for a chat over old times, I would find a majority of them colored."
The Commencement programs show the same freedom from caste. In those days instead of an address at the graduating exercises by some out-of-town speaker, numerous orations and essays were presented by upper-class students. The ratio of Negroes to whites on the program was about the same as their ratio in the College Department, and their subjects were usually free from racial implications; for example, "Civil Reform," "A Judicial View of the Labor Question," and "The Mountains of Kentucky."

PROBLEMS OVER BLACK-WHITE SOCIAL RELATIONS

In those times a Ladies' Board of Care assisted the "lady principal" in handling social regulations. When a resignation occurred on this Board in 1878, the Prudential Committee chose a town woman for the vacant place, "providing she is in sympathy with the work of the co-education of the white and coloured." In 1872 after school closed for the year, the trustees spent two days in thoughtful study of social relations between the two races. The decisions of the trustees were in substance as follows: that persons of opposite sex and race should not be prohibited from attending each other to and from social gatherings; but if their going together would expose them to violence or to the charge of impure motives, or if they made "an offensive display of themselves," then they should not receive the lady principal's permission. Under this qualified social freedom the Berea students lived without scandal or undue tension for seventeen years.

At the post-Commencement meeting of the Berea College alumni in 1889, with the presiding officer a Negro alumnus who had become important in Negro education in Kentucky, the alumni approved the principle that had been expressed in a recent baccalaureate sermon, namely, that as human beings they were all equal regardless of race. They requested that the trustees rely on the wisdom of the faculty and the good judgment of the students as to social relations, and on the following day the Board of Trustees acceded to this request.
There was a Negro upon the Board of Trustees before there was a Berea College graduate, Negro or white. This trustee, the Reverend Gabriel Burdett, known to Fee because of their work together at Camp Nelson late in the war, was an eloquent preacher who understood the sensitiveness of educated Negro men. After twelve years as a trustee he was succeeded in 1879 by Jordan C. Jackson, a Negro educator of Lexington, Kentucky, who served Berea for sixteen years, a wise man who was of great help to the Berea administration in its efforts to meet the Negroes' needs in education. The Negroes continued to have a Negro member on this Board until James Bond resigned in 1914.

During the Fairchild administration Berea had two Negro teachers. Miss Julia Britton taught instrumental music, 1870-1872, while she was also a student. James S. Hathaway, after graduating from the College in 1884 with a B.A. degree, was appointed instructor (tutor) in Latin and mathematics. When he did not receive a professorship, his unfulfilled ambition tended to embitter him and some other young Negro intellectuals.
When William G. Frost, professor of Greek in Oberlin College, became the president of Berea College in the autumn of 1892, it was clear that the College was far from prosperous. President Fairchild had been in failing health during the two years before his death, and his successor, the Reverend William B. Stewart, had for two years devoted his attention to teaching rather than to raising money. President Frost, then in his thirty-eighth year, was unwilling to accept the status quo as inevitable.

When he looked over the enrollment figures of the preceding year, 1891-1892, President Frost saw that there had been thirty-one students in the College Department, twenty-two Negroes and nine whites. Aside from the white students whose parents lived in Berea, there were very few mountain students enrolled in the institution as a whole, though President Fairchild had taken so profound an interest in their welfare. The College graduates of the preceding Commencement, five Negro men, greatly interested President Frost. Each of the two classical graduates had studied in Berea for eleven years; the three scientific graduates had been in Berea from ten to thirteen years, taking a term out now and then to earn money. One of the five had enrolled in Oberlin Theological Seminary after his graduation from Berea, and the other four had secured positions as principals of schools for Negroes in Kentucky municipalities.

At the close of his first year in Berea, June, 1893, President Frost delivered to the trustees and faculty a scathing report, of which he had only the milder portions printed. He spoke of "the air of dilapidation about the place," the vacant rooms in the dormitories, and the empty seats in the classes and the Chapel. In his report of June, 1894, he wrote: "Our success in breaking down caste is measured by the number of white students,. . . . Our great work is to reconcile the two races, and make friends for the colored among the white. To this end it is very important that our colored students should be of a superior quality. In this we are fortunate." In his 1895 report he wrote: "The people who contribute money to Berea rather than to Hampton or Atlanta are interested in it as a mixed school, and measure its success by the number of white students."

President Frost increased the total enrollment by increasing the number of white students, leaving the Negro numbers about the same as before. Twelve years after his coming to
Wm G Frost, Pres berea 1892, new policy, more white students peck, berea's first century

Berea the total registration was 961, of whom 157 were Negro, in contrast to the total registration of 1893, which was 854, of whom 184 were Negro students. The actual number of registered Negroes had decreased only 27, but the proportion of Negroes to whites had fallen from 52 per cent to 16 per cent. As Negroes formed about one-seventh of Kentucky's population, this reduction seemed reasonable to President Frost and others. They did not take into account the fact that this change in ratio had caused the Negroes to become a minority group on the campus.

In 1902 President Frost said to the faculty and trustees: "It is no unimportant part of a white boy's education to see the Negro treated as a man. In the final account, Berea's work for the abolition of caste may be the brightest jewel in her crown." Because President Frost's mind was set upon increasing the number of white students, he allowed himself to be drawn into a bitter controversy in the state press, with angry charges and countercharges regarding the future Negro policy of the College. These sharp words tended to weaken his influence among some of his most capable Negro graduates when the crisis of hostile legislation overwhelmed the institution. The interracial truce crumbled under the Negroes' fear that they would soon be excluded from Berea, judging from President Frost's emphasis upon the education of mountain people, who were white, and the steadily decreasing ratio of Negroes to whites in the College.

Soon after the turn of the century there were rumblings that a segregation law might be passed to close Berea as a mixed school. Already Kentucky had a segregation law applying to its public schools. President Frost's anxiety on this matter led him in the fall of 1901 to correspond with several friends in the East in regard to the danger of such legislation. To a prominent Brooklyn minister he wrote:

"We feel that there is a conspiracy throughout the land to defame the colored man and discourage his friends. Last year the light of liberty went out in Tennessee when a law was passed forbidding Maryville College to receive both white and colored students. That college itself ... turned over a portion of its endowment to a neighboring colored school.

"This event happening so near us is occasioning a great deal of 'talk' in Kentucky, and many people think a bill will be introduced in our legislature to bring about the same result. Now it is my judgment that we ought to fight such a law to the very end. I do not see how we can possibly exist under it."
"When President Fairchild came to Berea, Kentucky was full of violence. Some of this was the work of Ku Klux men, but much of it was organized rowdism to avenge old grudges or to keep Negroes in a state of fear and white men in order. In both editions of President Fairchild's history there is the plain statement: 'The Ku Klux never paid us a visit. Many rumors of their hostile intentions have reached us, and rumors that our college buildings and some of our private houses had been burned have been spread through the country; but from what we knew of their operations near us, we did not apprehend any disturbance from them.' There was a certain annoyance from intoxicated country fellows who shouted and occasionally fired their pistols recklessly as they rode through town. Once a shot passed through President Fairchild's window, but it injured no one."

"I have said that the period from 1880 to 1900 was that of the flowering of the liberal arts colleges for Negroes in the South. I believe this can be laid to the fact that it was during this time that the missionary leaders were at the full tide of their strength and vigor. Educated in small northern liberal arts colleges between 1850 and 1870, when humanitarianism was at its best, they carried the tradition to a degree of some perfection in their new foundations for Negroes, however small was the enrollment there. I believe that the period after 1900 marked one of definite decline. The decline was in part due to the decline of the humanitarian spirit at the North, accompanied by the gradual resurgence of suppressed social and economic classes in the South, among white persons. The liberal arts colleges in the South got no new blood from the North; there was none to be transfused."
Problems caused at Berea among white student when blacks admitted in 1866

Rogers, birth of berea, 1970 (1902)

p 106/ "All when prosperously planted near the close of the term, when three colored children were admitted." ** *

"In the primary department, where the children were admitted, no stir was made by the new arrivals. The children hardly noticed their presence, for they had played with them at their homes and were not in the least disturbed. But it was very different in the academic department." Students had been told at morning prayers of their duty, their "Noblesse oblige," their Christian duty, etc.

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"The school went on as usual, but there was an oppression in the air, which every one felt. Finally a young man got up, and with downcast head quietly left the room. Then two or three others, and then some young ladies, but all with a solemnity deeper than that of the grave. When it became evident that no one could possibly think of studies, the principal addressed them again in quiet, persuasive words, and closed by turning to those who were left and asking, 'Will ye also go away?' After that no one left and the school work went on." ** *

"Some of the students who left returned and new ones kept coming, among others those who were still wearing the blue in which they had served in the army. By the next term the ranks were largely filled up."

"The young people who remained, like the Rawlings, Burdettis, Harrisons and others of that sturdy class, unmoved by prejudice, in after years brought honor to themselves, their college and their country."

Student who walked out of Berea, 1866, regrets move.

Rogers, birth of berea, 1970 (1902)

p 109/ student writes from foreign mission field/ begin p 111/ "I was among those who left Berea at the time colored students were admitted." goes on to say he had a hard time, returned even though an unattractive offer to pay his way elsewhere; proud he returned to Berea implied.
"I was born a slave, and obtained my freedom during the war, though previously I had a great many privileges. I had learned to read and a little of arithmetic, when in the winter of 1866-'67 I heard of Berea. I made up my mind to go there at once. ... if I wished to get knowledge there was the spot."

"During the first years after the school was reopened there was a great influx of students from every quarter, and of every shade of complexion. The white students were largely from the mountains, but by no means exclusively. The Blue Grass and counties in Kentucky contiguous to the Ohio River furnished quite a contingent, while some of the brightest and best young people of the North were drawn there by various reasons, the chief motive being the excellent instruction given, the cheapness of living and the cheerful atmosphere of the college, and the blacks came freely. Berea was known as the place where the colored man was treated with kindness and where his children could obtain knowledge."
"The coming of the black people to Berea for a time was phenomenal. Black Valley, a mile away from the college, swarmed with them, from the pickaninny to the old granny in the chimney corner. Berea was the land of promise, and to reach it, with all they had on their backs, or at best in a rickety old cart, was the fulfillment of their hopes. To care for these grown-up, trusting children was a hard task and touched the hearts of the workers, and their pocketbooks as well. The men worked in the fields, the women washed for the folks on the 'hill;' and the aged and helpless were fed from pantries which were never overstocked."
"In the earlier years after the war the influx of colored scholars was such that for a time they slightly exceeded in number the whites, but as good schools for the blacks were opened in various parts of the state and the influx of white students from 'the mountains' and the North increased the ratio was changed. Many think it should be about that of the white to the colored population of the State, six to one, and to this the present ration approximates."

Public sentiment, however, was changing, but not markedly so, for the people could not see that the Negroes by themselves were unable to support an adequate school system.

"A new entirely independent fund and system should be created for the colored people," were the words of Superintendent Henderson in 1873. Not until fifty-six years had passed were equality of instruction and support of colored schools to be established by the decision of the Court of Appeals in the case of State Board of Education v. Brown. In 1874 "An Act Establishing a Uniform System of Public Schools for the Colored Children of the State" was regarded as an advance over the previous laws to establish schools for Negro children. To support this uniform system—uniform in that it was a separately organized state system—taxes were levied on all sources of revenue arising from Negro ownership and Negro activities and placed in a separate fund to be kept inviolate for the schools for colored children. In some counties there were attempts to do more than the law required. The support was still inadequate; and, with that in mind, the legislature passed an act in 1882 to provide an additional tax of two cents for general school purposes. The matter was submitted to a vote of the people who endorsed the legislature's action by a majority of nearly seventeen thousand; and, as a result, the distribution of the school funds was hereafter made on a per capita basis without regard to color.
Now and then the courts were called upon to untangle some of the differences raised by a two-system school organization that permitted varying local taxes for white and colored schools, different boards of trustees, and great gaps in the quality and character of instruction. In the city of Owensboro, use of taxes paid by whites to support white schools, and of taxes paid by Negroes to support colored schools, resulted in a nine-months term for white pupils and a three-months term for Negroes. A Federal district court held this action a denial of equal protection of the law and ruled that the state law permitting the discrimination was in conflict with the fourteenth amendment. In another case, the Kentucky Court of Appeals decided that the act of 1874 was unconstitutional because it violated the principle of equal taxation, in that all the children of the state are entitled to an equal share of the proceeds of all state taxation for the purposes of education. Other questions arose and finally ended in the Court of Appeals. One such case came out of a controversy in Fleming County over the question whether the county board of education should maintain a school for colored children in a graded school district. Since the white taxpayers had established a school for the benefit of white children, the county board was required to maintain the school for colored children within the graded school district, this was in 1929. The courts had declared repeatedly that so far as state taxes and state school funds were concerned there must be equality of use between white and colored children.
In 1865 the school was reopened. Prof. Rogers and family returned, and W. W. Wheeler and wife came from Camp Nelson, as assistants. A charter for a college was obtained under a general law of the State, the Board of Trustees was reorganized, other land was purchased, students came in to the number of seventy-five or more, and everything seemed promising.

When a new question arose, or rather an old question in a practical form. Before the war, when it was decided to "furnish facilities for education to all persons of good moral character," three of the trustees had resigned; for all persons included colored persons. And the discussion of the question, whether, if a colored person should ask for admission to the school, he should be rejected, had greatly diminished the number of pupils. Now the question took a practical shape. Three colored youths asked admission. This raised no difficult question. But one decision was possible to such men; and that was already made. They were "persons of good moral character," and must be admitted. But it was manifest that a tempest of opposition would follow, mobs might rally again, and the school might be broken up. Though duty was plain, the consequence might be like a crucifixion. The morning that those three harmless youths walked in, half the school walked out. The whole country was excited, and, but for the discipline of the war, and the awe produced by the triumph of liberty over slavery, and the abolitionists of Berea over their enemies, doubtless another expulsion would have been chronicled. Rumors of raids came from far, and rowdism sometimes disgraced itself very near. Pistols were discharged by drunken idiots racing through the streets, and occasionally were fired into the buildings. But the opposition generally confined itself to exhibitions of disgust, and published declarations that "Berea is a stench in the nostrils of all true Kentuckians"—delicate words recently published by the State Superintendent of Public Schools, and by our own county paper. But this, we trust, we shall have grace to endure, so long as we know of but one school more patronized by Kentuckians than this, and those, too, the truest Kentuckians that Kentucky can claim. The vacancy made by the white deserters was soon filled with colored recruits, and eventually nearly all that left returned and became fast friends of Berea. At no time have the colored exceeded three-fifths of the school, and the present year, when the attendance was largest, there were two more white than colored.
berea, an interesting history

The days of slavery, and is so very common still that it excludes no one from honorable positions or genteel society. We feel sure also that freedom, education and equality will tend, not to promote, but to cure all social evils. All history proves that the beautiful women in the lower walks of life are a prey to lustful men who look down upon them from a more elevated position. Aside from pure religion we know of no so sure protection for them as social elevation, which carries with it self-respect and commands the respect of others. But all such reasoning aside, we know it can not be dangerous to love our neighbors as ourselves, and do to others as we would that they should do to us. The influence which has kept the colored population in a degraded condition, and still seeks to keep them there, is not love and justice, but lust and oppression. For more than forty years some of us have heard this amalgamation alarm, but it seldom came from those who remembered them that were in bonds as bound with them; but was always loudest, as it still is, from those who have the least care what becomes of either white or colored people, so that their own selfish lives are not interrupted.

We know that many good people have their honest fears on this subject, and we shall always be thankful for their advice and prayers in discharging our most difficult and delicate responsibilities.

DISCUSSION OF INTEGRATION PROBLEMS: AMALGAMATION PROBLEMS

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DISCUSSION OF INTEGRATION PROBLEMS: AMALGAMATION PROBLEMS
Many of our friends desire to know precisely what relations our white and colored pupils sustain to each other, and it is our desire that they should know.

Our school regulations make no distinction whatever on account of color. They recite in the same classes, eat at the same tables, room in the same buildings, attend the same meetings, and meet in all general social gatherings. It is no uncommon thing on such occasions as Thanksgiving and Christmas to see three hundred persons—teachers, pupils and citizens—mingling in the most perfect social equality, without the least friction, or the least sense of impropriety. Do persons of different races and sexes attend each other to and from literary lectures and social assemblies? There is no rule against it, and sometimes they do. If we saw that the parties were in danger of exposing themselves to violence, or special suspicion of improper motives, or were disposed to make an offensive display of themselves, we should interfere to prevent it. If such parties should become especially intimate, and appear to be contemplating a life union, being, as teachers, to a great extent, in loco parentis, we should remind them of the contempt and ostracism society would visit upon them, and if thought necessary communicate with their parents. But even such an alliance, if conducted in other respects with propriety and discretion, would not disturb their relations to the school. Their own judgment, and the social influences bearing upon them, are their best and only necessary protection against an imprudent decision.

"The plan upon which Berea is conducted in regard to the races is not indorsed by a very large proportion of the citizens of the State in which it is located, but these have, as a rule, long ago ceased to exercise even antipathy toward the institution, which, on its part, proceeds upon what it considers its own special mission without any spirit of condemnation for those who think and do differently. There is no doubt that the institution has done a great educational work for classes in Kentucky especially who, at least until the present, would otherwise have been much neglected and among whom there is yet much to be done."
This institution is exclusively for colored persons, and may be called a branch of the State college at Lexington in the sense that the funds of the two institutions are drawn in general from the same sources, the State and Federal Governments, and their courses of instruction are required to be somewhat parallel.

The special demand that called the State Normal School into existence was the need of trained teachers for the colored public schools of the State, and those who may be mentioned as leaders in the effort to bring about its organization are Rev. William J. Simmons, Prof. J. M. Maxwell, Rev. C. H. Parrish, Hon. George W. Gentry, Prof. J. H. Jackson (who has been the principal of the school from its inception), and others, several of them being among the most prominent colored men in Kentucky.

The act establishing the school was approved May 18, 1886,1 and declares its leading object “shall be the preparation of teachers for teaching in the colored public schools of Kentucky.” An annual appropriation of $8,000 was given for the maintenance of the institution, the organization and management of which were committed to a board of trustees, consisting of one member from each of the three superior court districts of the State, to whom was added the State superintendent of public instruction as an ex-officio member and chairman of the board. This board, after receiving proposals for the

1 Chapter 1297, laws of 1886.

location of the institution from Owensboro, Knottsville, Hopkinsville, Bowling Green, Danville, Lexington, and Frankfort, considered the offer of Frankfort the most advantageous, and accordingly located the school there. The State supplemented the donation of Frankfort by an appropriation of $8,700, and a substantial and commodious main building was soon erected on the land granted, which contained about 25 acres and was situated about a mile from the town limits.

John H. Jackson, A. M., a graduate of Berea College and a teacher of several years’ experience, having been elected principal; the school was first opened on October 11, 1887. It was made coeducational from the beginning. Only a normal department was maintained for the first three years, during which time Principal Jackson had only one assistant. Tuition was free in the department to residents of the State who pledged themselves to teach twice as long in the public schools of the State as the period of their attendance. Fifty-five students, from 21 counties of the State, were present the first year, while in 1888-89 there were 57 from 32 counties, and in 1889-90, 74 from 36 counties.

The institution received its proportionate part1 of the Congressional act of July 30, 1862, commonly known as the Morrill Act, and a considerable enlargement in its faculty and in the scope of its work was soon brought about. Its faculty was soon increased to five teachers, and by a legislative act, approved May 22, 1863, agricultural, mechanical, and domestic departments were regularly organized. At the same time the direction of the school was transferred to three trustees, selected from the county in which it is located, instead of the superior court districts, as before, thus securing more direct and therefore more intelligent supervision. Students in the new departments were
also about this time relieved of the pledge to teach in the public schools of the State, to which only normal students were to be required to subscribe. The latter were also, upon graduation, to be granted State certificates, which entitled them to teach in any county of the State without further examination. The course of study was further systematized in such a way as to require a uniform period of three years for graduation in all the departments.

The equipment of the school was soon afterwards improved by the erection of a dormitory for girls, at a cost of $3,000, $2,000 of which came from a legislative appropriation and $1,000 from the trustees of the Slater fund. A mechanical shop, a laundry, and two neat cottages had either already been added or were soon afterwards. These increased facilities soon led to a considerably larger attendance, there being 122 students in 1895 and 152 in 1896-97. Up to the end of 1896 the average attendance in the normal department had been about 100, in the mechanical department about 12, and in the agricultural department, including those to whom lectures were given, about 40. New demands have recently led to a further enlargement of the equipment and means of instruction. In 1896 a professor's cottage was erected, and in 1897, 5 acres of additional land were purchased for the agricultural department. Also, in the autumn of the latter year an addition was made to the main building, at a cost of $3,000, the appropriation for which had been provided for by a legislative act of March 5, 1896. In 1898 the school received its share of the land-grant fund of 1862 for agricultural colleges. This gives to it a permanent endowment fund of $23,025. Its property in 1897 was estimated to be worth about $19,000.

As colored men were excluded from all of the other medical colleges of Kentucky, and, indeed, from those of most States of the Union, this institution was founded to furnish them the appropriate facilities for acquiring a medical education, but its advantages have not yet been offered to men only, as it has been coeducational from its establishment. One of the chief promoters of the enterprise was Dr. H. Fitzhull, who was probably the first colored man in Kentucky to enter upon the regular practice of medicine. He has been dean of the institution since its organization. He had, as early as 1874, begun giving instruction to students in the rudiments of medicine. Dr. Rufus Conrad, also of Louisville, and Dr. W. A. Burney, of New Albany, Ind., had several years later become similarly engaged to some extent.

These preceptors, in 1886, applied to the State legislature for an act authorizing them to establish a regular medical college for their race in Louisville. The bill looking toward this end was introduced late in that legislative session and so was passed over in the rush of other business at the end, but it was taken up at the next session and approved on April 24, 1888.1 This act incorporated the proposed institution under the name of the National Medical College of Louisville, made the 3 teachers above mentioned its first board of trustees, or regents, and conferred upon it the power of granting diplomas "in medicine or surgery, or in both medicine and surgery." This charter also required the students of the school to have studied medicine for three full years and to have taken two full courses of lectures prior to graduation. The practice of the institution from the beginning seems to have required three full courses of lectures for graduation.

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1 Brief Hist. State Normal Sch, Frankfort, Lewis, Hist Higher Ed In Ky (1899)
Its incorporators constituted the principal part of the first faculty of the school, which was regularly opened in the fall of 1888 in a hall on the corner of Ninth and Magazine streets. Instruction had been carried on by the faculty for the past two years in anticipation of the granting of the charter, and 6 students, all of whom had attended other medical colleges as well as and had studied under preceptors for at least four years, were graduated at the first commencement in the spring of 1889, when, for the first time in Kentucky, the degree of M. D. was conferred on a colored man.

In the summer of 1889 the faculty was enlarged, chiefly by the addition of graduates of the school, for which a new and much more suitable building was purchased by the trustees. This building is situated on Green near First street, and had for the previous eleven years been used by the Louisville College of Pharmacy. It was occupied by the National Medical College in the autumn of this year and has since remained its home. Soon after the change of location the faculty completed arrangements for a free dispensary in connection with the institution, where all diseases might be treated and medicines furnished free of charge, thus furnishing clinical advantages to its students. New students entered the second session, but, as none of these had by its close come up to the required standard, only 2 honorary degrees were conferred in 1890 upon 2 aged practitioners.

In 1891 there were 4 regular graduates, one of whom was the first woman in Kentucky to receive the degree of M. D. In 1891-92, 22 students from 7 States, mainly in the South, were in attendance, and at the end of the year 6 degrees were conferred.

In April, 1894, the institution was officially recognized by the Kentucky State board of health as one of the regular medical colleges of the State. In September of this year a preliminary course of about a month's duration, prior to the opening of the regular session, was established and has since been maintained. The regular session extends from October to April.

Beginning with 1896, the college required of all its students attendance upon four years of lectures as a prerequisite to graduation. It also, in this year, in order to furnish proper hospital privileges to its students, opened an auxiliary hospital at 1027-1029 West Green street. This hospital has 12 large rooms, with a capacity for 40 patients, and is open throughout the year.

The number of students in attendance upon the institution has gradually increased in recent years until in 1897-98 there were 42, who represented 10 States of the Union, and Jamaica. There have been from 4 to 8 graduates each year; the total number of degrees conferred up to 1898, inclusive, numbering 54. The school has received some contributions, but has no regular endowment. It was put into operation by funds obtained by subscription and has since been maintained practically entirely by tuition fees.
The institution offers a regular three years' normal course, also a course of the same length in agriculture, in the mechanic arts, and in domestic economy. It has also recently added a department of music, and maintains besides a preparatory course of two years. For the convenience of teachers who can only attend for two out of the three terms of the school year, it maintains a special teachers' course of four years, all of the last of which must be spent in the institution. Its means of instruction are ample, as it has very good workshops and a good complement of educational apparatus generally. It has also laid the foundations of a good working library.

The school has had, up to 1898, inclusive, altogether 66 graduates, mostly, if not entirely, confined to the normal department, which is doing an excellent work in furnishing the colored public schools of the State with well-equipped teachers. The industrial departments of the school are also an important feature, as they are now in a position to become a strong factor in developing the colored population of the State industrially by furnishing to them the opportunity for acquiring the rudiments of useful trades. The institution is doing much to raise the professional standard of the colored teachers of Kentucky as well as stimulating the colored youth of the State to greater industrial usefulness. Much of its success is due to the well-directed efforts of Principal Jackson, who enjoys a national reputation as a teacher among his people. The following is the present faculty, with the chair of each member: John H. Jackson, A. M., president, and professor of didactics, mathematics, and civics; W. D. Thomas, professor of natural sciences and of agriculture; Moses A. Davis, professor of mechanics and of manual training; Mary E. Jackson, professor in the normal department; T. Augustus Reid, professor in the preparatory department; Bettie M. Bailey, matron, and professor of domestic economy. The chair of vocal and instrumental music is at present unoccupied.

School taxes on Negroes and Mulattoes; WHITE CONTROL

Hamlet, Hist of Ed in Ky (1914)

p. 102/ "Negroes and Mulattoes--+
"By an act approved February 16, 1866, all taxes derived from the property of negroes and mulattoes was set aside to be used to provide for taking care of their paupers and the education of their children."

p. 103/ "Such schools were under the white trustees, and the teachers of negro schools were required to hold certificates."

During term of Daniel Stevenson, Sept 3

Public Instruction 1863-1867
SUPT OF PUB INST HENDERSON CALLS FOR SCHS FOR BLACKS

Hamlett, hist of ed in ky, 1914 (Henderson supt 1871-79)

Colored Schools—

“The most perplexing question connected with our school interest is that which relates to the education of the children of the colored people. In every social aspect of the case they constitute a non-conformable element. Different in history and color, there seems to be no natural affinity between them and the white race. After a long subjection to servitude, the colored people have suddenly been elevated to the franchises of American citizenship. Whatever view we may entertain of the propriety of the amendment to the Federal Constitution conferring this dignity upon them, it confronts us as a fact, and necessitates that we should deal with it as a practical problem, pressing upon us for its proper solution. If education be the basis of civil order, then to elevate the ignorant Africans, who are invested with the tremendous power of suffrage, becomes at once a necessary duty. It has been truly said: “An uneducated ballot is the winding-sheet of liberty.”

I presume that candid men of all parties will agree that the mixing of the races in the common schools would dismember the system; yet the colored people ask that something should be done for them to aid in the education of their children and we should not be so imbecile as to dismiss their outcry without even thinking over the whole field of, at least, ascertain what might be done for them without injury to the whites. I am opposed to a division of the present school fund. It is already inadequate to the establish-

ment of such schools as we require among the whites. Its further distribution to about 100,000 colored pupil children—to be employed, necessarily, in separate schools—would seriously injure the white children, without correspondingly benefiting the blacks. In many counties the amount received by the colored people would be totally inadequate to the support of a single school, as the black population is so sparse in many sections of our State. The result of a distribution of the school fund would be very disastrous to many of the mountain counties, where population is sparse, and where any reduction of their receipts would amount to a foreclosing of their schools. Estimate that there are 275,000 pupil white children that, under the present system of distribution, receive per capita, $2.35. Add 100,000 colored pupil children and you take from each white child about fifty cents, reducing the pro rata to $1.85. Now it is
clear that while such a county as Fayette would double its receipts from the school fund, such a county as Whitley, having but a small colored population, would lessen its receipts by about fifteen hundred dollars. This would tell disastrously upon the school interests of Whitley county. Nor would the character of the schools be benefited in Fayette. The trustees of the white schools would have half a dollar less to the pupil child to give the teacher, and as the wages of the instructor went down the scale, the quality of the teacher would sink also.

The counties most remote from educational advantages of private schools would suffer most by the arrangement, and these counties are those most likely to be benefited in the largest degree by a system of public schools.

No blow could be struck our school system more fatal to its interests than legislation which would lessen the pro rata which each white pupil child is now receiving. We need more money than we have in order to secure thorough efficiency. We have thought over the whole question patiently, and have discovered nothing better to recommend than this: Give all the taxes paid by colored citizens to the education of their children.

In addition to the taxes now disposed of, tax their property twenty cents on the one hundred dollars more—the same the whites are taxed—and let the whole amount of revenue from them, for five years, be applied to the education of colored children. Let each county have the benefit of the taxes collected therein. While, by this plan, the scattered colored population of many counties would receive but little benefit, in the populous centers the fund would be sufficiently large to at least form a nucleus around which private enterprise might rally, resulting in the establishment of respectable schools.

In many rural localities the whites would aid the colored people by supplementing the fund by private contributions, if not from motives of philanthropy, from considerations of policy, as a school near at hand for the education of their children would add greatly to the permanent reliability of the labor of the parents.
The same Legislature passed an act establishing a system of schools for colored children. This system of schools was supported by taxes upon the property of colored people, the rate of taxation being 45 cents on each $100 of taxable property. In addition to this property tax there was a poll tax of $1.00 on each male colored person and all taxes collected on dogs owned by colored persons together with all State taxes on deeds, suits, and licenses collected from colored persons. To these sources of revenue was added all the fines, penalties and forfeitures collected from colored persons, except the amount allowed attorneys. Thus it will be seen that all taxes paid by colored people went into their own school fund.+

"This system of schools was placed in charge of the white school officers, except that each negro school was to have three negro trustees. In other respects the system was modeled after the white system."

EXTRACT: REPT. OF J. D. PICKET, SUPT OF ED, 1879-1887: BLACK SCHOOLS 90

"Colored Schools---

"It follows, then, that in the System of Colored Schools, the range of school age, the length of school terms, the course of study and the qualification of teachers should correspond with those of the System of White Schools. This would be wise and just. Or, in other words, all the pupil-children of the Commonwealth should enjoy equal privileges for preparing for intelligent citizenship. The State, by judicious legislation, must be relieved, as far as may be practicable, from the immense mass of ignorant citizenship which was imposed upon it.+

"The question of the Colored Schools in this Commonwealth has assumed serious and prominent importance. The people must know their condition, for the problem must be practically and properly solved, and the Superintendent will spare neither time or toil in assisting in the solution, and he, now, emphatically repeats that the Colored Department, a System in itself, will continue to need for years to come, the friendly, fostering care and supervision of white officials."
taken suddenly and seriously ill early in the spring of 1909, and died within a few weeks. He was president of the Eastern Normal for almost three years and, during this time, rendered the State and the institution a highly efficient and patriotic service. He died while in the harness and while fighting for the children of Kentucky. He gave his life in order that the children of Kentucky might have life and have it more abundantly.

Dr. J. G. Crabbe, who, at the time of the death of Dr. Roark, was State Superintendent of Public Instruction, was unanimously elected president of the Eastern Normal, and is at this time ably serving the State in that capacity. President Crabbe was not an applicant for the position.

THE KENTUCKY NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE FOR COLORED PERSONS.

The passage of a law, in 1873, creating a common school system for the colored children of the State, made it necessary that some steps be taken toward the securing of competent teachers for said schools. In 1877, Hon. H. A. M. Henderson, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, called a convention of the colored teachers of the State at Frankfort, to organize a Colored Teachers' State Association. The organization was effected, pursuant to said call, and Prof. J. H. Jackson, of Lexington, was chosen President. At the first meeting of the Association, at Danville, August 7, 1878, President Jackson, in his annual address, strongly advocated the establishment of a State Normal School for the training of colored teachers. He was most warmly supported by Profs. J. M. Maxwell, of Louisville, and Will M. Jackson, of Lexington, who, with President Jackson, were probably the most prominent members of the association at that meeting. The matter thus brought before the public, continued to be agitated until 1885, when, through a convention held at Lexington on the 25th of November of that year, of which Rev. Wm. J. Ellmons was Chairman, and a second convention held at Frankfort, January 26, 1886, of which Prof. Wm. H. Mayo was Chairman, an appeal was made to the authorities, which resulted in the establishment of the "State Normal School for Colored Persons," by an act of the Legislature, approved by Governor J. Proctor Knott, May 18, 1886.

An appropriation of $7,000 for the purpose of erecting a recitation building was granted, and an annual appropriation of $5,000 was allowed for the payment of teachers. The Board of Trustees, at the opening of the school, was Hon. J. D. Pickett, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Chairman, Hon. J. C. Himball, Lexington; Colonel John Q. Hedges, Lexington, and Hon. C. U. McElroy, of Bowling Green.

The City of Frankfort, through its Council, Colonel E. H. Taylor, Jr., Mayor, donated $1,500 for the purchase of a site for the school and making arrangements for the erection of the buildings and cleaning the grounds.

On October 11, 1887, with John H. Jackson, A. M., (Berea College), as President; C. C. Monroe, A. M., Assistant, and Mrs. Mary B. Monroe, as Matron, the institution opened on its present site, since known as "Normal Hill." The frame cottage in the rear of the main buildings was erected in the fall of 1887. Fifty-five students were in attendance the first session of the school, and, seeing an increase in the number, Miss Ida Joyce (now Mrs. Ida Joyce Jackson) was elected to a position as teacher. The same year (1888), the house now occupied by the President was built. Eighty-eight ($8) pupils were enrolled during the session of 1888-89.
In 1890, in order to secure the Federal appropriation under the "Morrill Law," temporary departments of agriculture, mechanics and domestic economy were organized, and in 1891 permanent organizations having been effected, Professor Monroe became Professor of Agriculture; Prof. Moses Alexander Davis, Professor of Mechanics, and Mrs. Ida Joyce Jackson, Instructor in Domestic Economy. Rev. William A. Credit, D. D., was elected Instructor in the Normal Department.

In 1891, Hon. Ed. Porter Thompson became Superintendent of Public Instruction and Chairman of the Board of Trustees. The General Assembly in 1893 passed an act giving the school a local trustee board, and Dr. E. E. Hume, Mr. John W. Gaines and Mr. P. H. Carpenter were appointed trustees. Mr. Carpenter died in 1894, and Colonel S. C. Sayres was appointed his successor. The same Legislature appropriated $2,000, to be put with $1,000 given by the trustees of the Slater Fund, for the purpose of building a mechanical shop and a dormitory for young women. The trustees of the Slater Fund gave $2,000, and in 1894 the two-story frame dormitory (now used for boys) was erected for girls, and in 1895 the mechanical shop was built. The same act that secured the $2,000 gave the school the right to confer State diplomas on its graduates. The class of 1894 was the first to receive State diplomas.

William J. Davidson became Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1895. In 1897 the Legislature appropriated $5,000 to erect additions to the main building, and the annual appropriation was increased $1,400. At the same time, $4,289.90 was received from the Federal Government. The present chapel and rooms below were built in 1897 and dedicated on October 5 of that year.

President Jackson resigned in 1898 and accepted the Presidency of Lincoln Institute. James E. Givens, A. B. (Harvard) was elected President in 1898, and held the position two years. He was succeeded in 1900 by James S. Hathaway, A. M., M. D. (Berea College and Louisville National Medical College). President Hathaway served seven years, resigning in 1907.

In 1898, for the purpose of extending the advantages in the Agricultural Department, the Board of Trustees purchased a farm on the Versailles-Georgetown pike, and opposite the main school grounds. There are 265 acres in the farm tract, and the soil is fertile and very productive. In 1900, in order to secure a frontage for the main grounds and to relieve the crowded and cramped condition of the building and grounds, the old "Purdy" property was purchased by the Board of Trustees.

By an act of the General Assembly in 1899, the name of the school was changed from "The State Normal School for Colored Persons" to "The Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute for Colored Persons," and the President of the institute was made an ex-officio member of the Board of Trustees. The same Legislature gave $15,000 for erecting a new dormitory for girls and $5,000 per annum for a maintenance fund for current expenses. The cornerstone of the girls' hall was laid in 1900, but it was not till 1905 that the building was occupied, and then partially.

In 1906, the General Assembly again remembered the Institute by appropriating $20,000 for finishing the girls' dormitory and putting in a water plant. This was done in 1907.

Prof. John H. Jackson was again elected President of the Institute in 1907, Hon. James H. Fuqua was Superintendent of Public Instruction from 1904 to 1908, and was ever on the lookout for the improvement of the school. Hon. J. G. Crabbe became Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1908, and Chairman of the Board of Trustees.
STATE UNIV OF LOUISVILLE (COLORED BAPTISTS) Brief description 92

Hamlet, hist of ed in ky (1914)

p 327/ founded 1879 by Colored Baptists; has in 1899 3 brick bldgs and
almost 4 acres of ground on Kentucky Street between 7th and 8th streets;
student body of 200 to 300 per annum; newest bldg is Domestic Science
Building erected through the efforts of the colored women of the state
/begin p 328/ trains colored women in all branches of domestic science.
has a normal dept; Theological Dept; Millinery, Sewing and Dressmaking
Dept; a Commercial Dept for practical business training; literary and
Collegiate work coordinated with industrial training; 12 teachers in
1899; Rev William T. Amiger, A. M., D. D. pres 1894-99; supported by
donations from individuals, churches, associations, convention of
York contributes eleven hundred dollars ($1,100) annually. The Women's
American Baptist Home Mission Society (white), of Chicago, donates two
hundred and seventy dollars annually. The colored people of Kentucky,
for the most part Baptists, but including others also, have contributed
since 1879, one hundred and fifty thousand dollars ($150,000)."

SHORT BIOG OF BLACK POET: JOS S COTTER

j s cotter, links of friendship, 1898

p iii/ (introduction) by Thomas D. Watkins Q C J?

"Joseph Seamon Cotter was born in Nelson County, Kentucky, in 1861,
but has spent practically all his life in Louisville. He had the
scantiest opportunity for schooling in childhood, though he could read
before he was four years old. He was put to work early, and from his
eighth to his twenty-fourth year earned his living by the roughest
and hardest labor, first in a brick-yard, then in a distillery, and
finally as a teamster. At twenty-two his scholarship was so limited that
when he entered the first one of Louisville's night schools for colored
pupils, he had to begin in the primary department. His industry and
capacity were so great that at the end of two sessions of five months each
he began to teach. He has persevered in this calling, educating himself
while at work, and is now the Principal of the Colored Ward School at
Eighth and Kentucky streets. The man whose advice and encouragement
at the beginning chiefly enabled him to accomplish this was Prof. /begin
p. iv/ W. T. Peyton, a well-known colored educator of this city, whom he
regards as his greatest benefactor.+

"Mr. Cotter is wholly self-taught in English literature and composition.
He fell naturally into rhyming when he wa began to write, but he received no
instruction beyond the most elementary hints as to meter. Whatever he has
done since has been the result of unaided effort. Six years ago several of
his poems appeared in the Courier-Journal, this being his first publication
outside of one or two newspapers conducted by men of his own race," says he
makes no pretense; calls poems "cheerful optimism and reverent faith"
On December 18, 1865, with the final adoption and promulgation of the Thirteenth Amendment all slaves throughout the United States not hitherto liberated were now freed. The Freedman's Bureau had already been instituted and with the coming of the Thirteenth Amendment it was extended to Kentucky, despite her protests that she had never seceded and should, therefore, not be subjected to this method of dealing with problems in the conquered territories. But the Federal Government believed it was necessary for the proper care of the liberated negroes in the state. It should look after their schools, their laboring conditions, protect them in its special courts in the enjoyment of their new-born liberties, and see that oppressive contracts were not entered into with their former masters.32

For the next two years it grew into the most detested institution the state had ever been forced to endure. Well-meaning and honest as many of its officers were, it failed to grasp the spirit of the state or to recognize it in any way. By the end of 1868, its activities were restricted to Louisville, and finally in 1873 it was removed altogether. This bureau had its own courts where the negroes were supposed to be given justice, since it was contended that the state courts would not grant them justice and, indeed, could not until the disabilities against negroes were removed. One of the direct results of these Freedman's Bureau courts was to develop in the minds of the negroes the feeling that they were not amenable to state authority, which led them into an unruly attitude toward the state laws and courts. The Kentucky Yeoman said, "The Federal officers are in the habit of taking from the State officers persons arrested for crime, where a negro is concerned, whether the person arrested be a white man or a negro, and of removing him to the Federal Courts for trial."33 Soon after the Freedman's Bureau entered the state the Legislature sought to drive it out by a law which made it a felony for any persons "pretending to act under the civil or military authority of this state or the United States," who should, without the warrant of law, collect money "under the pretense of a fine, tax, duty, or contribution, or as being due to the verdict of any pretended court."34

It was largely due to this interference by the Freedman's Bureau that the state took the attitude it did regarding negro testimony in the courts as well as other civil rights withheld for a time from the negroes. As the negroes were freed in the latter part of 1865, it was necessary to immediately repeal the slave code and make provisions for them as freemen. In February, 1866, negroes were given virtually all civil rights held by white people, except that negro testimony could not be used as evidence against whites. However, negroes were competent witnesses in civil suits where only negroes were concerned, and in criminal suits where a negro was the defendant. A contest was now precipitated for the admission of negro testimony in the state courts which took up the time of the Legislature during every session until 1872, when finally a law was passed declaring that "No one shall be incompetent as a witness because of his or her race or color."35 During the same session the benefits of the Homestead Act, which had hitherto been withheld from the negroes, was granted "irrespective of race or color."
Directly after the war there sprang up a species of lawlessness engaged in by bands of people called Regulators, the Ku Klux Klan, and other designations in particular localities. It was almost the natural resultant of the disorganization produced by the guerilla gangs during the war. The natural inclination of much of that element toward lawlessness was gratified first in the Regulator bands; later the Ku Klux Klan began to operate under restraint, and when the better element abandoned it, the name was used by the most depraved, who vented their private grudges against every class, color and sex. The workings of the Freedman's Bureau were instrumental in starting the Klan; the negroes, relying on the protection of this Bureau against state courts, became exceedingly boisterous and troublesome. An epidemic of thefts broke out, followed by rape and murder. Being unable to bring the criminals to justice in state courts, men of respectability used the Klan to protect themselves and their people. The ignorant and designing took up this cudgel for their meanest ends, because they knew that negro testimony could never be used to convict them in the state courts. The dangers in the situation were soon evident, and the better element of the state rose up to put an end to this carnival of crime. The granting of negro testimony was urged as one remedy; and the varied powers of the state to deal with crime was held by many as sufficient if honestly applied. Governors referred successively in their messages to the un-

33 Jan. 30, 1871.
of the military, the address of the governor removing him from office was unjust, "and the proceedings of the said General Assembly against him were a violation of the spirit of the Constitution (which guarantees to every man a fair and impartial trial); a flagrant outrage upon his Constitutional rights; a manifest violation of all rules of equity and justice, and an insult to the honor and dignity of the Commonwealth of Kentucky."51

The political hold of the democrats on the state was not shaken for years to come and their complacency of mind was not to be disturbed until the Fifteenth Amendment gave them a scare with negro suffrage in 1870. By the end of 1867 the Democratic Union Conservatives had agreed to come back within the democratic fold, with the understanding that they should be given more influence in the party councils hereafter. As Governor Helm died five days after his inauguration, Stevenson became governor during the interval until a new election should be held. The next year (1868) was important in the political affairs of the state as the presidential election came in addition to the special gubernatorial contest. In the early part of the year Thomas C. McCreey was elected to the United States Senate to fill the unexpired term of James Guthrie, who had resigned on account of ill health. The Union candidate, Sidney M. Barnes, received only nine votes to 110 for McCreey. Preparations were made early in the year for the gubernatorial election. The democrats, now united, nominated Stevenson, and the radicals chose R. T. Baker. The latter party had reached a rather low ebb in its fortunes, and during the campaign it failed to develop as great activity as had characterized it heretofore. It, therefore, should have caused little surprise anywhere, when on August 3, the democrats carried the state by the greatest majority in the history of the party, and the radicals fell to a new low level. The democratic majority was 88,965—Stevenson receiving 115,560, and Baker, 26,605. This unprecedented majority was surprising to the democrats themselves. A Lexington editor said, "We have known that a mighty evolution was going on in the minds of the people against radical rule, but we did not think, encouraging as everything seemed, that Stevenson would receive a larger majority than ever before was given to any candidate for office in Kentucky."52 The presidential election in November brought out a considerably larger vote for the radicals but not sufficiently important to prevent the state from going for Seymour by more than 75,000 majority.53 The democrats also succeeded in electing a full delegation to Congress. In the elections of 1869 the democrats succeeded in driving the radicals to new low levels in their popular vote and in their representation in the Legislature. The democrats easily elected the state treasurer, J. W. Tate, with their opponents polling only 24,759 votes for E. R. Wing. The radicals succeeded in electing only eight members to the House, and holding two in the Senate. This Legislature in its first session elected Governor Stevenson to the United States Senate to take office in 1871.

The radical party in Kentucky had now sunk to about the limits necessary for existence, and it was plainly evident that something would have to be done to resuscitate it and put it on the highroads to power and respectability among Kentuckians. It would have to abandon the extreme radicalism of the Congressional group, from whom it had largely taken its inspiration in time past. The national political situation made this transition easy. With the inauguration of Grant as President, Congress ceased to stand apart in its leadership and more conservativism was
soon apparent in the treatment of the South. A saner program and
der leaders became apparent about this time, and the so-called radical
party was metamorphosed into the republican party of today. Such
conservative men as John M. Harlan made the real republican party in
Kentucky. There was also a gleam of hope in the enfranchisement of
the negroes, who would vote for the first time in the elections of 1870.
If this question were tactfully managed the republicans could expect
expected to come within striking distance of offices from which they had long
been far removed.

But negro suffrage was a dangerous political experiment for a party
to hope to profit by in Kentucky. The negro question in its various
aspects had been a continuous firebrand throughout the war and after.
The democrats looked with many misgivings on this sudden enfranchise-
ment of former slaves not only as an unwise political experiment, but also
as a danger to their continuance in power. It was of no avail to them to
condemn this brazen attempt to subvert a people and destroy their civil-
ization; something had to be done in a practical way to stay its progress
as far as possible. It was, of course, taken as an established conclusion
that the negro vote would go to the republicans; but some democrats
held that their party should not spurn negro votes nor assume such an
attitude as would make it virtually impossible for a negro to vote the
democratic ticket. Henry Watterson was using the power of his pen in
the Courier-Journal to set the democrats into a reasoning attitude on
this subject as well as in other respects. He would have them recognize

63 Lexington Observer and Reporter, Aug. 8, 1868.
64 Tribune Almanac, 1869.
the negroes to demand a division of the offices and to seek political equal­
ity along all lines with their republican allies. A Georgetown editor
dared "the radicals of Fayette or Scott to be just to the negro by nomi­
ating him for office." Of course, the republicans could not jeopardize
their white following by placing negroes on their ticket. The same
disturber of the republicans exclaimed, "Negroes! you have been cheated
by your professed friends. You have a large majority in the party and
can control its action. You are entitled to a majority of the nomination,
and you have been put off with idle promises." The republicans
sought to hold the negroes true to them and consoled themselves with
the thoughts that "Elections in Kentucky hereafter won't be the one­sided affairs of 1867, 1868, and 1869." The first elections of 1870 were for county officers, which took place
in August. None of the dire results or political overturns that had been
both hoped for and feared came to pass. On the contrary there were
few disturbances and the democrats won as usual, but with reduced
majorities. The democrats had successfully kept down the negro vote
by election tricks. Negroes were questioned long and extensively before
being allowed to cast their ballots; they were made to produce tax
receipts, and in general the handling of the negroes was done with
delay. It was declared by the republicans that whites were passed by
the ballot box about four times faster than negroes. Even the critical
Cincinnati Daily Commercial could say of the fairness of the election,
"There was a wholesome respect for the law, and a resigned spirit of
obedience to existing statutes. Various dodges were resorted to to keep
the blacks from the polls, but there were but few instances where a col­
ored vote was rejected, when it was apparent that the voter was in all
particulars qualified." The democrats felt that their worst fears had
not been justified and were able to dismiss the subject thus: "We have
seen it and had it—negro suffrage in all its gorgeousness and have smelt
it in the passing breeze." A few negroes voted the democratic ticket,
and were rewarded with new suits of clothes and Thunder neckties to
be the envy of many of their republican friends.

In November the Congressional elections were held and the imme­
diate results of negro suffrage on the strength of the republican vote
is very clearly shown, according to the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congressional District</th>
<th>Vote in 1868</th>
<th>Vote in 1870</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1,731</td>
<td>2,913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>3,538</td>
<td>5,499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>2,303</td>
<td>5,057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>1,751</td>
<td>3,831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>1,525</td>
<td>5,246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>6,183</td>
<td>4,578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>2,373</td>
<td>10,916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>9,801</td>
<td>12,202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>6,551</td>
<td>6,242</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But despite the addition of negro votes the democrats won all nine
Congressmen, carrying the state by a total majority of over 31,000.
In 1871 the first gubernatorial election under negro suffrage was held. The republicans were distinctly on the road to greater influence and power in the state. The Louisville Commercial, the first republican daily newspaper of high standing to be established in the state, was started about this time and it began a campaign to put the party on a higher plane. It advised the republicans to ostracise the self-seeking so-called leaders who were attempting to use the negro vote for selfish ends. It also asked the negroes particularly to avoid them. The party sought to banish from its program the meaningless sectional issues used to fan into flames national prejudices and to confine its discussions to problems of direct interest to the state. Railroads should be encouraged and schools should be aided. John M. Harlan was nominated for governor and the party now began to play a new role with new leaders. An optimistic republican in the Louisville Commercial said of the new prospects, "The long, dark, dreary night of republicanism in Kentucky is fast passing away; the grey streaks which foretell the coming day are plainly visible over the murky horizon, and if we act wisely, ere long our sun will shine forth in noonday splendor." Harlan carried out a vigorous campaign, causing the democrats much worry and concern. Preston H. Leslie was nominated by the democrats on a platform which looked to the past more than to the future. The republicans sought to inject the question of the Cincinnati Southern Railroad into the campaign and promised their willingness to aid this great undertaking if

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41 Aug. 8, 1861.
42 Georgetown Weekly Times, quoted in Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Aug. 8, 1870.
43 See Georgetown Weekly Times, Aug. 3, 1870.
44 Nov. 5, 1870.
Before the negroes were given full civil rights, it was seen that, since they were a part of the permanent population of the state, they should be given the advantages of an education. By 1874 a separate school fund and school system had been set up for them. This fund was made up principally of taxes collected from the negroes, including a tax of $1 on each male over twenty-one years of age. This fund was to profit on a pro rata basis from any donations or grants from the United States Government. The state was districted, with no division to have more than 120 children between the ages of six and sixteen. Three colored trustees managed each district, hiring the teachers and providing for the general facilities. The law specifically provided that no negroes might attend schools for white people and vice versa. Schools for the whites and for the negroes had to be at least one mile apart in the country and 600 feet in towns or cities. In 1877 there were 532 schools being taught for negroes.

But it was soon evident that little headway could be made in educating the negroes from merely the taxes they could pay. Although it seemed unfair to many to use taxes paid by white people for negro education, the more progressive saw the general good to be gained by raising the level of the colored population. The governor said in his message of 1878: "There are, without doubt, material benefits to be derived from the education of all human beings; and it is to be hoped that the colored people will show their appreciation of the system presented to them by cultivating a healthy sentiment in favor of education and by sending their children to school so as to prepare them to exercise the privileges of voting intelligently, and enjoy to the fullest extent all the sacred rights of freedmen." The negroes owned $3,541,369 of property in 1878 and paid $14,878.51 in taxes, while the white people held property valued at $334,019,676 and paid $1,416,078.70 in taxes. In order to supply better negro teachers the state set up a negro normal school in Frankfort and appropriated $3,000 annually for expenses. The negroes themselves awoke to their needs and their lack of facilities, and in different meetings and conventions asked for equal school opportunities with the whites. The law on the division of the school fund was soon changed so as to include negro children on an equality with white children in a per capita division of the money. In 1888 the negroes received for school purposes almost $166,000, although they paid in taxes little more than $12,500. In 1890 they were given almost $240,000 for school purposes. The principle of equality in the division of the school fund was incorporated in the constitution of 1891 in the following clause: "In distributing the school fund no distinction shall be made on account of race and color, and separate schools for white and colored children shall be maintained." The negroes of today are well abreast of their opportunities in the schools of the state. In 1916 there were 33,789 colored children enrolled in the elementary schools.

With the coming of the twentieth century an educational awakening took place remarkable in its strength. In 1908 J. G. Crabbe fired this new interest, and, in the words of one commenter, awakened "a popular demand for advanced educational legislation, the greatest change in public sentiment in two years that has ever been known in any state.
Dr. Hopson felt a deep concern in the future of the colored race. He felt that some steps ought to be taken to educate a ministry of their own color to go among them and preach the gospel as taught by our brethren. He determined to inaugurate a Bible school to be taught in Louisville.

He met with considerable opposition and not much encouragement. There was no house for the school to meet in; there was no place for the pupils to board, and, if there had been, they had no money to pay with, and where would the school procure a teacher? All these objections were urged.

A good many of the brethren gave to the work because they would give to any work that the Doctor urged upon them, but with little faith in the result. By September the school room and church were ready and a teacher procured—Bro. C. H. Moss. The brethren had secured homes for as many as had made application. The school opened with twenty-one or twenty-two. We took one, and he proved a faithful servant. They all were more than willing to work for their board, so anxious were they to gain an education. Dr. Hopson visited the school two or three times a week until they were fully under way with their studies.

He presented their claims to the Missionary Board at Indianapolis the following October, and they promised and gave some assistance in the way of paying teacher and furnishing books. Brethren Haley, Galt Miller, Dr. H. and others would frequently preach for the colored church which grew up rapidly around them.

I will here insert three letters—one from Bro. Julius Graves, preaching in Paris; one from H. S. Berry, and one from Preston Taylor.

"PARIS, Ky., May 26, 1886.

"MRS. ELLA L. HOPSON:

"Dear Sister:—It seems to me that an attempt to give a history of Dr. Hopson’s life would be incomplete without a chapter devoted to that cause which he always took so much pleasure in; namely, the welfare of the colored people, and especially the preaching of the gospel of Christ among them. Therefore I write this letter without any attempt at eulogistic painting, but simply as acquaintance and thankfulness dictate.

"It was in the pleasant month of September, 1873, that I arrived in the city of Louisville, Ky., to attend the Bible School opened by the General Missionary Board for the education of worthy and energetic colored men to preach and teach among their own people. Dr. Hopson was chairman of the committee that operated and controlled the above-named school. My name was the first enrolled on the school register as a student of the Bible School.

"On landing in the city among strangers, having been previously directed, I at once sought the residence of Bro. J. B.
Smith, who was at that time pastor of the colored church. I remained with him all night, and the next morning, in company with several other young men, all intended students, we sought the office of Dr. Hopson, and found him seated in his library hard at work. A rap at the door had the welcome response, 'Come in, young brethren.'

"When all were seated, then began the planning for our homes and comfort while we were to attend school. We were almost without money, there not being more than ten dollars among us all, thus making us almost entirely dependent upon Dr. Hopson. He set about getting us homes among the people of Louisville. A few efforts soon secured us homes, where we worked nights and mornings, Saturdays and Sundays too, with few exceptions, to pay for our board and lodging.

"The school opened, with Prof. C. H. Moss as teacher. Dr. Hopson never ceased to appeal to the people in behalf of the Colored Bible School. It is said, 'The evil that men do lives after them, the good is often interred with their bones.' The interest manifested by Dr. H. toward the colored people, and the good done by him, can never be forgotten. Today the pulpits of Baltimore, Indianapolis, Montgomery, Jacksonville, Mt. Sterling, Carlisle, Millersburg, Louisville, Paris, Xenia, and many others, are filled with men educated at the Louisville Bible School. In fact, I know but few successful preachers in the Christian Church who did not get their training in this school.

"There are none of us that know the Doctor as well as I do, for I lived with him during my entire stay in the school, and it was in his house I heard the Lord praised daily." and for the first time in my life I witnessed family worship, although I was eighteen years old.

"I never visit Louisville but that I take a walk on Seventh Street, and it is with keen pleasure I look up at 105, for God knows it is a dear spot to me.

"While I write, my heart swells with emotion and thankfulness to God for having given the world this great and good man—Dr. Hopson. I can not close this letter without saying that his wife united wholly with him in his efforts to help the students. No one ever went to their door for food or aid but that they received it, even though it cost a sacrifice for them to give it.

"May God's blessing rest upon the Doctor and his wife while they live, and may all the boys—students—meet them in Paradise.

"I am truly yours,

J. C. Graves"

"Millersburg, Ky., Dec. 9, 1886.

"Mrs. E. L. Hopson:

"My Dear Madam:—Nothing could give me more pleasure than a compliance with the request expressed in your letter. An expression on the part of a student of the Louisville Bible School of the high esteem in which the great man whose life you are now writing was held by the students, requires no studied diction, but flows naturally forth from an appreciative heart. I
feel assured that every student will acquiesce in the statements herein made.

"He was respected because his manly bearing demanded it; he was honored because he labored to establish a medium through which the blessings of that God, and the love of that Christ that had touched his heart, might touch the hearts of a down-trodden and long-oppressed people; he was loved because he was good and great in noble deeds, and the book we all should love teaches us to be 'lovers of good men.'

"He saw the need of an educated ministry to rescue the race from a religious Babylon; hence his earnest efforts to attain that end. Even in securing homes for the young men none did more than he, and few as much. His great physique was foremost in the van; his great mind led in counsel, and his great heart was aglow with zeal to preach the gospel to the poor. He assisted in sowing seeds that have grown to great trees, and the birds are resting in the boughs thereof.

"Painful will it be to all our hearts to learn the sad news that Time is touching him heavily. God grant that the days that yet remain may catch copious gleams of pleasure from the path of past usefulness, and more still from the promised home above. The tenderest sympathies of my poor heart are with you now, and my prayers are that the sands that are now passing the glass may be sands of gold, while time binds your hearts closer to the eternal shore.

"With deep sympathy, I am

Very Respectfully Yours,

H. S. Berry.

Bro. Preston Taylor, another Bible student of the

Louisville school, sends me the following tribute to the

Doctor:

"NASHVILLE, Tenn., April 1, 1887.

"Mrs. W. H. Hopson:

"Dear Madam:—Having understood you are writing the history of your noble husband's life, I would feel derelict in duty if I not offer my congratulations on your undertaking, though I am persuaded you nor any other author can do such a character justice. No one can know the result of his life-work until it is unfolded to us in the great hereafter.

"His kind words, noble deeds and good works, both private and public, are written on thousands of hearts; some of them are witnesses before the throne of God, while others are still here. He has distinguished himself as an orator, minister, writer and counselor. This world has given us few men his equal in all that goes to make up a great worker for the good of his fellow-men. He is humane in the broadest sense. He is not bound in his sympathy by race, color or condition; but wherever the commission of Jesus pointed him, he went and has always done his whole duty.

"While pastor of the Fourth and Walnut Street Church, in Louisville, he secured a minister for the colored people, fitted up
a hall, and had the work begun among them; and as soon as a good congregation had been organized, he had a lot bought and a good, substantial brick edifice built on it for them. And through his timely act we have a large congregation in that city now; and when a Bible School was opened, largely through his influence, for the benefit of the colored young men of our church to study for the ministry, he secured homes for them (taking one in his own family), where they could secure board and lodging for their work while attending school.

"He has been one of the strong men of the Reformation, and his great powers have been used to bring many, many thousands to acknowledge the power of the cross.

"His untimely affliction is mourned by the whole brotherhood, and their prayers of sympathy ascend to the Giver of all good in his behalf.

"He is my father in the gospel, and a large share of my success in the ministry is due to him. His advice and counsel have always been freely given.

"A rich reward awaits him in the kingdom of God, and many will be the stars in his crown of glory.

"Very Respectfully,

"PRESTON TAYLOR."

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"The Freedman's Bureau, one of the most offensive engines of reconstruction to the white people of Kentucky, and of the whole south, and, as it eventually proved, a curse to the colored people, developed new evils, and that too, of a most exasperating type." /begin p 475/ says the freeing of a large number of ignorant blacks terrible; forced crime on them; "bred a spirit of lawlessness". /begin p. 482/ "It is highly commendable in the colored people that they evince so great an interest and enthusiasm in the cause of education, and proves that they are desirous of improving themselves, and of becoming good and respectable citizens. In some sections of the State they are taking really more interest in the public schools than the whites." goes on to give statement of Henderson on black education. /begin 484/ With regard to Berea: "The admission of colored pupils caused considerable excitement, and half the white pupils deserted the institution. But their places were soon filled, and the requisite qualifications for admission into the institution still remained--'a good moral character.'"
p 605/ "At the close of the war the teachers returned, and found their homes and buildings uninjured. They at once opened a school into which both races were received upon equal footing. This was a source of great astonishment to the white Kentuckians for a time; but they finally began to send their children, and now the regular proportion of white students is about two-fifths, many of whom are young ladies. The annual commencement exercises bring together audiences of a thousand or fifteen hundred persons, black and white, ex-Confederate and Unionist, who look approvingly upon the progress of students of both colors. Rev. E. H. Fairchild, brother of the President of Oberlin, presides over the faculty. Donations from the North are rapidly building up this institution, one of the few in the ex-slave States where blacks and whites study harmoniously together."

"COLORED NORMAL SCH IN LOUISVILLE" SEEN BY VISITOR

p 712/ "The Colored Normal School building, dedicated in Louisville last year, is probably the finest public school edifice designed for the instruction of negroes in the country. The School Board has established training departments in connection with some of the ward schools, and these are rapidly equipping teachers."
ed king, great south, 1875

p 714/ "The Penitentiary--where, at the time of our visit, 700 convicts, equally divided among whites and blacks, were engaged in manufacturing hemp into matting--is an unpicturesque structure, whose high walls have not prevented the occasional escape of prisoners. Each convict is compelled to weave 150 yards of matting daily, and, after his task is completed, is allowed to repose until nightfall, when he is locked up in his cell. We saw several of the blacks improving their time by reading, but most of the prisoners who had finished their daily soil were sullenly chewing /begin p 715/ tobacco, and contemplating the gloomy walls of the dark rooms in which they had been working."

1874 VISITOR TO FRANKFORT HEARS OF KKK ACTIVITY AGAINST BLACKS

ed king, great south, 1875

p 715/

"While we were at Frankfort the Ku-Klux were engaged in active operations in the neighboring counties, and the residents of Frankfort denounced them as a band of ruffians whose main object was revenge. One gentleman asserted that he would at any time help with his own hands to lynch a certain member of the gang, if he could be caught. In Owen and Henry counties these midnight marauders had inaugurated a veritable reign of terror. They took 'niggers' from their houses and whipped them on most trivial provocation. They waylaid those who had dared to testify against them in court, and 'fixed' them from behind bushes. Clad in fantastic disguises, they hovered about the confines of large towns, carrying dread into the hearts of superstitious blacks. The colored people living in the outskirts of Frankfort had deserted their homes and flocked into the town, giving as their reason that they were afraid of the Ku-Klux. It is hardly fair to presume that political bitterness has been so much concerned in prompting the actions of these prowlers as have ignorance and the general lawlessness--all too prevalent in the back-country of Kentucky."
Joseph Seaman Cotter, Kentucky’s only negro writer of real creative ability, was born near Bardstown, Kentucky, February 2, 1861. From his hard day-labor, he went to night school in Louisville, and he has educated himself so successfully that he is at the present time principal of the Tenth Ward colored school, Louisville. Cotter has published three volumes of verse, the first of which was *Links of Friendship* (Louisville, 1898), a book of short lyrics. This was followed by a four-act verse drama, entitled *Caleb, the Degenerate* (Louisville, 1903). His latest book of verse is *A White Song and a Black One* (Louisville, 1909). Cotter’s response to Paul Lawrence Dunbar’s *After a Visit to Kentucky*, was exceedingly well done, but his *Negro Love Song* is the cleverest thing he has written hitherto. His work has been praised by Alfred Austin, Israel Zangwill, Madison Cawein, Charles J. O’Malley, and other excellent judges of poetry. Cotter is a great credit to his race, and he has won, by his quiet, unassuming life and literary labors, the respect of many of Louisville’s most prominent citizens. One of his admirers has ranked his work above Dunbar’s, but this rating is much too high for any thing he has done so far. In the last year or two he has turned his attention to the short-story, and his first collection of them has just appeared, entitled *Negro Tales* (New York, 1912).


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**NEGRO LOVE SONG**

[From *A White Song and a Black One* (Louisville, Kentucky, 1909)]

I lobs your hands, gal; yes I do.
(I’se gwine ter wed ter-morro’.)

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1 Copyright, 1909, by the Author.
p. 517. Freedmen's bureau helped get legis to pass a bill Feb 16, 1866, to provide some money for black ed; during adm of Supt Henderson black leaders brought pressure on state and asked that educational opportunities be equalized. On May 12, 1881, while J. D. Pickett was supt, entire school system consolidated. Also much aid from Rosenwald fund.

White fear of blacks in politics diminishes (1871)

p. 584/ "The year 1871 stands out in bold relief in Kentucky's political history. No longer did consolidated white Democ- /begin p 585/ racy entertain real fear of radical and Negro votes. Favorable results at the polls were conclusive evidence that Democrats could indulge with safety in some internal warring over Kentucky's domestic situation."
Negroes in Harlan County (1865-1900)

m g condon, hist harlan co (1962)

p 76/

"In 1888 the City colored school was located about where Watson's store is now. It sat back off the road about forty feet giving room for a playground. Most of the west side of the Main road was a field, called the 'Big Field.' The corner where Lee's Drugstore is, was vacant at that time but later John S. Bailey built a frame dwelling on that corner. A colored man by the name of Turner taught this school and he was related to Aunt Bets and Uncle Ransom Turner, who were well-to-do-landowners and a highly respected couple. Three of their children became school teachers."

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"Uncle Ransom was quite dark but Aunt Bets was a light leather color. She said she was part Indian, and she certainly had some of the Indian teachers, especially high cheek bones. + "She was a slave girl about the age of my grandmother and when quite young she was given in marriage to Uncle R ... sam Turner. ... All of Ivy Hill from where the city limits are now up to Lin Hollow was dotted with Negro cabins, and their graveyard was under a big tree which ground extended from the Harlan City School for about one block west and from Mound to Central Street."

Hostile activities of Col John Glenn in Henderson area

Starling, Hist Henderson co.

p 227/ Col John Glenn recruited colored troops in the county; he engaged in illegal activities and acts of terror; "No citizen felt safe either upon the streets after twilight or in his residence." "...Col Glenn, under the pretense of driving off a band of guerrillas of whom he claimed to have knowledge, ostensibly for the purpose of driving the colored men off of several adjoining farms into his camp, ..." \begin p 229/ Houses were entered and robbed; brutal murders with the shooting /begin p 229/ John N Wathan by a squad of Colonel Glenn's negro troops. Wathan took an oath and was given safe conduct pass; halted by a squad of Col Glenn's black troops; Wathan accompanied by his brother William H. Wathan; they dismounted, were attacked by troops; John Wathan shot; William Wathan fired on and missed; attempted to escape, felled by a rifle butt, took a number of bullets/begin p 231/ Martin L. Daley, a loyal Union County citizen was with them and escaped. JWathan had been named by blacks as involved in the hanging of a black and this was said to be their revenge. Col Glenn ordered an investigation, but according to the author, nothing was done about it. \begin p. 332/ Gen. Eli H. Murray arrived in Henderson and upon hearing of brutal activities in Henderson dressed down Glenn who was shortly dismissed from service and Captain Wright who was involved in the Wathan murders was sent to Louisville in chains; Wright escaped.
"It is due to the colored people to say that, under the circumstances attending the radical change from slavery to freedom, the great change of becoming their own masters, and toiling for their own support, in place of having the cares of life to devolve upon masters, their behavior surprised their most sanguine friends, who had viewed the situation with anxious solicitude. They came into this new life as though they had been drilled and tutored for months; they accepted the situation with a becoming grace, and while some few were disposed to behave unruly, the great majority behaved like men of sense and character, settling down to the realities of life, and going to work to build up themselves and growing families."

"January 25, a branch of the Freedman's Bureau had been established in Henderson, and Thomas F. Cheaney appointed Superintendent. This institution was a sort of a stand between the colored man and his employer. Contracts were made for labor, and one of the duties of the Superintendent was to see justice done both parties. Organized at the time it was, and honestly and judiciously managed as it was in Henderson, the system was more of a blessing than otherwise. Worthless colored people were controlled, and vagrant negroes forced to seek and obtain employment."
"March 15, an organized band of robbers appeared in the county, and raided several farms for the purpose of robbing returned colored soldiers. They were successful in several instances, but were finally driven out by officers of the law."

"August 1, the colored population legally qualified, exercised the right of suffrage for the first time. Great fear was apprehended, but the election passed off as quietly as any that had ever proceeded it."
KKK APPEARS IN THE STREETS OF HENDERSON

Starling, hist of henderson, /77

p 338/ July 1868 kkk appeared "upon the streets of the city at night, alarming many citizens of the city, and committing, in one or more instances, acts contrary to law and order." Some said, though it is impossible to ascertain, that many leading citizens were members. "Yet the movement was regarded generally as a dangerous one, calculated to do no good, but, on the contrary, to become the source of great evil." The city council therefore passed an ordinance in July 1868: "That it shall be unlawful for any person to appear on the streets, alleys or highways of the city in mask or with his face or person so disguised that he cannot be recognized by casual observation of his acquaintance, and for each offense said person shall be fined not less than fifty nor more than one hundred dollars to be recovered by warrant or other fines." the ordinance was to be enforced by the marshal and police. /begin p 340/ E L. Starling was apparently mayor.

Black school enlarged in Henderson in 1878

Starling, hist of henderson co,

p 356/

"The colored school had grown to such magnitude it was found necessary to have more room, and in order to accommodate the increased number of pupils, July 16th an addition of twenty by thirty feet was ordered made to the school house. Be it said to the credit of the Council, in all of its travails, sight was never lost of the educational interest of the city, but loans and donations were frequently extended to the blacks as well as the whites."
Oberdorfer, $25; R. Goldstein, $25; M. Levi, $25; Mrs. L. Schlesinger, $20; E. and G. Starr, $20; M. Metz, $10; E. M. Pollack, $10; Dr. Nathan Oberdorfer, $10; Mrs. H. Oberdorfer, $10; George Metz, $5; Nathan Oberdorfer, $5; Jos. Metz, $5; M. Wiener, $5.

Since that time, indeed, within the last two years, the Israelites have purchased a lot for church purposes in the city, and a beautiful cemetery site on the Henderson and Owensboro road, two and a half miles out of the city.

FOURTH STREET COLORED BAPTIST.

The history of this church is brief; never the less, it goes to show how much can be accomplished by energy, earnest work, and united purposes.

The church was organized February 15th, 1877, by Elder R. D. Peay, pastor of the White Baptist, assisted by Judge P. H. Lockett. It had a membership at that time of forty-four members, and now numbers three hundred and twenty-five affiliated members.

On February 15th, 1877, the same day of organization Elder Lewis Norris was called to the pastorate and accepted the charge. Just here it may be well to go further back in the life of this congregation. Originally, there was but one Colored Baptist Church—the First Baptist. In 1867, Elder Norris was called from Bardstown, Kentucky, to take charge of the First Baptist Congregation. He accepted the same year, coming to Henderson and entering upon the duties of the charge. For ten years, he labored with this congregation, and during the time purchased the lot on the corner of Elm and Washington Streets, and commenced raising money for the purpose of building the two story brick, now standing as a monument to the liberality and industry of the colored people. He procured the plan and had raised over eight hundred dollars for building purposes, when some dissatisfaction arose in the congregation, and he resigned charge of the church. He was then called to Bowling Green, but at the instance of several whites, declined the call, and remained in Henderson. About this time forty-four members of the First Baptist secured letters of withdrawal, and immediately rented the Old Cumberland Presbyterian church building, on Fourth Street, and organized what is now known as the Fourth Street Church. Elder Norris was called to this charge, and accepted. He immediately applied his whole time and energies to building up the new church, first buying from Mr. Joseph Adams a lot on the corner of First and Adams Street.
thrown upon their own resources, with not a dollar to sustain themselves, and the church finding itself without a house in which to worship God. Suspicion ran high, prejudice and passions were the topics of the day, the thoughts of a dark prospect seem to chill the blood in every vein, but remembering the text of Rev. Matthews, “Behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it,” a regular meeting for business was held on the twenty-third day of January, 1866, and after much discussion, a committee was appointed consisting of Thomas Gains, Sr., Peter Harris, John Mackey, Henry Smith and Charles Livers, with instructions to secure a place for worship.

At a business meeting February 1st, 1866, the Committee reported success, then the following brethren were chosen Trustees: Charles Livers, Thomas Gains, Sr., and John Mackey, and on the eighth day of February, 1866, entered into contract with E. W. Worsham for the old Methodist Church, corner of Elm and Washington Streets, with a seating capacity of more than four hundred persons, for a consideration of $3,080.

The first Lord’s day in June, 1866, the congregation was asked to remain after preaching for the purpose of organizing a Sabbath School, after explanation given by G. H. Grant, Charles Livers, Paris McBride and others, it was agreed to proceed to the organization of a Sabbath School, and on motion G. H. Grant was chosen Superintendent, Paris McBride, assistant Superintendent; Charles Livers, Secretary; and George King, Treasurer.

In 1867, the church being without a pastor, G. H. Grant was chosen to supply the pulpit.

On the twenty-third day of October, 1867, Rev. Lewis Norris was called to take pastoral charge of the church, and he served eight years. During his administration, several new churches were organized, and several preachers ordained to the work of the Gospel Ministry. In September, 1867, M. Taylor was ordained to the ministry; in 1870, on the ninth day of October, G. H. Grant was ordained; in 1871, March 10th, five members were dismissed to constitute St. Paul’s Baptist Church, in Corydon, twelve miles southwest of the city; April 6th, eighteen members were dismissed to constitute the St. John Baptist Church, nine miles west of the city; November 4th, nine members were dismissed to constitute the New Hope Baptist Church, seven miles south of the city; in 1871, May 1st, thirteen members were dismissed to constitute the Walnut Hill Baptist Church, five miles
southeast of the city; in 1872, Joseph Bell and Primus Burris, were ordained to the ministry.

In 1871, Rev. Lewis Norris, baptised one hundred and eighty persons, who were added to the church, and it was ascertained that the seating capacity of the house would not accommodate the congregation, and so $1200 were expended in building an addition, which seated seven or eight hundred persons.

In November, 1876, Elder G. H. Grant, was chosen to take pastoral charge of the church. Finding it, and the Sabbath School, retrograding from its previous high standing, the church greatly confused, and Sabbath School numbering from ten to fifteen pupils, it was with reluctance he entered upon the work. The first official act of the church under Elder Grant's administration was the granting of forty-three members letters of dismissal, on the ninth day of February, 1877, to constitute the Fourth Street Baptist Church, in this city, giving them $250.

The members having agreed to erect a brick edifice to the honor of God's name, the officers suggested a plan to raise the money, which was heartily endorsed by all the members, and they raised from $60 to $100 per week. The Sabbath School increased to two hundred and thirty scholars. A resolution to purchase an organ was highly approved, and J. K. Mason was appointed to select the organ. A committee of ladies were appointed to solicit means for that purpose. In a few days the amount needed (one hundred and twenty-five dollars) was in hand. Peace and tranquility prevailed in all the departments of the church.

Rev. C. R. Ware was called to the pastoral charge, January 1st, 1879. He found the church in a fine working condition, both spiritually and temporally.

In the spring of 1879, the old frame building was removed from the lot, then the foundation for the new building was laid at once. The building committee were brethren of honesty, wisdom and energy. They were as follows: Junius Sneed, Thomas Gaines, Sr., Henry Glass, Peter Harris, Erasmus McCormick, J. A. Carr, J. E. McBride, B. R. Hughes, Winston Harris, Michael Brown, John K. Mason, and W. F. Gaines, Secretary. The dimensions of the new building is 45x75, two stories high, the upper story eighteen feet, basement eight feet. The corner stone of the new building was laid on the fourth of July, 1879. The contractors were three or four months building the house, and during that time the congregation was occupying the
Benevolent Aid Society's Lodge room in Woodruff Hall. On the fifteenth day of September, 1879, the congregation removed to their new house of worship, which was so far completed at a cost of $4,900. Revd P. H. Kennedy was called and entered upon pastoral duty, January 1st, 1881. He found the congregation worshipping in the basement story of the building, the second story to be plastered, windows to be put in, and to be furnished with seats and pulpit. The people, yet led by a working spirit to complete their edifice, responded to every call until it was finished, at a cost of about $7,050. The following persons are filling the office of deacons: J. E. McBride, H. Glass, J. Sneed, Thomas Gaines, Sr., Peter Harris, R. McCormick and J. A. Carr.

HENDERSON COUNTY BIBLE SOCIETY,

Was recognized as an auxilliary of the American Bible Society, in February, 1831. Its first officers were Captain Daniel McBride, President; Levi Jones, Corresponding Secretary, and Wyatt H. Ingram, Treasurer.

From February, 1831 to March 1883, the time this was written, the American Bible Society had received from the Henderson County Society, on purchase account, $4,331.09, and as donations for the general work, $220. Dr. Pinckney Thompson has been annually elected for fifteen years President of the Henderson County Society. The present officers are Pinckney Thompson, President; William S. Johnson, Secretary; O. W. Rash, Treasurer; Revs. R. W. Barnwell, St. Pauls, D. O. Davies, First Presbyterian, Angus McDonald, Second Presbyterian, E. W. Bottomly, Methodist, William B. Taylor, Christian, Vice Presidents; Members of the Board, L. C. Dallam, James L. Lambert, Edward Atkinson, William Elliot, J. D. Robards.
Negro Lodges in Henderson, Ky
Starling, hist henderson co,
p 502/ St. John's Lodge, No. 4, (Masonic) Instituted Sept 1866.
Camby Lodge, No. 1642, (Independent Order of Odd Fellows) 1875
United Brothers of Friendship—begun Oct 1871
Pride of Kentucky Lodge, No. 105—begun Oct 1880
Bias Lodge, No. 8, org Nov. 1879
Pledies Chamber, (Females), No. 1, org Dec. 1880
Sons and Daughters of Zion, Lincoln Lodge No. 1, org June 1887.

RESOLUTION ON EDUCATION AT COLORED STATE ED CONVENTION, 1873
Connelly, story of Ky (1890)
p 257/
"Kentucky's system of securing a fund for colored schools was by appropriating all the taxes paid by them to the education of their children. At the State Educational Convention of colored people, February, 1873, the following resolutions were passed, which speak for themselves:

RESOLVED—First: 'That we most earnestly request that be no special legislation in the State of Kentucky for colored people; since it is humiliating to us, detrimental to the finance of the State, and contrary to sound policy. +

Second: That we sincerely believe that citizens in general of Kentucky are as ready to accord equal school privileges to the colored people of the State, as colored people are to receive those privileges. +

Third: That it is our aim ever to labor honestly, earnestly, and amicably, to secure equal educational privileges in common with citizens of Kentucky, and with citizens of the United States, and to show ourselves worthy of the same."

HOW A WHITE SAW NEGRO ACCEPTANCE OF FREEDOM

L. Boyd, Chron of Cynthiana, 1894

p. 209/ "The negroes were freed, and have acted far better as citizens of this Republic than any one North or South believed that they would do. The negroes, however, were greatly disappointed when the war was over. They were misled by whom it is not known; they expected to receive habitations and land for their services in the army."

THE ISSUE OF NEGRO COURT TESTIMONY

Ross Webb, Benjamin Bristow, 1969

p. 53/ Kentucky at this time was filled with unrest because of a long-standing antagonism against the Administration, caused by the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment and the establishment of the Freedman's Bureau in the state. Although the legislature, in conformity with the law, had repealed the slave code and granted virtually all civil rights to the Negro, it did withhold the right of Negro testimony as evidence against whites. Dissatis-

10 Bristow to Henry Stanbery, November 21, 1866, Papers of the Attorney General, Letters Received, Kentucky, 1832-1870, NA, RG 60. J. Hubley Ashton to Bristow, November 26, 1866, Papers of the Attorney General, Letter Book F, NA, RG 60. Louisville Daily Courier, October 11, 1868, October 12, 1868.

faction grew even stronger when Congress, controlled by Republican Radicals, passed the Civil Rights Act of April 9, 1866. This measure not only attempted to define citizenship, but asserted the right of the federal government to intervene in state affairs if necessary to protect its citizens. Persons "of every race and color" were declared to have the right in every state to sue, to give evidence, to inherit, hold and convey property, and to be entitled "to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property." As a threat to delinquent states, the federal courts were given exclusive jurisdiction over offenders and the federal military and naval forces were made available as enforcement agencies. In cases of dispute, the Supreme Court of the United States was to be a court of final resort.

In reaction to these measures, there sprang into being clandestine groups of Kentucky vigilantes, at first called Regulators, and afterwards Ku Klux Klansmen, who assumed the right to punish offenders against state law and local custom. A rule of terror developed in such counties as Marion, Boyle, Jessamine, Lincoln, Mercer, Nelson, Nicholas, and Franklin. Although members of "the invisible empire" asserted that they were maintaining morality and justice, in more than one instance their judgments fell upon the innocent. Mob rule threatened to prevail as these vigilantes rode through the countryside, armed and disguised, whipping, torturing, and stealing.

But the man exercising federal authority in Kentucky was Bristow, and he was equal to the task. George Alfred Townsend, the young and ambitious newspaperman who knew every body and told it all, met Bristow about this time. He recorded in his notebook that the District Attorney conveyed "a very marked impression of personal strength," and "had a bluff, frank way" which he liked. "Whereas the average Southern Union man was a poor-spirited, half-way fellow" who continually apologized for his opinions, Bristow did not.

Bristow was determined that the Civil Rights Act would be enforced. When the officers of the Freedman's Bureau began arresting Kentuckyans charged with crimes against Negroes and turning them over to the United States Commissioner to answer indictments in federal courts, the District Attorney began prosecution under the law. In view of his actions, Kentucky was to become the legal testing ground of the Civil Rights Act.

During the October term of the Federal Court (1866) sitting at Louisville, Judge Bland Ballard ordered the grand jury to inquire into all offenses committed against the United States, especially "extreme outrages" committed upon the colored people. After pronouncing the Civil Rights Act constitutional, he called the jury's attention to the fact that Negro testimony was not acceptable in Kentucky courts, although in most states, even in South Carolina and Mississippi, Negroes were allowed to testify. This denial of a civil right had prompted the use of writs of habeas corpus in transferring such cases from state courts to federal courts.

Among the cases investigated was one against John Rhodes, John Stewart, and Thomas Vickers for committing "robbery, larceny, and burglary" upon three Negroes in Nelson County. In view of the inability of the Negroes to secure justice in the state courts, the jury brought in an indictment against the Regulators under the authority of the Civil Rights Act. The case was argued early in October, and so able was the District Attorney's prosecution that the jury, after a short deliberation, brought in a verdict of guilty. However, on the following day a motion was introduced for an arrest of judgment on the grounds that the indictment was fatally defective, that the case was not within the act of Congress, and that the Civil Rights Act was unconstitutional and void.

A concerned United States Attorney wrote confidentially to the author of the Civil Rights Bill, Senator Lyman Trumbull, outlining the facts of the Rhodes case and the problems it presented to the prosecution. Following the motion in arrest of judgment, Bristow had made a study of legal authorities and was "reluctantly drawn" to the conclusion that the Civil Rights Act did not confer upon...

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12 Louisville Argus, May 26, 1878.
13 Louisville Courier-Journal, April 22, 1876.
14 Louisville Daily Journal, October 3, 1866.
15 Ibid., October 13, 1866, October 15, 1866, October 16, 1866.
the federal courts jurisdiction over such classes of cases. Although
the third section of that act had been relied upon to confer such
authority, he was not sure that such a prosecution for burglary
was a "cause affecting" colored persons. He was particularly
troubled by the Supreme Court decision in the United States v.
Ortega, 24 U. S. (11 Wheaton) 467 (1826), which had determined
that the person against whom the crime had been committed
was not affected by the proceeding. Bristow believed that if this
precedent were cited, the Court would be "compelled" to follow
it, thereby sustaining the motion in arrest of judgment. Should
this happen, the Negro would be at the mercy of the Regulators
and the Klan. Could not the Senator use his influence to correct
this obvious defect in the law? Certainly "humanity and justice"
demanded it.16

Senator Trumbull, worried by Bristow's letter, conferred with
the Attorney General. Prompt action was obviously necessary to
prevent an overthrow of the Civil Rights Act in this critical case,
and Associate Justice Noah H. Swayne of the United States
Supreme Court was persuaded to go at once to Kentucky for
this purpose. Thus, when the United States Circuit Court con­
vened on June 26, 1867, Swayne sat on the bench with Judge
Ballard to review the motion in arrest of judgment in the Rhodes
case.

The argument was opened by District Attorney Bristow, who
insisted that the indictment was valid and that the Civil Rights
Act was constitutional. He charged that state laws forbidding
Negroes to testify had their origin in slavery and therefore could
"only be regarded as incidents of that institution." The indisposition
of the state courts to do justice to citizens of Kentucky
automatically conferred upon the federal courts the right of
protection.

The attorneys for the defense argued that the present case
against the defendants was solely for burglary. The federal court
had no right to intervene in a purely criminal action to which
the state was a party. Therefore the indictment was unauthorized
by the Civil Rights Act and should be dismissed. As Bristow had

16 Bristow to Lyman Trumbull, January 7, 1867.

anticipated, the case of the United States v. Ortega was relied
upon to support this position.17

Upon conclusion of the arguments, the court took the matter
under advisement.18 The opinion of Swayne was awaited eagerly,
but not until the October term of the court (1867) did the Justice
make his pronouncement: contrary to the claims of counsel for
the defendants, the case was one which affected a person whose
rights were denied under the Civil Rights Act. The prosecution
for burglary was "a cause affecting" the owner of the building
entered and therefore within the meaning of the act. Because
the owner was, by reason of her race, adjudged incompetent by
the laws of Kentucky to testify in support of the indictment as a
white person might, this was a case for the federal courts.

Upholding the constitutionality of the Civil Rights Act, Swayne
reviewed the history of the adoption of the first thirteen amend­
ments to the Constitution. Of these, the Thirteenth Amendment
trenched directly upon the power of the states and of the people
of the states. This measure was the consequence of the "throes
and convulsions of a civil war" and represented the efforts to
secure the country against a recurrence of sectional conflict.
The authority of Congress to make Negroes citizens had been
repeatedly exercised; once citizenship had been conferred, it
automatically carried with it basic rights. Using the axiom "that
an act of Congress is not to be pronounced unconstitutional
unless the defect of power to pass it is so clear as to admit of no
doubt," and maintaining that the Thirteenth Amendment "re­
versed and annulled the original policy of the Constitution, which
left it to each state to decide exclusively for itself whether slavery
should or should not exist as a local institution," Swayne upheld
the constitutionality of the act in all its provisions. Amid a hushed
court, the Justice overruled the motion in arrest of judgment.19

17 Louisville Daily Journal, June 27, 1867, June 28, 1867, June 29, 1867.
18 In the interim the Kentucky Court of Appeals handed down a decision in
the case of Bowlin v. Commonwealth, 65 Kentucky (2 Bush) 5 (1867) in which
that court stated that Congress had no authority "to appeal or essentially modify
the law of Kentucky on the subject of Negro testimony." See Century Edition
of the American Digest (St. Paul, 1899), X.
Contemporary with Swayne's pronouncement was the opinion of Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase In the Matter of Turner, a case that had arisen in the Fourth Circuit during the October Term of Court, 1867. Much to the regret of the Chief Justice the case was submitted without argument, but he too decided that the Civil Rights Act was constitutional. Those individuals, like Bristow, who saw fatal defects in the act could take comfort in the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment, already before the nation for ratification.20

Satisfied that sufficient power rested in the federal courts to protect the Negro freedman, Bristow continued his war against the Regulators.21 Perhaps the most significant case which arose under the Civil Rights Act was the case of the United States v. Blyew and Kennard. According to the record, two ignorant and bigoted white men named John Blyew and George Kennard went to the cabin of a Negro family by the name of Foster. They were invited in, and after sitting awhile, coolly proceeded to kill the family.22 The two murderers were pursued by local authorities and arrested, but a few days later federal officers, on Bristow's orders, arrived and "compelled" the jailer to deliver up the prisoners. Critics claimed that the District Attorney had done so under the false pretense that they could not be convicted in Lewis County because the only witnesses were Negroes. Bristow countered by asserting that, because the murder was of such wanton cruelty, Blyew and Kennard were in danger of being lynched; to save their lives, he had dispatched the United States Marshal to the scene.23

During the October term of the United States Circuit Court (1868) Bristow presented and secured four indictments against Blyew and Kennard from the grand jury under the Civil Rights Act.24 The evidence was long, tedious, and gory, but perhaps of most importance was the affidavit of the dying boy, Richard Foster, who identified Blyew and Kennard as the murderers. It took the jury but twenty-four hours to find the culprits guilty of murder in the first degree, but almost immediately counsel for the defendants filed motions in arrest of judgment and for a new trial which the court took under advisement.25

Meanwhile a strong antagonism arose against what the press referred to as "Federal Usurpation in Kentucky."26 Amid this heated controversy, on December 6, 1868, Judge Ballard overruled the motion in arrest of judgment, stating that the only grounds which had any basis for such an action was the question of the admissibility and competence of the dying confession of the little boy. It had been charged that the boy was both too young and too illiterate to allow his testimony to be introduced and that he had been unduly influenced while "on the brink of the grave." After careful consideration, Judge Ballard denied this as a basis for a new trial and sentenced Blyew and Kennard to be hanged. As was expected, the defendants asked that an appeal be permitted to the United States Supreme Court.27

Early in January the Kentucky Legislature convened in extraordinary session. Governor John W. Stevenson called the attention of the legislature to the case, asserting it to be an unwarranted invasion of states' rights. He urged the passage of a joint resolution authorizing him to employ counsel for Blyew and Kennard and to take such steps as might be necessary to test the constitutionality of the Civil Rights Act. Acting upon his recommendation, the legislature voted funds for the employment of two able lawyers: Jeremiah S. Black of Pennsylvania and Isaac Caldwell of Louisville.28

Bristow was hopeful that some relief for the Negro would be

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20 Horace White, The Life of Lyman Trumbull (Boston, 1913), pp. 274-75.
21 Efforts were made to discredit the District Attorney by his political enemies, but the charges proved groundless when publicly aired. Affidavit of John Feland, June 6, 1868, Bristow Papers.
23 Louisville Daily Courier, October 23, 1868, October 29, 1868, October 30, 1868.
24 Louisville Courier-Journal, November 9, 1868.
25 Louisville Daily Courier, October 8, 1868.
26 Ibid., October 27, 1868, October 29, 1868, October 29, 1868, October 30, 1868, November 7, 1868.
27 Maysville Bulletin, November 26, 1868, as quoted in the Louisville Courier-Journal, November 29, 1868. Judge B. H. Stanton of the Lewis County Circuit Court informed the grand jury that federal officers had violated the rights of the court by illegally carrying the prisoners out of the county and beyond the jurisdiction of that court.
28 Louisville Courier-Journal, December 6, 1868.
29 Bristow to E. B. Hoar, April 22, 1869, Papers of the Attorney General, Letters Received, Kentucky, 1853-1870, NA, RG 60.
forthcoming, for on January 30, 1869, a number of outstanding Kentucky jurists had addressed the legislature, asking repeal of the statute which prohibited Negro testimony, in order to relieve the state from "the unequal and oppressive" Civil Rights Act. But the legislature was not favorably disposed. Not only did they quash the resolution, but rejected the Fifteenth Amendment as well. Of these two events, Bristow wrote the Attorney General, E. Rockwood Hoar: "It is a matter of the first importance to the 225,000 Colored people of this state that the so-called 'Civil Rights' law of Congress should be maintained and enforced." He urged Hoar to have the Supreme Court hear the appeal of Blye and Kennard as soon as possible. The Attorney General's office replied that until the decision was forthcoming, it would rely upon the District Attorney to see that justice was done in Kentucky.29

Bristow lived up to the trust. He wrote the Attorney General on November 9: "I have proceeded with the trials of a large number of parties charged with felonies punishable by confinement in the Penitentiary and with misdemeanors under the Civil Rights Act and a number of those tried have been sentenced and are now serving their respective terms."30 In all, Bristow successfully prosecuted some twenty-nine cases, and as a result of his vigilance, Kentucky was one of the few states where the Civil Rights Act was sustained.31
The school system of Owensboro as originally established in 1871 provided for white children only. There was, however, some provision for the education of colored children, and as stated in the History of 1883, they had a brick school building on Poplar Street between Third and Fourth, and an average attendance of about 200; the teachers then were Lewis Metcalf, Principal, and Mrs. Anna Varian and Owen Barrett, Assistants.

In 1884 the law under which the colored schools were operating was repealed and the property and money in the possession of the trustees of the schools (called free schools) were turned over to the trustees of the Owensboro Public Schools. The money turned over was $658.75 and also there was the property at Elm and West Third Streets, which would seem to be a different property from that above mentioned. In the fall of 1884 colored teachers from Louisville and Cincinnati were secured and the building at Third and Elm Streets was equipped and occupied.

There was also about that time an Upper Ward colored school in a rented house at the corner of Seventh and Breckenridge Streets. Or rather it was to have been there, but on the evening before the opening day of the school the building was set on fire, and with its contents entirely consumed. The colored children then attended school in the African Methodist Church on Third Street between St. Elizabeth and Lewis Streets.
Colored teachers were employed in these schools from 1884 to 1887 and then white teachers for the colored schools were employed until 1896. During that period considerable trouble developed among the colored people, many of whom were demanding the employment of colored teachers, while some others preferred the white teachers, and this trouble led to a considerable reduction in the attendance of colored children. Those demanding colored teachers, who were doubtless in the majority, had their way, and colored teachers were again employed in 1896, as they have continued to be and still are. In 1897 Superintendent James McGinnis in his report said,

For the first time in the history of these schools there was graduated a class of colored pupils, seven in number. This is a noteworthy event. I am satisfied that the change from the employment of white teachers to that of colored teachers in the colored schools, while at the time viewed with some well founded distrust, was a wise step, and if the same care be taken in the employment of colored teachers as has characterized the appointments so far, this wisdom will more and more show itself. While the white teachers we had employed in the colored schools were of excellent ability and training, and did their work with rare conscientiousness, yet I am free to say that the improvement along all lines, and in all departments of the colored schools is plainly manifest, and perhaps owing to this one fact, that of sympathy between teachers and pupils, as also on the part of parents and guardians.

I wish to supplement what Superintendent McGinnis said as to the white teachers. They were an excellent body of teachers, all young people except two, Dr. and Mrs. J. M. Mainwaring, who were elderly. Some of them married and remained here, among them Miss Maude Young (Mrs. L. L. Basham), who afterwards became a valued teacher in the white schools, and for years a leading soprano in the choir of the Settle Memorial Church.

One afterwards became the Reverend Mr. W. H. Kiser, now long deceased, whose widow was one of his teaching colleagues. Dr. and Mrs. Mainwaring, though quite old enough to be my parents, became valued friends of mine, and after Dr. Mainwaring’s death, his widow gave me as a memento a volume of selected poems called “Favorite Poems.” While it is not worth 5c in intrinsic value, it is a book that I prize highly. I regret to say that a small degree of most reprehensible snobbishness was exhibited by some Owensboro people in looking down on these teachers because of their employment in the colored schools. Fortunately, I think there was but little of this.

An interesting feature of the statistics of the Owensboro Public Schools is the showing of the relative numbers of white and colored children in the schools. In the year 1884-1885, the first year in which colored children were included, there were 960 white and 249 colored children enrolled. Using closely approximate figures for the percentages, the colored pupils this year were 20% of the whole. This percentage increased for a time, so that in 1890-1891 it was 28%, and the next year it reached the surprising maximum of 37%. In that year the actual number of colored pupils also reached its maximum, being 754 as against 1,236 whites. It will be observed that this was in the middle of the period in which white teachers were employed.

From that time the percentage of colored children steadily declined, being 26% in 1900-1901, 23% in 1910-1911, 15% in 1920-1921, 10% in 1930-1931, and 9% in 1940-1941. (The figures for the last two years given are based on the school census instead of the enrollment.) Indeed the actual numbers declined sharply from 754 to 511 the next year (perhaps because of the controversy as to white or colored teachers). Then the numbers rose to around 700 from 1900 to 1910, then declined to around
"As we have seen, when the management of the colored schools was taken over by the Board of Education, there was a brick building on Poplar Street or West Third Street, where the present Western High School now stands. In 1887 a building was erected for this school at a cost of $7,850.00, which constitutes the four front rooms of the present Western Colored School Building. In 1894 four more rooms were added to this building at a cost of $5,635.00 being the middle four rooms of the Western School Building."

"Until July 1867, the Negro Baptists were members of the Sinking Creek Church. Evidently the Negro members came to desire a church of their own. The July minutes of that year state, "our colored brethren and sisters in good standing will be granted letters for constitution upon application." The First Baptist Church, South Maple Street, Somerset, was the result of that action." still standing.
The 1868 Minutes of the South Kentucky Association of United Baptists add an interesting postscript to this action of the Somerset Church. In 1868, a year after the above action, blacks withdraw from the Somerset Church reports 204 white members and thirty-four colored members for a total of 238. Although the South Maple Street Church was constituted in 1867, this indicates that not all of the colored members went into the South Maple Street Church at the beginning.
CHAPTER XI

Mob Lynches Negro Suspected Of Murder

We now come to the year 1893, the year that saw the disgraceful act of a mob that hung and burned a negro man, in spite of the efforts of the good citizens of Bardwell and the surrounding country side.

This negro man with two other negro men had assaulted, raped and murdered the Ray girls. These girls, who were in the pride of young womanhood, lived three miles north of Bardwell on the L. C. Railroad, one was 14 and the other 16.

The fourth of July, 1893, was a beautiful day, and these girls took a notion to pick some blackberries which grew alongside the railroad. They were going to pick these berries in the cool of the morning, and they were going to surprise their father at the noon meal, by having a big bowl of blackberry cobbler. When the noon-hour came and their father and brothers came in to eat their dinner, there were no girls present. This mystified the men some and Mr. Ray sent one son to one neighbor, and another son to another neighbor, and the two boys, Phinas and Ernie Ray, came back home without hearing from the girls. Two or three of their neighbors now came in and was decided to make a hunt in the neighborhood where the girls lived.

The young boy, Ernie, had heard the girls planning a berry picking while they were washing dishes that morning, but it had slipped his mind. The disappearance of the girls now reminded him of the conversation he had heard. Inquiry led to the conclusion that it was the berry patch alongside the railroad the girls usually picked their berries, so the men hustled down there and searched for signs of the girls. They found the older girl's body on the east side of the railroad, the younger girl's body on the west side where she had come to a fence, but didn't have time to get over it, but was raped and murdered at that spot. The throats of both girls had been cut and they were otherwise mutilated.

Bad news travels fast, and the whole country-side was aroused. A delegation was sent to Bardwell to contact J. B. S. Hutson who was sheriff at that time, and twenty-five men were deputized to help Hutson. Two of them were sent to Hickman County to get a pair of blood hounds, and in two and one-half hours, they were back with the dogs. The other men were traveling the northern part of Carlisle County and the southern part of Ballard County.

Two of the men struck pay dirt when they questioned a fisherman at the mouth of Mayfield Creek. He told them he had ferried a yellow negro across the Mississippi River between ten and eleven o'clock that morning. One of the men went back and got him back to Bardwell, and when he got there the dogs were just arriving from Hickman County. A wagon and a fresh team were procured, and the dogs and several deputies with the sheriff loaded in, and in something more than an hour were at the river.

Sheriff Hutson questioned the ferry man, and the man told the sheriff he had never seen the negro before. The negro was a complete stranger to all who had seen him. Then the ferry man advanced some more information, telling the sheriff the negro's clothes were splotched with blood and he seemed to be very nervous and in a big hurry. This convinced the sheriff he was on the right track. The sheriff's deputy was named Jesse Moss and he was a powerful man. The sheriff put Moss in charge of the dogs, got in the boat with the ferry-man and shoved off from the bank. Just at this time a delegation of men from Ballard County came riding up and demanded to be taken across. Sheriff Hutson advised them to get another boat and not to hinder him as he wanted to catch the negro before night. Hutson now directed the ferry-man to take him and his deputy and the dogs to the exact spot at which he let the negro out. When they got to this spot they could see the negro's tracks altogether on the east side of the soft spot.

The dogs were brought out of the boat and the negro's tracks pointed out to them. Each one of the dogs responded with a thorough bay, and Hutson and Moss knew the dogs would follow the trail until they ran their prey down. Four men from the delegation from Ballard County came now as well as the sheriff and his deputy. They chased the negro down, and it was the first he knew he was being watched. He climbed a tree with the hope the dogs would pass by. This was an idle wish. The man had been traveling at a fast gait since he had committed his crime, and he was covered with perspiration, so it was an easy matter for the negro's tracks to smell him. The dogs were confused at the place where the negro's tracks met and circled, but finally one of them got a scent of the negro, and set up such a howling that Mr. Moss thought he would go crazy. By pushing the canoe underbrush aside, the men could see the negro up in the tree.

He came down willingly, and Hutson sent one of his men to a clearing where a team was hired. The man who owned the team was reluctant at first, but when he heard the facts about the murder he was very anxious to help.

When they got back to the river, the two boats with the ferry-man were waiting. The ferry-man identified the man as the same negro he had ferried across. He showed Hutson the blood on the negro, but said that morning the spots were more distinct, as if the negro had tried to wash them out, and had put mud on them to hide them.

Hutson and Moss met no opposition as they went back to Bardwell, and before night had lodged their man in jail at Bardwell.

Little they suspected what lay in store for them, or the negro on the morrow. If they had, they would have hidden the negro in some other jail probably at Clinton or Mayfield jail where he would have been safe.

On the morning of the 5th of July 1893, everything at Bardwell was serene and peaceful, but just as the stores were opening for the day's business, and as Mr. Bill Richardson, the marshal of the town was walking north on Front Street, he noticed a freight train come in from the north. It was loaded with men, and all of them alighted as close to the depot as they could. Richardson said he sauntered over toward the depot to see what it was all about, but when he would come up to a crowd of the men, they would notice the officer's badge on his vest and would separate and gather in bunches somewhere else. He repeated this several times, and got his curiosity aroused, so he walked to the front of the depot and talked to the night operator. This man told the marshal he heard one of the new arrivals say they were waiting for more men to arrive then they were going to the jail and get the negro that killed the Ray girls.
This aroused Richardson to action and he sped as quickly as he could to the sheriff's house. Mr. Hutson had just finished his breakfast and was as surprised as Richardson was, and they talked for a few minutes while they were talking they heard the shouts of men getting off another train. This time it was from the south. Mr. Hutson, the sheriff, told Richardson to go to Tom Campbell's livery stable and procure the best double team and buggy he had, and he would go to the jail and find the jailer, and they would take the negro to Mayfield and put him in jail there.

But Jennings was up at his little farm doing his chores, and by the time Hutson found him and they got back to the jail, there were at least twenty strange men there. These men soon found out Jennings was the jailer and Hutson was the sheriff, and they told them they had come to get the negro, and no one was going to stop them. Hutson made these men a talk, telling them he was responsible for the negro, and all he wanted to do was deliver him to the court for a fair trial, and that the jailer was responsible for his safe-keeping until court convened.

The leader of the mob now made a talk, telling the sheriff nobody was going to get hurt, but they had come after the negro and they didn't intend to leave until he was delivered into their hands, and they were just waiting until the remainder of their baddies got there. Mr. Jennings now told them he would never deliver the negro to them, at which the mob jereed.

Mr. Hutson told the mob not to do anything rash, and he would send out and get the girls' father and let him talk to them, and they agreed to this. The sheriff started out to John Ray's, but met Mr. Ray on his way to town, and the sheriff told him what he wanted him to tell the mob. It was this: if they mobbed and killed this negro, neither he, nor the law officers, nor the Court would ever know what was in this man, nor where they could be found, and justice would be thwarted. When Mr. Ray got to the court house, they got him a table to stand on, and he told the mob how a great crime had been committed, and that his heart was broken; but they were taking the wrong attitude, and for them to let the law take its course, and wait for the court to settle this man's fate.

There were several thousand men on the court house grounds by this time, and someone yelled for the mayor of the town to make a speech. John T. Davis was mayor at that time, and he got on the table and told the mob they were making a mistake, that he fought on the Confederate battle fields to keep the negro from freeing the negroes, but the North triumphed and the negroes were now free citizens and should be tried as such. This speech infuriated the mob, and they were for going right now and getting the negro, but Davis told them to quiet down and as he wasn't much of a speaker, he asked a young attorney, Dick Bugg, (who later became Circuit Judge) to talk to them.

Bugg began his talk by reminding them of their good citizenship herefore, and not to mar it now because of excitement and emotion which might cause them to do something they would always regret. Bugg said he didn't blame them for being infuriated at the crime, because he was bolling inside at the thought of the horrible crime himself, but being infuriated wasn't serving justice, and they knew they would just wait the court would have the negro executed. He said the men wanted the punishment of the negro, and if they sent him to a quick death his punishment would be over in a few hours; but if he had to lay in jail for weeks thinking of his sure fate, his punishment would be five times as great.

This speech had a quieting influence on the mob as they thought there was much logic in it, but a mob is not reasonable, because when a man joins a mob his beastly nature comes to the front and he is transported thousands of years backward to the nature of his savage ancestors.

Then one of the men jumped on the table and shouted to the others, telling them that they should go get the negro and make him tell who was with him, and where they could be found. This struck a responsive chord in the mob and they surged toward the jail.

The jail was locked but one of the early arrivals told of his conversation with the jailer, and said the jailer wouldn't deliver the prisoner to them, and they would have to take his keys by force. The leader then asked if any of the people around him knew the jailer, and a fourteen-year-old boy told him he did, and he just saw him going toward his house. A mob leader asked for volunteers to go get the keys, and about fifty men started in a run for the Jennings house. When they got there they demanded of his wife to see the jailer. She told Jennings and he came to the door, refusing to give them the keys. He started back in the house. The jailer was grabbed from behind and the keys forcibly taken from him. The mob was jubilant, they had the keys, now to get the negro was easy.

When they unlocked the jail doors the negro was cowering in the corner and he begged pitiously for his life. One of the mob was so excited and such a brute he was in the act of sticking his knife in the negro, when he was restrained by one of the other men. A member of the mob now told the negro they would let him live longer if he would tell him the names of the other men that helped him commit the two murders. The negro said he would if they would get him some whiskey. The whiskey was quickly procured, and while he was drinking it, and they talked to other men what he would say, so they could catch the other men that helped in this brutal crime. Even many men in the mob were shocked at what took place at this moment.

Two fanatical demons pushed their way through the mob; one had a club and the other had a long rope. The man with the club promptly knotted the negro down and the one with the rope fastened it around the negro's neck, and then he was dragged into the open street. The negro staggered to his feet and was standing in a daze when a few of the fanatical members of the mob made a rush to get to him.

They had clubs and knives in their hands, and would have killed the negro then, but they were restrained by the cooler heads of the mob who demanded a team and wagon. This was procured, and the rope that was around the negro's neck was fastened to the back gate of the wagon. The owner of the team who was a local man refused to drive the wagon and team, so one of the mob mounted to the spring seat and took charge of the team. He yelled for the men in front of the team to get out of his way, which they did. The driver struck the horses with a sharp pole, and they sprang forward, jerking the negro off his feet, and in this way they proceeded down the street almost a half mile to the depot dragging the negro all the way.

The railroad depot at Bardwell at this time was one hundred yards south of where it is today, and on the east side of the depot was a tall telegraph pole. One of the mob climbed this pole with a rope long enough for both ends to reach the ground. The negro's body was dragged over and the end of the rope was fastened about his neck, then he was hilted off the ground above the heads of the mob so he could be seen by everyone.
The mob left him thus for over an hour, while they sought what refreshments they could find. Almost all of them found nothing to eat because everything in Bardwell had been bought and eaten before they got through with their hanging. At the time this happened, most of the things the people ate were prepared by the housewife or cooks at the hotels. There were no short order meals, like we have today and the only thing you could find in the groceries for a quick meal was cheese and crackers, cove oysters, sardines and bologna sausage. These had been all bought and eaten, so the mob had to go hungry.

It has been estimated there were 8000 strangers in Bardwell that day and most of whom came in on Illinois Central freight trains. The I. C. employees were incensed that such a brutal murder could take place on their right-of-way, and they let men ride their trains free-of-charge to come to Bardwell. This accounted for the size of the mob.

While the negro was hanging on the telegraph pole, his body was riddled with bullets, and some of his toes and fingers were cut off and carried away, and the pole was so damaged the telegraph company had to put up a new one the next day.

After the negro's body had been hanging through the noon hour, the mob gathered again, fastened the body behind the wagon and dragged it to the Harlan Milling Company's wood yard. The mob confiscated Mr. Harlan's wood, made a big funeral pyre, and threw the negro's body on top of it and kept piling wood on the fire until the body was entirely consumed.

Now, a lot of people have told me that the work of this mob was a blot on the fair name of Bardwell and Carlisle County. They are mistaken. I have lived in this community for the full sixty-three years since this crime was committed and I have never found a man or woman who condoned the lynching of this negro, but I find plenty of people who condemn the mob for the lynching, and especially for the brutal way it was carried out.

To prove to you it was a foreign mob that did this brutal act, there were farmers who were working in less than three miles of Bardwell who did not know what was happening there, and I was one of them. I was "laying by" corn for my father, and I did not know of the mob's action until I got home that night.

One day I heard Mr. Bill Richardson, who was marshal at the time, telling a stranger about the mob. Richardson said he knew almost all of the men of Carlisle County, but he didn't recognize any of the men who were leading the mob, and he didn't believe there was a Carlisle County man taking part in the lynching.

Mr. John Ray, the father of the girls, lived for many years after this fateful day, but he was always dissatisfied at the way the affair terminated. Ray knew the mob had ruined all chance of his finding out who was guilty of murder and murdered his daughters.

We will now look and see who had business in Bardwell at this time of the lynching. This was in the first days of July, 1893. I talked to most of these men, and every one deplored the violence that came to their city. Major White had a saw mill where the Jeter Stock Yards now are. Dan Bodkin, Sr., had a saw mill where Ollie Brown's Milling Station now is located. Mr. Freeman had a lumber business in the north end, and in the ten row that was north of J. W. Turk's store, there were John H. Cothes Carpen'try Shop; Mr. Dorrah who had lately arrived in Bardwell from Kuttawa, had a hardware store; and W. R. Hazelwood, who was reared at Old Hazelwood, in Ballard County, had lately come to Bardwell, and had a jewelry store; and Charles Tegethoff (whose parents were Germans and who had migrated to this country following the Civil War) had a barber shop, and would cut your hair for fifteen cents any time you would let him.

Kenzie Layton ran a grocery store and lunch counter, just to the south of the Matt Smith store. Mr. Layton was a lame man, and very portly, so he had a hard time getting around, and always kept a big dog in his back room for family protection. One of the members of the mob who had been imbibing too freely, but had not partaken of food since early morning, staggered into Layton's store and told Layton he was hungry, and he just had to have something to eat. Layton told the man that it was the middle of the afternoon, and their fires were out. Layton's wife was a nervous wreck, because she had seen the mob lynch the negro at noon, and that he wasn't going to prepare him a lunch, and that it would please him if the man would leave. This infuriated the mobster and he became abusive. When the man did this, Layton stepped to the back door and went into the other room and quietly opened it, and spoke to his dog. The dog came out with a rush and Layton pointed toward the drunk man. The dog made a bee line for the man, and the man made a dash for the outside, but the dog caught him before he could get inside John E. Kane's law office. Mr. Kane opened the door and both he and the mobster beat the dog off, but not before it had damaged the man's trousers, and pinched his legs in several places.

Mr. Kane asked the man about the cause of the trouble, and the man told his side of it, and said he was going back and "beat Hell out of that old fat man." Mr. Kane, with a twinkle in his eye, asked him what he was going to do with the dog. This sobered the man and he told Mr. Kane he guessed he had better catch the next freight train and leave, and Mr. Kane agreed with him.

HARLAN-LOWE FLOUR MILL

The mob confiscated wood in this yard for a funeral pyre and on it placed the body of the young Negro they had hanged.
On May 7, 1866, a colored boy by the name of Charles made a criminal assault on a small white girl seven years of age. That night the negro was taken from the jail by a mob and hung. The hanging was done without any excitement or disorder. A fitful punishment was sternly and speedily administered, an example was set which has been closely followed, for half a century and which ought to be a sufficient warning to the negro race, and the white too, as for that matter, that the women and girls of Franklin County must be protected. During the half century which the negro has been free, not one of them has ever been tried in Franklin County by a legally constituted court for criminal assault, and doubtless during the next half century not one of them will be so tried. Such crimes arouse a natural indignation and the general public demands an immediate execution of the criminal, with the idea, that in order to thoroughly and effectively eradicate such crimes the punishment must not only be certain and severe, but it must also be speedily administered.

1868 LYNCHING CASE IN FRANKLIN CO, CITIZENS INVOLVED

On the night of January 30, 1868, a negro by the name of Jim Macklin, who had committed an assault on a young white woman near the State Arsenal, and had thrown her body down the embankment near the tunnel, was taken from the Frankfort jail and carried to the place where the crime was committed and hung. The results of this hanging created a great deal of excitement. The United States Court at that time had jurisdiction of such cases. Warrants were sworn out against some of the most substantial citizens of Frankfort, charged with being implicated in the hanging. The United States Marshal arrested Michael Parker, John Owens, James Welch, Edward Cummins, Michael Buckley, Pat Sullivan, Mike Callahan, Dan Callahan, Pat Newman, Thomas Newman, Dennis Griffin, Ed Burns and L. Tobin and took them before the Commissioner of the United States Court for examining trial. Col. John Mason Brown prosecuted them and Judge G. W. Craddock, Judge P. U. Major and Major D. W. Carpenter defended. On motion of Col. Brown, Mr. L. Tobin was discharged, there being no evidence to implicate him. After a full hearing all of the defendants were discharged, except Michael Callahan, Daniel Callahan, Jim Welch, Edward Cummins and M. Parker. There was serious complaint against the manner in which Commissioner Vance conducted the trial of the accused parties; contrary to the advice of Col. Brown, he proceeded in a way which convinced the public that he was neither a lawyer nor an honest man.
Father Lambert Young, the Catholic priest, who was in charge of the Catholic Church at Frankfort, was subpoenaed as a witness against the defendants, but he refused to tell what had been told to him by reason of the fact that he was a Christian priest, and the court thereupon committed him to jail for contempt of court. The defendants were released on bail, but Father Young remained in jail until the 28th of July; after his release he wrote a card thanking his many friends for their kindness to him and in which he said, "None of these good citizens, I feel sure, are possessed with the idea that my refusing to testify on the trial of the Frankfort prisoners arose from any disposition to contemn the law, the Grand Jury or the Hon. Court. I truly revere the law and I respect its officers, and had it been possible for me to act otherwise than I did without doing outrage to my conscience as a Christian priest, and to my sense of honor as a man, I should certainly have promptly given the evidence demanded and thus have saved myself the misery of confinement in the county jail." Perhaps no man ever lived in Frankfort who was more universally honored and respected by Catholics, Protestants and the people generally than was Father Lambert Young.

The Kuklux became active in Franklin County during the year. Out of forty-five colored voters in the Baldknob precinct all of them were driven away except Abe Dodson. He was the only negro voter in that section of the county for more than a quarter of a century. On December 6th, 1870, the Kuklux visited the house of Harrison Blanton in search of a negro named Freeman Garrett, but failing to find him they shot two other negroes who were living on the Blanton place. They continued their raids in different sections of the country for several months. In 1872 they visited Mr. John R. Gay's place and whipped some of his servants. John Triplett, John Willson and Charles McDaniel were arrested and tried. McDaniel was convicted, the others acquitted."
p 178. On Jan 14, 1871, Thompson Scroggans "had a difficulty" with Strother Trumbo, a black man. Scroggans killed him, arrested by Fed Govt and placed in jail without bail. On Feb 27 a mob broke into the jail and freed Scroggans who had been a rebel soldier. Scroggans left the county but returned and told the story of what happened to him 40 yrs later.

ELECTION DISTURBANCES IN FRANKLIN CO: LYNCHING

p 179.

"At the August election there was another negro riot in Frankfort at which two white men were killed and several wounded. Capt. William Gilmore and Silas N. Bishop were killed, Policeman Jerry Lee and Dick Leonard were wounded, and several other citizens were injured by stones which were thrown by the negroes. Henry Washington was the only negro who was wounded during the fight. The Mayor, Co. E. H. Taylor, Jr., called out the militia and quelled the disturbance. The trouble at this time occurred on Broadway near the market house. When the polls were closed the negroes were on the north side of the railroad track and the whites were on the south side. Immediately after the train from Louisville passed them the firing commenced. This disturbance greatly increased the bitter feeling which had existed between the white and colored people for some time and a race war in Frankfort had seemed probable for several months. A few days prior to this trouble a negro named Harrison Johnson was charged with criminally assaulting a white woman of good character. He had been arrested and lodged in jail. The night of the riot Henry Washington, though wounded, had also been placed in jail charged with having killed Capt. Gilmore. Within a few hours after that a mob took both negroes from the jail, carried them across the river and hung them to a tree near the city school building. Following the hanging of the negroes James Alley, Richard Crittenden and D. Howard Smith, Jr., son of the State Auditor, were arrested charged with being implicated in the hanging. They were taken to Louisville and tried before the United States Commissioner and held, bail being denied them. All of them were finally released."
"On Friday, February 29, 1895, George Magee, a negro convict from the local penitentiary was hung by Sheriff R. D. Armstrong and his deputies, for having murdered another convict at the State penitentiary. The hanging of Magee was the first legal execution in Franklin County since the slave woman of Mr. Hiram Berry was hung in 1860 for trying to poison the Berry family."

"There was a negro riot in Frankfort on Sunday, June 8th. The societies of the negro hod-carriers and teamsters of Louisville came to Frankfort on a crowded train. Two of the visiting negroes were fighting when they reached Frankfort; the police officers of the city undertook to arrest them, other negroes undertook to prevent the arrest and two or three hundred of them were making it warm work for the officers and they were getting the worst of it when several white men went to their assistance. The riot continued for a considerable time; several white men and a large number of negroes were injured but no fatalities resulted."
"An election riot took place in Frankfort on Monday night, November 1st, 1897. Some of the Democratic politicians and workers undertook to collect a boat load of negroes and carry them up the river and in that way prevent them from voting the next day in the city election. The Republicans found out what was being done and they very promptly stopped further proceedings along that line. The Democrats then undertook to corral the negroes at Dailey's barn which was located on the Georgetown road about one mile from Frankfort. The Republicans, white and colored, led by Frank Egbert and Howard Glore, all of them well armed, started out to release the negroes who had been collected at the barn. When they reached a point on the road near the colored Normal School, they met one of the wagons which had been used in carrying the negroes to the barn; a man by the name of John Smith and known as "Sweet Thing" was driving, and several white men were in the wagon. The Republicans undertook to stop the wagon and the shooting commenced. Howard Glore was killed, John Smith was shot through the knee and lost a leg as the result, and a negro by the name of Charles Graham was shot through the breast and was seriously but not fatally wounded. The Democrats came on to Frankfort and had a warrant issued against Frank Egbert and placed in the hands of Tes Deakins, a fearless Deputy Sheriff of the county. Later in the night when Deakins undertook to execute the warrant of arrest on Egbert, at the corner of Main and St. Clair streets, Egbert and his friends commenced firing at Deakins and the Democrats who were located at the four corners of the street, commenced shooting at Egbert." Deakins killed; Egbert killed; Walter Goins, an uncle of Egbert wounded; nobody ever tried.

"In 1872 C. H. Hoon operated in Owingsville a furniture and undertaking establishment under which there was discovered a large quantity of highly inflammable material, evidently of incendiary origin, and which it was supposed someone later intended to ignite for the purpose of not only burning his store but the entire town. As to why the material was not ignited when first placed there was never definitely ascertained or explained. Near this material and apparently leading from it were tracks made in the soft earth by a peculiarly twisted boot heel. Sam Bascom was a well known but indolent colored citizen who loafed in and around town and who wore a boot with a twisted heel. Measurements were taken of the tracks found and a comparison of these tracks with the tracks made by the boot of Sam and other investigations threw suspicion upon Bascom as the would-be arsonist. Sam was arrested, charged with attempted arson, and placed in jail to await the action of the grand jury, but poor Sam was never given the opportunity in a court of justice to defend himself or to answer the charge, he being a negro, and living in an era when there was little regard for their rights. Hoon was a popular citizen, excitement was high, and the sentiments and prejudices of the community fixed the guilt upon Sam. One October night in that year a crowd of masked men assembled, stole to the rear of the jail, forced an aperture in the rear wall, departed with poor Sam and hanged him with the aid of a hemp rope to an elm tree on the eastern side of the old Slate Furnace Road, now State Highway No. 36. No investigation was ever made to bring the guilty parties to justice. Arguments over the incident continued; denounced by leading citizens; mass meeting called by leading citizens to try to find out who did it to no effect; Elder W.T. Tibbs, a Mt. Sterling minister sought to excuse the act.
p. 237/ On Christmas Eve 1891 Taylor Vice attempted to arrest a mulatto name George Jones. George was with his father Oscar, and both were drunk. When a scuffle broke out, Vice was stabbed /begin p 238/ Oscar and Geo. escaped, but Oscar was captured at Mt. Sterling the next night. On Sunday Feb 21, 1892, a mob gathered and attempted to take Oscar out of the jail, but the jailor thwarted the attempt. Oscar indicted and convicted/begin 239/ and hanged.

p 246/ In a letter to Outlook dated "Sharpsburg, Ky., Nov. 17, 1888," one E. R. Withers told of how a "worthless" black named Daniel Lewis, threatened Withers' wife; then Lewis threatened his own wife, Lucy. Then attack Lucy in the presence of Mrs. Withers and Miss Murphy. The women screamed: "I was at the grocery and heard the scream. I ran out and Dan ran off in the darkness. In the struggle Dan drew his pistol and put it up in my wife's face and swore. After I went home, we talked the matter over and I made up my mind to kill him and I loaded my shotgun with slugs for that purpose and would have killed him the next morning if he had been walking instead of driving a horse in a sulky. And it passed off until this evening when I went home. My wife heard a noise in the kitchen and came into the family room and took up the shotgun. I took the gun from her and went into the kitchen. There stood Dan and he grabbed my gun. I told him to let go and get out. He went slowly out and when he had reached the porch steps I said to him, 'You have twice drawn a pistol on my folks'. /sic/ /begin p 247/ He wheeled around and said, 'It is a God damned lie'--and I pulled both triggers, killing him instantly."
p. 247/ Tells of August 1894 killing of Taylor Clemmons by Grant Baker during gambling. "Baker surrendered to Marshal Sharp; the news spread rapidly and the Negroes quickly gathered. From their talk and actions it was plain that they were bent on lynching the murderer. Baker was in Merifield's saloon with the Marshal when they made a rush for him, headed by George Clemmons, a brother of the murdered man. Two gleaming pistols in the hands of the guards did not terrify him, but his friends took him away by main force and further trouble was avoided. That night after dark Baker was slipped away from the home of the Marshal to the Mt. Sterling jail, as a mob bent on lynching him had all the roads leading to Owingsville guarded. In the press the killing was termed 'an unprovoked and cold blooded affair' and for which he 'ought to be hung without judge or jury.'"

AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE LOUISVILLE "NATIONAL MEDICAL SCHOOL"

§ 1. That Henry Fitzbutler, Rufus Conrad, and W. A. Burney, and their successors, be, and they are hereby, created a body-politic and corporate, under the name and title of "The Louisville National Medical College," of Louisville, Kentucky; and by such
Act To Incorporate the Louisville National Medical Sch

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky:

The said corporation shall have power to purchase, hold, lease, convey, mortgage, sell, purchase, maintain, improve, hold, and dispose of property, real and personal, and all other proper means to carry out the purposes of the corporation, subject to the provisions of the laws of the United States and of the State of Kentucky.

SECTION 2. The said corporation shall have power to borrow money and to mortgage property, real and personal, for the purpose of carrying out the purposes of the corporation, subject to the provisions of the laws of the United States and of the State of Kentucky.

SECTION 3. The said corporation shall have power to sue and be sued, contract and be contracted with; may have a common seal, and alter the same at pleasure; may have perpetual succession, and may make all by-laws necessary for the transaction of the business and for the government of the school, not inconsistent with the laws of this State or of the United States.

SECTION 4. The said corporation shall be the establishment of an institution for medical education, and to promote the interest of medical education, and to provide instruction in the art and science of medicine and surgery to all that may desire to avail themselves of the facilities offered by said institution, under such regulations as its board of trustees may prescribe, and with such faculty, professors, and teachers as the board may provide.

SECTION 5. The said corporation may receive, acquire, and hold by gift, purchase, lease, loan, devise, or otherwise, money, books, pamphlets, periodicals, papers, and specimens, or other personal property; also such real estate, in fee for a term of years, as may be necessary or suitable for the establishment and conduct of said institution, together with such library or museum as may be established in connection therewith; but said corporation shall not acquire more real estate than one-half acre in the city of Louisville.

SECTION 6. That the said corporation shall have power, and it is hereby authorized, to grant diplomas to practice medicine or surgery, or both—medicine and surgery, to the students of said institution who have been medical students for the full term of three years, or who have attended two full terms of instruction in said institu-
tion, and such diploma shall entitle the holder thereof to practice
the profession of medicine and surgery, or either, in this Com-
monwealth.

§ 7. The persons herein named—Henry Fitzbutler, Rufus Con-
rad, and W. A. Burney, as the incorporators of said corporation
and institution—shall constitute the board of trustees of said cor-
poration, and as such shall exercise all the rights, powers, and
privileges of said incorporation. In case of the death, resigna-
tion, refusal to act, or removal from the State of Kentucky of any
of said persons, the vacancy so created may be filled by the
remaining members of the board.

§ 8. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its
passage.

Approved April 24, 1888.

AN ACT FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE LOT-OWNERS AND RESIDENTS OF
NEW BROADWAY STREET, IN THE EASTERN PORTION OF THE
CITY OF LOUISVILLE.

WHEREAS, It is represented and shown to the present Gen-
eral Assembly that New Broadway Street, in the city of Louis-
ville, has a carriage-way between curbs less than thirty-three feet
wide, and it is proposed, under alleged authority from the city of
Louisville, to construct and operate a double-track street railroad
over and along said street over the protests of the residents on
said street, in such a way as to leave only nine and one-half feet
between the outer rails and the curbs of said street, which would
leave insufficient room for vehicles to safely pass or stand between
the curbstone and passing street cars, greatly to the inconvenience
and injury of abutting lot owners, many of whom have erected
large and expensive houses upon said street; therefore, for remedy
thereof,

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of
Kentucky:

§ 1. That no line of street railroad track, single or double,
shall ever be constructed or operated on or along said New Broad-
way Street; except that, with the consent of the majority by
The public school system of Louisville, which had grown steadily and maintained a high standard from its foundation, inaugurated in this year a new department by the establishment of the first school for colored children. Two schools were opened on the 1st of October, one in the Colored Methodist Church on Center Street and the other in the Colored Baptist Church on Fifth Street. A normal school was also established by the board on Main, between Jackson and Hancock. The teachers in these schools were colored people, a feature still preserved and found most effective. Later substantial brick buildings were erected, and on the 5th of October, 1873, the Colored High School at the corner of Sixth and Kentucky was dedicated—a large three-story brick building with eleven commodious school-rooms, having a capacity for 600 pupils, and a chapel 32x51 feet. Its cost was $25,000.

When the full enfranchisement of the negro was consummated by the adoption of the fifteenth and sixteenth amendments and by the laws of Kentucky admitting him to all civil rights, partial provision was made for the education of colored children by setting apart for that purpose all the taxes derived from the property of colored persons, the author of this act being Hon. Henry L. Stone, an ex-Confederate soldier. This did not prove, however, adequate or satisfactory in any respect, and in 1884 colored children were placed upon the same footing with white children in the distribution of the school fund, the same per capita being given each with no restriction, except the requirement of separate schools for the two races.
1887 RIOT IN LOUISVILLE, TWO BLACKS ACCUSED OF MURDER


P 225/ In 1887 Jennie Bowman, a young lady was murdered by 2 blacks, Turner and Patterson. On Wed, Apr 27, 1887, placed in jail in Louisville; crowds gathered; attempt of crowd to get weapons from armory where a dance was going on failed; The Louisville Legion called out, guarded jail; crowd appeared; rifles loaded; crowd dispersed; reassembled in number of 600 with telegraph pole /begin p 226/ to break open jail; Legion advanced, crowd dispersed; Legion kept under arms 9 days; "The murders were afterward hanged by law."

BEGINNING OF BLACK SCHOOLS IN LOUISVILLE

J. S. Johnston, Hist of Louisville, 1896 (this article by Johnston)

P 237/ A law of 1866 set aside taxes on blacks for as a separate fund for black schools, in addition to a poll tax of $2 per male over 18; trustees of the school districts throughout the state were authorized to open separate schools for blacks and mulatto children. "The charter of 1870 contained a provision for the organization of colored schools in the city, in accordance with this act, and in compliance therewith the first colored school was opened on Center Street on the first day of October, 1870, followed shortly afterward by two more. These were in rented buildings, the separate school fund for such purpose being limited plus.

"In 1874 the Legislature still further increased the negro school fund by appropriating all the taxes, fines and forfeitures collected by the State from the colored people for the education of colored children, thus exempting the race from paying any part of the expenses of the Government. It required time to remove the race prejudice, but it ultimately came by the natural process of popular conviction that education, being the best means of suppressing vice and fitting the population of all classes and condition for the exercise of the functions and duties of citizenship, should now become universal. In August, 1882, the voters of the State ratified an act of the Legislature placing the colored race upon an equality with the white race in a distribution of the school fund. The only respect in which the color line is now observed is in separate schools and in each having teachers of its own race. Thus, in less than a quarter of a century, the African race of Kentucky was advanced from a condition of slavery, with no civil or educational rights, to a state of equality with the white race in all the elements of citizenship; a progress greater than was made by the race in the centuries from the time that Herodotus wrote
BEGINNING, PROGRESS OF BLACK SCHOOLS IN LOUISVILLE

J S Johnston, Hist. of Louisville (article by Johnston) 1896

/p 237 cont'd/ of the African dwarfs near the Mountains of the Moon, in Central Africa, to Stanley's verification of his account, within the past few years. Substantial brick dwellings, equal in structure and equipment to those occupied by the whites, are now to be found in all parts of the city, the school supported by the same fund and governed by a common Board of Trustees. The State Constitution of 1891, Section 187, provides that "In distributing the school fund no distinction shall be made on account of race or color, and separate schools for white and colored shall be maintained."

CURRICULUM, COLORED HIGH SCHOOL, 1894

Johnston, ed., Hist. of Louisville, 1896 (article by Johnston on education)

p 242/

"The Colored High School is situated on the corner of Ninth and Magazine, occupying part of the large Central School Building, into which it moved from Sixth and Kentucky streets in September, 1894. The course of study embraces four years. The following is the course of study for each year.+

"First year--English, Latin, Algebra to Quadratics, Physiology, Ancient History, Music, Drawing.+

"Second year--English, Latin, Higher Algebra, Physics, General History--Italy, France, Spain, etc.; Rhetoric, Drawing, Music.+

"Third year--Literature and Reading, Latin, Rhetoricals, Psychology and Logic, Solid Geometry, completed, and Algebra; review; Physics, review; Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, five months' review; Music, Drawing.+

"It will thus be seen that the course is thorough, including chemistry and physics, with laboratory work; and medical science, including psychology and logic. The total enrollment for the year ending June 30, 1895, was 188. The number of teachers is five. The principal is Professor A. E. Mayzeck."
Statistics on schools in Louisville indicate; (white and black) total disbursements for fiscal year ending Dec 31, 1895: $557,993.72

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<td>Night schools, colored</td>
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<td>58</td>
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Emma Washington, familiarly known as 'Aunt Em,' was a well known colored woman of Lawrenceburg; died July, 1929, age seventy-five. She served as a domestic in many homes of the community and was honest and loyal to her employees and faithful to every duty. Two pews in the colored Baptist church, where her funeral was preached, were reserved for her white folks who brought sprays of flowers which attested to 'Aunt Em's' true worth. She left four sons and two daughters.
Dr. James W. Bond, minister, teacher, writer of note and a leader among Kentucky negroes, died in Williamsburg in 1929, aged sixty-three. He was a native of Anderson County, having been born and reared on the Preston Bond farm five miles south of Lawrenceburg. In early life he had such a zeal for an education he never let an opportunity pass to cultivate his mind. When he left Anderson he settled in Whitley County, where he studied law and was admitted to the bar. He was a son of slave parents. Tiring of law, he studied theology at Berea and Oberlin College, graduating in 1895. At time of death Dr. Bond was a member of the Interracial Commission.

Jordan Hall died in 1931, aged seventy-three; worked for more than twenty-five years for R. H. Lillard. He first came to Lillards to work for one day, and his work was so satisfactory that 'Jurd's' services stretched over a long period of years. He was respected by his race and had many friends among both white and colored.
"Shortly after the close of the War between the States, the first public colored school organized in Breathitt County was included under county statistics in the 1867 report of the state superintendent of public instruction. At that time forty pupils were enrolled in this school. The total Negro population of Breathitt in 1870 was only 181. Today (1940) there is only one Negro school in Breathitt County and it has an enrollment of fifty-five Negro pupils. The Negro population was 203 in 1930."

Bill Strong was said to have had William Tharp, a highly respected citizen and member of the KKK killed. The KKK gathered, about 500 strong, and took Strong and a black "thought to be guilty of no crime other than carrying food to Kilburn in his many places of ambush, was jailed with him." Both were taken out, and some said don't kill the black, but he was lynched anyway.
"Besides the white schools of the county, there are fourteen districts under the educational system inaugurated for the benefit of the colored people in the county, and one colored school in the city of Paris, with a total of fifteen schoolhouses, as shown by the records of Mr. Lockhart, School Commissioner. The school age of colored children is from six to sixteen years; there are 1,020 colored school children in the county, and there was paid to their teachers for the year ending October 10, 1881, $1,023.70. It is highly creditable to the colored people that they are taking an interest in the cause of education that is yearly increasing. The fund from which their children are educated is derived from the taxes paid by the colored people of the State, and, great or small, their taxes all go into their school fund."

— see state supr report on Negro Ed.

"The colored people have three new and substantial church buildings in Paris. The Methodist Church, finished within the last two or three years, is one of the most tasteful in the city. Rev. A. Price is the pastor. Rev. Elisha Green is pastor of the Colored Baptist Church, and Elder Julius Graves, of the Colored Christian Church."
"Colored Schools.--The colored city school is under the charge of the Board of Education. J. C. Graves is the Principal; Mrs. Lucy Fraser, Assistant. Average attendance about fifty pupils. Rev. James M. Thomas conducts a select school of about thirty pupils in the Baptist Church. Reuben Butler also teaches a select school in the Methodist Church with thirty pupils." goes on to say that these opportunities for blacks are ample.
black schools in Scott Co, 1881
Perrin, hist bourbon, scott co, 1882

p 160/ amt paid teachers year ending Oct 10, 1881:
white $4,755.45
colored 602.62 = $5,358.07

No. of students
white 3,752
black 1,751

"There are in the county thirty-nine school districts, in which are schoolhouses of the usual Kentucky type, and in which schools are taught for the regular terms each year. In addition to these, the county is divided into fourteen districts for the benefit of the colored people. They have schoolhouses in each of these districts, and take considerable interest in educating their children."

BLACK CHURCHES IN GEORGETOWN (1882) "First Colored Baptist Church" 156

perrin, bourbon, scott co, 1882

p 198/ "The First Colored Baptist Church was organized in 1869. It occupies a large brick building on the site of the old First Baptist Church, leased for ninety-nine years. They rebuilt the house at a cost of $8,250. They had the services for many years, as pastor, of Rev. Reuben Lee, a man of fair education, pious and discreet, and one who exerted a good influence among his people; during his ministry large numbers were added to the church."

"Its present membership is 472. The present pastor is J. L. Dudley; salary $550. The Deacons are Cliff Prewitt, John Smith, Perry Orr, William Brent, Neat Goodloe, Wash Bland and W. L. Barley. Good Sunday School; regular average attendance, 90; F. C. Nutter Superintendent; J. M. Burley, Church Clerk; seating capacity of the house, about 500."
"Wesley Chapel, the first colored Methodist Episcopal Church, was organized in 1866. It has a good brick house situated on the west side of Mulberry street, north of Main, at a cost of $5,000. The number of its membership is 236; a good Sunday school, average attendance, 69; present pastor, C. J. Nichols.

The progress being made among the colored people in matters of learning is very gratifying to all friends of the race and of education. That education can improve the African race it is folly to debate. Every community numbers some intelligent and virtuous and thrifty colored men, who are conspicuous shafts of light rising out of the dark depths in which most of their blood are plunged. Can we point to a solitary instance of thrift and strict rectitude among them without finding associated with it an elevated intelligence and morality? Left to themselves, however, and without education, the negro will deteriorate and become worse and worse year by year.--Perrin."
BLACK SCHOOL FOUNDED IN CYNTHIANA IN 1868
perrin, bour, scott, harrison cos, 1882

p 282/
"A colored school has also been held in town since about the year 1868; it is pleasantly situated on the so-called 'Common,' in a comfortable house near the river. It has generally been satisfactory to those for whom it was intended."

COLORED METHODIST CHURCH IN CYNTHIANA 1853
PERRIN, bourbon, scott, harrison cos, 1882

p 298/
"In 1853, the Colored Methodists found themselves able to build a church of their own. At an expense of $1,000 they erected a comfortable frame building for church purposes, on the north side of Pleasant street, east of Main. It was conveniently located, and easily seated about 300 persons. Here the church met for twenty-five years in the enjoyment of their religious privileges; but, in 1878, the trustees sold the old house to the Colored Union Benevolent Society for $300. +

"The church then bought of W. L. Northcutt, for $700, ground on Pleasant street, a few yards from the river, sufficient for a church lot and parsonage; they there built their new brick house of worship, finishing it in 1871. The building cost fully $6,000, the bell (very good) costing $150, and the parsonage, a small frame dwelling, costing $250. It will easily seat 500 people; it is pleasantly furnished, has windows of stained glass, carpeted aisles, and gives entire satisfaction. Services are held every Sunday, and, indeed, oftener. The brick work was done by the late J. J. Parish, of our city. The Colored Methodists have now a membership of 260."
In 1857, the Colored Baptists of Cynthiana bought of J. J. Parish a lot, on the bank of the river, about four hundred yards above the railroad depot, and thereon built a small brick church, costing less than $700. In a few years, the house was enlarged, at an expense of $2,500, and then would seat 250 people. The brick-work of this building also, and of the enlargement was done by J. J. Parish. The situation, however, was not satisfactory, as the railroad trains passed close to the windows of the house, and in 1880, the property was sold to W. H. Wilson, for $275, certainly a very low price. During the same year, the trustees purchased of Henry Palmer, colored, for $300, a building lot, on the corner of Bridge and Church streets, still not far from the railroad, but in a much better situation than the old one. Last year, 1881, their new brick church was erected on this lot, by Ed. Clarke, colored, of Lexington. It is a large and spacious building, capable of seating, when finished, 500 people. It has a basement which is finished, and in which services are held every Sunday. To the present time the expenditure has been $3,100, and it is estimated that $1,000 more will complete the work on the interior and the unfinished tower. The membership is now 300.
According to the last report of the State Superintendent of Schools, there are in Nicholas County 3,409 white children of school age, and 337 colored children. The amount paid to teachers of white schools for the year ending October 10, 1881, was $5,321.12; amount paid colored teachers, $210.10. The county is laid off into forty-seven districts for the white schools, in which are schoolhouses of a rather inferior quality. There are four colored schools in the county—one in Carlisle, one in Ellisville, or 'Shakerag,' one in Headquarters, and one in 'Buzzard's Roost.' The schools are supplied by the county, except the Carlisle School, which is taught by the minister of the Reformed Church.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
5,321.12 \text{ paid to white teachers} \\
210.10 \text{ paid to black teachers} \\
5,531.22 \text{ Total}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
3,409 \text{ white} \\
337 \text{ black} = 8.99\% \\
3,746 \text{ Total}
\end{array}
\]

CUMBERLAND COUNTY BLACK CHURCHES, BURKESVILLE: METHODIST

Weals, hist cumberland co, 1947

The Burkesville Colored Methodist Church house was first built in July, 1880, on the same lot on which it stands today. The land was donated to the Trustees by Joe A. S. Miles (colored) and wife. The old house was torn down and a new one built in 1896.
This church was built in March, 1893, on a lot secured through M. O. Allen for the sum of $55.00 and deeded to the Trustees of the Missionary Baptist Church, Ollie Owsley, Finis Baker, Pete Tobin." speaking of Burkesville Baptist Church (black)
"This church was organized in 1889 and a building was constructed on a lot donated by John T. Alexander, to the Trustees of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church (colored). This old log church was abandoned and a new one built about 1933."

"Scarcely had the colored race been freed, when their education was planned. Many of their school buildings, like those of the whites, have crumbled to ruin and the places thereof forgotten. The slaves were freed in 1865, and made citizens by the Fourteenth Amendment, July 28, 1868, and on July 29, 1868, George W. Kings-\begin{109/bury} sold to the 'Freedmen of African Descent' one-fourth acre of land with house on it, 40 by 25 feet, to be used for both school and church. This was used for a number of years and then sold to H. E. Alexander (colored) in 1932. The Trustees paid $660.80 for the lot and building."
"The school building known as 'G', \textit{sic}, was built in 1897 on a one-half acre lot adjoining the Colored Baptist Church in Clay Lick Bottom, which was bought from Robert Young and Dollie Young for $5.00."

"The following named colored men were enlisted in August, 1898, for Tenth U. S. Cavalry, stationed at Santiago, Cuba: Will Major, William Richardson, Edward Ducker, Clarence O'Neal, John T. Thompson, Richard Hardin, Alex Sivells, Matt Campbell, Edward Wallace, Luther Drake, Albert Dade, Saint Leavell, George McReynolds, James Ricketts, Alphonso Alexander, Frank Mayes, Jr., Will Haughton, George Dabney, John Norman, Forrest Hampton, Gardner Coleman. They were sent to Fort McPherson, Georgia, in charge of Clarence O'Neal."

\underline{a black in charge}
"A true history of the earliest efforts of the Negro to acquire even the rudiments of an education in Hopkinsville, Ky., with all the acts connected with the birth and development of the educational idea, among a people but a few years removed from bondage, may never be written. Those early pioneers in the field of the first struggles for mental and moral emancipation were more concerned and enraptured with the work in which they were engaged than any probable record or notice which might be made of it in the years to come. The degrading and demoralizing after-effects of slavery and how to successfully combat and eradicate them, constituted a problem which engaged their time and called for sacrifices of the most unselfish souls of both races. These sacrifices they willingly made, laying the foundation for the present system of education in Hopkinsville and Christian County."

"There were then forty-one colored school districts with twenty-three school houses, sixteen of which were log houses."  

"About 1882, through the foresight and enterprise of our colored leaders, assisted by a warm spirit of sympathy on the part of white friends, the lot whereon the Booker T. Washington building now stands was acquired. A large two-story frame structure was erected to which extensive addition have since been made, . . ."
P 313/

"Christian County is well supplied with colored churches. The Baptists predominate and the Methodists have churches in most of the towns. In Hopkinsville the colored people have churches of several denominations. There are probably as many as fifty churches for colored people in the county."
WOODMEN OF THE WORLD
Pearl City Camp No. 5, 12014 East Ninth Street.

COLORED LODGES
INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD SAMARITANS
Evening Star Lodge No. 26, Good Samaritan Hall.
Solomon's Temple Lodge No. 27, Good Samaritan Hall.
Pearl City Lodge No. 52, Good Samaritan Hall.
Arthur's Pride No. 12 (Juvenile), Good Samaritan Hall.
Excelsior No. 18 (Juvenile).

MOSAIC TEMPLARS
Booker T. Washington, No. 1473, Good Samaritan Hall.
White Rose Chamber, No. 4296 (Ladies' Auxiliary).
Eastern Star Chamber, No. 2878 (Ladies' Auxiliary).
Eureka Chamber, No. 5171 (Ladies' Auxiliary).
Carnation Chamber, No. 5199 (Ladies' Auxiliary).
Estella Chamber, No. 5168 (Ladies' Auxiliary).
Elliott Temple, No. 1703, 120 West Second Street.
Elsie J. Bell Chamber, No. 6159 (Ladies' Auxiliary), Good Samaritan Hall.

MASONIC
King Lodge No. 41, 120 West Second Street.
Chrispus Attucks Lodge, Good Samaritan Hall.

GRAND UNITED ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS
Mystic Tie Lodge No. 1907, 120 West Second Street.
Household of Ruth No. 112, Good Samaritan Hall.

ORDER OF EASTERN STAR
Naomi Chapter No. 12, 120 West Second Street.
Progressive Chapter No. 63, Good Samaritan Hall.

UNITED BROTHERS OF FRIENDSHIP
Freedom Lodge No. 75, 120 West Second Street.

SISTERS OF THE MYSTERIOUS TEN
Musafora Temple No. 38 (Ladies' Auxiliary).

INTERNATIONAL ORDER OF TWELVE
Rising Star Temple No. 80, Good Samaritan Hall.

KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS
Pennyroyal Lodge No. 20, 120 West Second Street.
Court of Calanthe (Ladies' Auxiliary).

ROYAL CIRCLE OF FRIENDS OF THE WORLD
Phillis Wheatley No. 1919, Good Samaritan Hall.
taxable property of blacks in Owensboro in 1872

anony, hist of Daviess co, 1883

p 331/
"The taxable property of Owensboro in 1872 was listed by the city assessor as follows: Within the old city boundary, $2,121,585; within the addition, $181,945; property of negroes, $13,495; total value of property, $2,317,025. The property in the addition was listed separately because it was annexed to the city on condition that it should not share the railroad debt and some other responsibilities, and that of the colored people on account of their separate school interests." goes on to say there is some doubt at to the accuracy of the assessment because it lists blacks as owning only 11 dogs, which were taxes for schools, etc.

p 362/ An act of March 13, 1871, of the legislature approved establishing public schools in Owensboro. /begin p 363/ "The peculiar features of the charter are, the requirement that the German language shall be taught, and that no colored pupils shall be admitted into these schools."
"Colored School.--This is supported almost exclusively by the State fund, which yields, since August, 1882, $1.30 per child of school age. Previously the per capita had thirty to fifty cents. There are now about 500 colored children of school age (between six and twenty years) in the city of Owensboro. Their school building, on Poplar street, between Third and Fourth, was erected in 1879, is of brick, and 30 x 40 feet in dimensions. Average attendance about 200. The teachers are Lewis Metcalf, Principal, and Mrs. Anna Vairian and Owen Barrett, Assistants."

"Fourth Street Baptist Church (colored).--This society was organized many years ago, when records were not very sacredly kept. They worshipped at first in a log building which stood almost directly in a ravine, since filled up, just below where St. Stephen's Church now stands. Isom Howard was their minister for many years. The present church building, a brick, between Elm and Poplar streets, was built before the war; seating capacity, 500 or more. Since it was first built, twenty feet addition has been made to the rear or north end. It is now eighty feet long by forty wide.

"As pastors of this church, Mr. Howard has been succeeded by Revs. Du Puy, Caldwell, Edward Newsom and Moses Harding, the present incumbent, who has been here nearly seven years. There are now about 500 members. There have been over 600, but a few years ago a new church was formed from it, who have their headquarters in the eastern part of the city. The Sunday-school has an average attendance of 80 to 100. Nelson Talbutt is the present Superintendent."

"The principal revivals have occurred under the ministrations of Rev. Newsom, who added over 100 to the church, and Rev. Norris, from Henderson, who conducted a revival here resulting also in the addition of over 100 to the church. Mr. Harding has added about 300 to this church."
p 377/ Center Street Baptist Church (colored)
"This has also been called 'Snow Hill Baptist Church;' \textit{sic} the name does not yet seem to be settled. It is comparatively young and weak. A frame church has been commenced on Snow Hill, probably 34 x 50 feet in dimensions, but when the frame was up and roof and siding on work ceased. The society holds regular religious services, however. Rev. A. Merrifield has been pastor here. Rev. Salter is the present minister."

p 384/ Third St Col African Methodist Episcopal Church
"This church was organized many years ago, by Rev. Dunahy, with twenty-five or thirty members. Met for worship in Megil's Hall. The pastors since then have been Revs. Yocum, Frost, O. B. Ross, Ferguson, Sherman, and the present one is Rev. Taylor. The membership has increased to 119, and is in a prosperous condition. Class-leaders: Dora Henderson and Mr. Humphrey. The church building was erected in 1873; size, 60 x 30 feet; cost, $16,000; location near the corner of Third and St. Elizabeth streets."
"Guiding Star Lodge, No. 14, A. F & A. M. (colored), was organized in 1879, with about ten members and the following officers: Thomas Tyler, W. M.; C. K. Barrett, S. W.; Alfred Buckner, J. W.; George Alexander, S. C.; Charles Jones, J. D.; Nestor McFarland, Chaplain; Phocian Fields, Secretary; William McFarland, Treasurer; Lewis R. Saulsbury, Tyler. There are now thirty-two members, with the following officers: Alfred Buckner, W. M.; George Alexander, S. W.; Elder McFarland, J. W.; Phocian Fields, S. D.; Lewis Saulsbury, J. D.; Wm. Jackson, Secretary; Wm. Bailey, Treasurer. Place of meeting, over the Deposit Bank."

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"There is a good thing now going on here in way of provision for women and a school for children."

"I saw the condition of the women who came into the camp—tempted, corrupted—many had been put out. They would return—soldiers' wives and children abused at home came in—often thrown out this injured three (?) fourth of the soldiers."

"I went to Capt Hall then Quarter Master here told him there ought to be a place for the women and children with grounds (?) for culture in the spring rooms in which to do work with superintendents & guard of faithful Colored men 'Elders' taken from the invalid Corps.' Capt. Hall told Fee to draw up a proposal and Fee did. Hall signed it. The proposal was forwarded to Sec Chase & Sen. Wilson."

"Provision will be made for a magnificent school. The site is a high beautiful one—fifty acres the buildings thus far the finest in the Camp." Fee wanted to know how they felt about the enterprise. Fee said that wives and children were coming into camp by the dozens; rations and quarters issued. "There is a demand of the people to put slavery away soon as possible. I attended a primary meeting this day inst. (?) past at Richmond Madison Co -- took part in speaking up as a delegate to Frankfort tomorrow. The wants of the colored children of the state will be numerous. The slaves of Ky are among the brightest and best developed in the nation."
BLACKS, FREE & SLAVE IN LOUISVILLE, JAN 1865

Thomas James to Bro. Whiple, Jan 13, 1865, AMA mss, mf, armistad res center

James reports that "...we have got a School Started here and we have got
the consent of the Masters and Mistresses to let their little Slaves learn
to read for theire /sic/ all convince /sic/ that Slavery must Die in
Kentucky and So our School is made up of Freed and Slaves grat /sic/ and
Small young and auld...." James says there are about 10,000 blacks in
Louisville, about one-half being slaves.

James in a PS said he was going to Hung in a few days "...the
Colored people are sending for us from Every Direction. They wont (?)
Schools Started in these midst Died...."

FEE WINS SUPPORT OF SEC OF WAR FOR SCHOOL

John G. Fee to Bro. Whipple, Jan. 10, 1865, Berea, Madison Co., ky, Mss, mf
No. 44070, AMA Records, Amistad R Cen. Marked "Private"

Fee told Whipple that General /Stephen Gano ?/ Burbridge told Fee that
the Sec of War approved of Fee's idea of a school, "with all his heart"
and directed Capt Hall to select a site and erect buildings. Hall
suggested Rev. Williams as Supt., Fee proposed Bro. Schofield, but Hall
objected. Fee agreed, eventually, to put Williams in as Supt. on the
condition that he must do well. Hall wanted Fee among the Board of
Directors; that Geo. D. Blakey be on the Board; Bro. Schfield also on
Board. Interpretation: It appears that while these men talk in terms
of God's will, they also want to assure control, or at least some part,
in the control of the school.
Rev. Thomas James to Bro. Whipple, Jan 24, 1865, Louisville, mss 44072
AMA, Arm Res Cen.

Thomas writes Whipple to let him know how the work is going. "I think I am doing a good work; I have got two schools commenced in this city and also two night schools. We have in these two schools over two hundred school children and about twenty of them are slaves and about 75 of them are from Tennessee and other parts of the South and the remainder are of this city for the purposes of making arrangements for to build a schoolhouse for their is no place for to keep school in except in the colored meeting houses and they are in much want of a house for colored children. I would say to you we want to render (?) us all of the aid you can possible; I have all the work that I can do hear for a while; I wish would send me a letter and let me know what you think the work I am a doing. You know that this is a slave state and in this city there is over 5000 slaves and we have no favors shown to us from the people of this city for the largest part would be rebels if they were not afraid of the union soldiers please answer, please answer this by return mail."

Rev. Thomas James mentioned Center Street Colored People Church in Louisville.

FEE STILL SUPPORTS REV. SCOFIELD FOR POSITION AT SCHOOL

J G Fee to Bro Whipple, Camp Nelson, Ky, Feb 3, 1865 Mss 44073-74, AMA, A R C

Fee, in letter to Whipple says XXX that Bro. Williams has had an opportunity to prove himself better than Scofield, but Scofield is better in every way.
BRO. A. SCOFIELD COLLECTS GOODS FOR SCHOOL AT CAMP NELSON, KY

A Scofield to "Dear brethren" Feb 4, 1865, Camp Nelson, KY, ARC ms no 44075

On a letterhead "The United States Christian Commission" Scofield reports on his efforts to collect supplies; blankets, clothing, etc. got free pass to Syracuse NY, but much collected in KY and Cincinnati area; Scofield says "Though it is not quite the labor I came here to do..." yet he will continue as the organization sees fit. He deplores the activities of the Quartermaster who is not really interested in their schoo.

SCHOOLS BEING BUILT OVER STATE: CAPT HALL PROFITING

Fee to Bro Whipple, Feb 7, 1865, from Camp Nelson, KY, on US Christian Commission stationary, AAM, ms no 44076-77, Arm Res Cen.

Fee does not think Bro Williams has the qualities needed. But "Bro Scofield is handy in all these respects. But he has manifested such sensitiveness about his right to work taken from him that Capt Hall & the Quartermaster here have him not in good order(s) (?). Also there is a prevalent belief here that Bro Scofield will be ready to begin without (?) finishing."

"Capt Hall will likely have the construction of buildings in different parts of the state."

"All concur in saying he is acct. (against) slavery but that he 'served not God for nought.' He has made money very fast." "Hall suggests that I have the religious care here --order and management of that. Bro Williams and wife manage this school & Bro Scofield in another part of the camp instruct the Colored men--soldiers-- That we thro (?) to that committee that I be chairman of it."

"Gen Fry (Speed Smith ?) urges that I take the general superintendency because the Colored people know me as their friend and I know their habits. I want to do one thing that is preach to them--"
FEE ASKED BY OFFICERS TO HELP WITH COLORED PEOPLE

Fee to Whipple, Feb 7, 1865, Camp Nelson, Ky., AmA, Ms no 44076-77, ARC

"Gen Brisbin / James Sanks Brisbin/ who has the organizing of all the Colored troops in Ky told me he had no doubt that there would be 5 thousand refugees here by middle of April.+

"He volunteered to me any facility I might desire anywhere in the state. truly God has given to me an open door." Gen Fry "...asked me to go with him & look over the camp & insisted that I take charge of these poor people."

WORK WITH, CONDITION OF BLACKS AT CAMP NELSON, Feb 1865

Fee to Whipple, Feb 8, 1865, Camp Nelson, Ms no 44079, AMA, ARC

"The interest in this Camp, so far as the Colored people are Concerned, Continues to increase.+

"There are three parts of three regiments of Colored soldiers. Within a few days our School room for Soldiers will again be ready for their reception and instruction. Bro Scofield will probably have the care of these for the present.+

"There are near eight hundred women and children seen in Camp; and yet they come. Twenty seven came yesterday. Rev L Williams, of Mass, has the care of these for the present.+

"As you are aware, the government has set apart a tract of land for wards, school rooms, workshops and extensive gardens. Buildings are being put up. Within two wards are some three hundred women and children. Many of these are in a condition truly destitute. I know one of our representatives in Congress said a few days since that 'slavery in Ky was not that horrible thing which northern abolitionists describe'--Slavery is essentially the same everywhere--it is a system of force and violence... There were within this Camp Seven hundred and fifty three women and Children. Of this number one hundred and fifty, say they were cruelly treated on account of their husbands enlisting; and three hundred and ten say they were driven off from home. Three were so horribly lacerated that the military authorities after examination by surgeons, sent them to Cincinnati." they were to be cared for by the Freedmen's Aid Society. "Of the first three thousand Colored men examined in this camp for military service, three out of five bore on their bodies marks of cruelty." Govt is to build cottages, schools, etc; Fee x sees great responsibility, but possible great gains for blacks."
LONG P.S.: FEE TELLS OF SUDDEN CHANGES, CONCLUSIONS:

Fee to Whipple, Feb 8, 1865, Camp Nelson, 8 page PS, ms nos 44083-
AMA, Armistad Res Cen.

Capt T. B. Hall went to Lexington and got himself appointed general supt of
the Fugitive home in Capt Nelson; Hall is an abolitionist, but not a servant
of God: "He is artful and ambitious." resigned service to be a civilian
employee to build buildings at Camp Nelson. "Capt Hall desires my cooperation
and suggests that I take care of the religious interests of the camp and
of all such in the state." Under the title; "Conclusion"

"There are many doors now opening to me in this state. I thank God
for the privilege."

"But apparently the best thing for my health progress in knowledge and
good of my sons is to settle down in some one place as Berea or here
and build up one thing well. I have great sympathy for these Colored
people."

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PROPOSAL OF SCHOOL FOR LOUISVILLE; REV JAMES, A BLACK

Rev. B. B. Smith to Rev. George Whipple, Feb 9, 1865, Louisville, Ky.
AMA Mss, Armistad Res Cen.

"For the last three years I have stood pretty much alone amongst
the Clergy of this City, in efforts for the good of the poor Colored People.
In view of the over exciting appeals to their emotional natures, and the
lack of rational bible instruction, I was anxious to establish an Episcopal
Church, for the benefit of a more intelligent class amongst them; but I
began by bringing a well educated White Young Gentleman, from Boston to
conduct a day School for children, a night School for adults & a Sunday
School for both. His presence made quite a stir amongst the Colored People
and led to some very successful efforts to enlarge and improve Schools under
their arrangement and instruction."

"At this juncture, the Rev. Mr. James, (colored) the Agent of your Society
made his appearance, and produced a much more profound sensation. I have
had two long interviews with him, and cannot but think that he has set the
ball in motion here for a general, free School effort, amongst the blacks
themselves. At the same time, I should think that he might now pass on to
Nashville, with advantage to the cause; where there is a much more need of
effort, than here, there is here, more than in Cleveland.

"I was myself in Nashville a month ago and testify to what I have seen.
Some of your Managers will know me as the Bishop of Ky- a tried Union man and
a life-long friend of the Colored Race- and if in any of the conflicts of
opinion with regard to your work you may stand in need of the facts, as for
as this City is concerned, the experience of more than 30 y. may make me a
good witness."

"All this, however, is only by way of introduction to the more immediate
object of this letter."
Mr. Denneky (?) the Young Man from Boston, above alluded to, has so many Scholars at 25c’s a week, or $1.00 a month, & so many free, (?) that he would be glad to employ a well educated Col. Young Woman, here from Cleveland, & take more free Scholars. But he is wholly unable to pay her out of his own small income, (& from the agitated state of the public mind here, during the process of the breaking up of the system of Slavery, that I was obliged to go abroad last fall- to travel 3000 miles the year I was 70, in order to raise a $1000, to pay a debt on the Church, to bring out Mr. Denneky, and to begin our School - and I cannot - it would not do at all, for me, now, to call upon our many rich & liberal Episcopalians here to help me.) Now the question is, does it come within the rules of your Society to pay the salary of such an assistant teacher, of such a School? If so, how much of a salary, & upon what conditions? At the suggestion of Mr. James, these questions my dear Xtss Br. are put to you by

Yours truly, B. B. Smith
Thos James to Whipple, Feb 10, 1865, Louisville, AMA, ARC MSS 44088

"I would say to you that Bushop Smith of the Puscopalion amen(?) he owns a Small House and has Started a Small School in it that he has got an Irishman teaching it and i understand he is a gount to sent to you for money to Carry on that School i think that his denomination should carry that on for the are rich but it is true that his Brother will not help him in this City to learn Negro to read." I think this is what it says.

Gen Brisbin to Fee, Feb 15, 1865, AMA, ARC, Lexington Ky "Head-Quarters U. S. Colored Troops"

Fee had previously asked why Capt Hall had been placed in charge of blacks: (in note 191)

Says Capt Hall has been designated to look after colored people; that it is best not to encourage blacks to come into camp unless they are being abused.
Bro Tappan told that Williams is less effective than Scofield.

Fee to Bro. Tappan, Camp Nelson, Feb 21, 1865, AMA, ARC ms no 44091, most of the letter has been scratched through.

"Capt Hall is appointed Superintendent--He is not often there--is a businessman with much business in iron foil (?)--away from here--Bro Williams means well I think but is not much with the suffering ones--Bro Scofield does more than both."

FEE TELLS WHIPPLE OF APPOINTMENT OF CAPT HALL OVER BLACKS

Fee to Whipple, Feb 21, 1865, Camp Nelson, AMA, ARC, ms no 44093

Fee mentions to whipple the enclosure which says Capt Hall appointed Supt. Says Capt Hall acted hastily; the usual procedure being for the benevolent society to nominate and the govt. to appoint. In this case, however, Hall wants to Lexington and quickly won the appointment.

"Now all this may be the best thing. Capt. Hall is execution--has experience in building, managing--has organization & order--has the confidence of the Colored people here." Hall knows the difference between right and wrong.

"The Commandant--Gen Fry does not like him; nor does he like Fry"
Fee to Bro Tappan, Feb 21, 1865, Camp Nelson, AMA, ARC MS NO 44091, much of it struck through.

"I have been laboring to abolish the ward system - have these cut up into rooms & then build cottages for others." "Cottages are cheaper in erection than wards; - It is cheaper to buy additional fire wood than coffins and graves." "The habits of this people must also be considered. They have been accustomed to the fireplace & cabin."

Fee working for cottages -- deaths in camp

fee to whipple, feb 21, 1865, camp nelson, ama, arc, ms no 44093

"I am working hard for cottages instead of wards -- four deaths last night -- four night before." Ward system leads to disease, etc
FEE'S SON BURRITT TO HELP SCOFIELD AS TEACHER FOR MONTH

fee to whipple, feb 21, 1865, camp nelson, ama, arc, ms no 44093

"My Son Burritt is with me here. He is near 16 years of age. Bro Scofield desires his help in teaching the soldiers -- the male & female school will be separate. I shall leave Burritt to help one month - pay as you do other such teachers - he is very faithful & has had some experience in teaching - at Berea."

REV THOMAS JAMES TO WHIPPLE, FEB 17, 1865, LOUISVILLE, AMA, ARC, MS NO 44094

"I would say to you we are having School Started in almost every place in this part now I preach in same camp. Every Sunday I would say to you that Kentucky and Northern Tennessee is where work is most waunted and think the way will soon be opened so I can go. Gen Palmer has taken command and he will drive the Guerillas out of this country. Teaching in Louisville, will leave Louisville and be back in 10 days. Asks that Whippe send some of them papers that is book form for they are of great use here if I can send fifty of them and I wish you go and see some of the officers of the American Bible Society and ask them if they will go and give 50 Testaments and 25 Cheapes Bibles for the Benefit of the poor freed man Sunday School in this country you please let me hear from you soon as possible. Yours in the Lord Thomas James"
BB SMITH ON PROSPECTS OF FREE COLORED SCHOOL

Feb 24, 1865, Louisville, AMA, ARC, ms no 44095

"I am not as well pleased with the prospects of a Free School under the management of the colored people themselves, as I was when I wrote before. Like our German Citizens, they were not yet accustomed to self-government, & as soon as brought together in popular assembly they begin to jar, upon points, easily harmonized by more mature minds. Before writing this letter I waited for a report from a third or fourth public meeting held last night, and learn that Baptists & Methodists are not likely to be brought to work harmoniously together neither the laity with the Clergy, being now rather disposed to break loose, in such matters, from their long ascendancy. I should rather think the movement will result in Parochial Schools, partly pay and partly free. Schools they will have and Schools of a greatly improved character, for their desire for education, improvement and elevation is something truly wonderful. And in a way of experiment, and whilst they are in a transition state, perhaps it does not make much odds how they begin. At all events, my chief concern is, that the salt of divine grace—the word & the Spirit of God may abound, to season sanctify and save the whole sou.

The impression made upon me is private, by the Rev. Mr. Lewis was rather pleasing. Once I met him in a public place and his manner was not sufficiently retiring and silent. I have inquired concerning him, and the replies incline me to believe, that if you could meet with a colored man of his cultivation, who had lived in a Slave State, it would work better. I have urged him to pass on to Nashville, and the report you may receive from there will enable you to decide."

FEE BELIEVES KY BLACKS MORE INTELLIGENT

Feb 25, 1865, Camp Nelson, AMA, ARC, ms no 44097 (very long letter)

"It is the testimony of the Colored officers of the army that the slaves of Kentucky are more intelligent & better developed than in any other state. If I were not Connected with the Berea school I should pitch my tent here and link my future life with these Colored people— for moral good."

"Bad as are the habits of many they are susceptible of great moral good." He expected the buildings of Camp Nelson to be sold cheaply and doubtless many blacks would stay there after the war. Repeats that Capt Hall is primarily a businessman, a constant theme of Fee."
FEE ASKED TO START A WHITE SCHOOL FOR SURGEONS' OFFICERS' CHILDREN

fee to whipple, feb 27, 1865, camp nelson, ama, arc, ms no 44102

"This day Gen Fay asked me to start a school for the children of surgeons officers & other persons within this Camp -- that would be a white school. I told him I would find the teacher, he the house. He agreed --+

"Now we think we can make the school self sustaining and that the school through its teacher will naturally assimilate with the Colored school and the field of usefulness be enlarged.

"Now should we fail to make a fair salary here by a pay school, will you help to the amount of five or ten dollars per month. +

"also will you thus (?) and in support of a teacher at Berea Madison Co Ky-- We will make both self supporting far as we can & fast as we can."

Fee wants badly for Capt Hall (Hull) to give Whipple control of the school.

CONSIDERABLE CONTROVERSY AT CAMP NELSON OVER CONTROL AND AUTHORITY OF BLACKS; MUCH POLITICS, EVEN AMONG CLERGYMEN

Rev A. Scofield to Rev. M. E. Strieby (?) march 3, 1865, ama, arc, ms 44104

Camp Nelson, Ky

Scofield complains that Bro Williams, A Baptist, and a special friend of Capt hall, was given his job by Capt Hall while Scofield was back east collecting clothes, etc for fugitives.

Scofield, who apparently is a good preacher, says: "I can hardly content myself with teaching A. B. C. besides you can have teachers for that work who can serve you for less wages than I can. Is there no field where I can do more?" Says Fee wants him to preach "broad cast" in Ky

Name: Bro. Leter Williams, Titl: Capt of Color Ref."
FEE ON SCHOOL DEVELOPMENTS; teachers

fee to bro Strieby (Strieby) March 7, 1865, Camp Nelson, ama, arc, ms 44106

Says Williams is about to leave, not being paid enough, Bro Vitter (the clerk) is about to become chaplain of a regiment. Fee describes his recent duties at Camp Nelson: "... have aided in the arrangement of the Fugitive home attended to the wants of many of the Sick -- have aided in refitting the school Room for males -- soldiers -- We have in this the best field as I believe in the state. There are here large parts of three Regiments of Colored troops -- two of the three are Cavalry men, Young, bright -- I preach to them with great interest." caption audience? "He /Bro Scofield/ and Burritt (my Son) & Bro Burdett are in the school (Col. Soldiers) as teachers. Bro Scofield Superintends." Goes on "to say a word" about Bro Scofield, says he is great! high praise!

PROBLEMS IN CHURCH OF BLACKS; SMITH QUESTIONS ACTIONS OF REV JAMES

rev b b smith to rev george whipple, march 8, 1865, Louisville, ama, arc ms no 44109

Smith says that "The Brother" apparently sent by Whipple "...made inquiries of me concerning the Rev. Mr. James, to which I replied, in part, cautiously and kindly; referring him, for further satisfaction, to the reports which might come to you from Nashville." Smith goes on to tell Whipple what he has heard:

"1st. That under his / james'/ influence the Center St. Colrd Meth. Church has been induced to surrender its connection with the Meth. Ch. S. (?) & join the Zion Ch; whilst wiser friends think it should have been the Meth. Ch. N. thus displacing a worthy Minister, whose place he fills, at least at times.

"2nd. That, to aid him in a good work, to protect Slaves from being sold as Substitutes, they not receiving the price, but master's & brokers, he accepted the office and pay of a Government Detective /sic/, which, some think he ought not to hold, whilst in your service. What I wrote before, concerning dissensions likely to prevent united action, in behalf a Free School, amongst them, is daily becoming more and more apparent; and the prospect of Parish Schools, more probable; in which event our Episcopal School, being one of the best, is likely to go on. It has, I believe the only white Teacher and certainly the best; who is also doing a good work in promoting enlistments, XXXXX & preventing those enlisted from being defrauded. Thirteen of his Night pupils have enlisted, to fill up the draft, and of these, four have been made Sergeant's, on account of being able to read and write.

"I hope you will understand me as having no ill feelings towards the Rev. Mr. James - and that, in no case, could I be counted a witness, since what I report is upon hearsay;..." Says give James a hearing before deciding.
Scofield says he has now been working in this field 6 months; things would have been better—more progress—if camp were not so confused. Sends financial report. Says he can't live on so small a salary. Going to home in Lebanon, N Y for a visit. Should he return?

"We have opened the School again for the Soldiers. It promises much good. The attendance is fair and the attention excellent."

Fee says that: "Bro Williams is not satisfied with Capt Hall's summary disposal of him."

"Capt Hall said he took the place of Superintendent because he thought he could do more for the enterprise."

Fee is not sure what he or Williams will do.
thomas james to george whipple, march 17, 1865, louisville, ama, arc, ms no 44113

"It is necessary for me to remain here for a while. Maj Genl J. W (M) Palmer Comdg Dept says I must not leave here for a while - matters are progressing in a very satisfactory manner - the Prison and Slave Pens have been opened & the bond let go free - there are a good many Women & Children now here & more coming in every day - they need attention & the Children are being sent to School -

"At Nashville all is working as well as could be expected - & much more good can be accomplished here than there - "

Says soldiers are coming in daily to claim their freedom.

This letter may not have been actually been written by James, though he signed it.

T. E. Hall to Rev. M. E. Stricky, March 24, 1865, AMA, ARC, Camp Nelson, Ky, ms no 44114 (Hall: signed Supt of Refugees Home, Camp Nelson, Ky)

Hall says wrote Stucky 10th last month telling what the camp needed, but has heard nothing. Wants to know what the Am Miss Assn will do for Camp Nelson blacks. Says Gen Palmer has informed him that Nelson will be the general camp for all Ky. He wanted teachers and farmers.
Fee says Camp Nelson will be the Key to Ky as far as the colored people are concerned.

Black minister helps baptise: "...baptised three of the 6 that evening. Bro Burdett (Colored - former slave) baptised the other three - he had not baptised before - was ordained after coming into Camp." Fee thought there were 2000 there at the service.

Gabriel Burdett, scene 218

AMA OFFERED TO CONTROL RELIGION AND TEACHING AT CAMP NELSON

Rev E. Davis to Rev M. E. Stieby, April 14, 1865, Camp Nelson, AMA, ARC, ms no. 44119

Davis writes Stieby saying Capt Hall says Maj Gen Palmer wishes the Am. Miss. Assn. to take over teaching and religious life of people at Camp Nelson. Says he has been told that in addition to 1500 to 1600 at Camp Nelson (blacks), 1000 at other centers. Hall thinks 60,000, families of colored soldiers, may find their way there. Hall wants John G. Fee to be in control of AMA activities at Camp Nelson. They also need a farm superintendent as there is lots of good land around Camp Nelson.

In 4-12-1865 letter to Stieby, Davis seems to mention C. Nelson Tuesday PM. Capt Hall absent at time of letter writing.
E Davis to Rev M. E Strieby, Apr 12, 1865, Camp Nelson, AMA, arc, ms no 44121

Located in a sharp bend in the Ky River, elevation of several hundred ft, seemingly "healthful" and a beautiful site. "The Colored refugees occupy, as I view it, the finest portion of the whole--The barrack buildings, as indicated in Capt. Hall's plans which you will remember, are nearly finished--and now in addition to these Mr. H is erecting double cottages, 32 x 16 feet making each 16 feet space which are intended to accommodate 10 to 12 persons--20 to 24 to each humble cottage. Twenty nine of them are already nearly completed, and are eagerly sought after by the colored soldiers, for their families at a rent to the government of $25 per. an. for each room."

Says Capt Hall is promoted to a colonelcy with the position of chief of the Freedmen's Bureau, for Ky. In this position he will be able to make a definite arrangement with us.

LIST OF AMA OFFICIALS AT CAMP NELSON

FEE to Strieby, April 21, 1865, Camp Nelson, AMA, ARC, ms no 44122

In a P. S. Fee states: 1. Rev. L Williams-local superintendent
2. Mr. Chapin assistant
3. Mr. Moss--farmer
4. Mrs. Williams Matron and superintendent of the school
5. Three or more xx teachers-female

Teacher-Caroline Damon, widow, no family. CD to M.E. Strieby, May 8, 1865. C Nelson, ARC.
EVALUATION OF BLACKS BY E DAVIS TO EX. COMM. A MISS ASSN

e davis to "Ex. Com. Am. Miss. Assoc." AMA, arc, ms no 44124 reporting from camp nelson, ky. date?

"I will add in this connection that the cold refugees themselves are impatient to have us begin the work. These people appear to me fully equal to the freedmen of Eastern Virginia, and Roanoke Island -- in their mental capacity, their moral condition, and their earnest desire for improvement."

SALARIES OF TEACHERS AT CAMP NELSON

T E Hall to Rev. Strieby, may 8, 1865, Camp Nelson, AMA, arc, ms no 44128

Hall says $15 per mo is too little pay for those whose "labor is incessant."

Teachers: Mrs. Williams, Mrs Damon, Mrs Knight.
HALL'S VIEW OF BLACKS AT CAMP NELSON

t e hall to strieby, may 8, 1865, camp nelson, ama, arc, ms no 44128

"Bear in mind that the most of these people are field hands -- and "
they know"nothing of cooking or serving" "It is not sufficient that these
people are taught to read. They must be taught to take care of themselves.
Respectfully and earnestly recommend that you send three or four good
earnest laborers for this field." These people need clothing, they are
almost naked; the govt will not furnish clothing.

GABRIEL BURDETT, BLACK HELPER OF FEE AT CAMP NELSON

fee to Strieby, may 18, 1865, Frankfort, ky, ama, arc, ms no 44134

"Also the Association gave to Gabriel Burdett a commission - at the
time I stated to the Society there was a claim on him as a soldier detailed
here had not been mustered in - his regiment gone to front.

"He worked on here as an evangelist doing good. Recently he has
been mustered in. He is in need of a stove - cooking stove. Will you
send him thirty five dollars on the past -- let him for time to come look
to the military for pay. He will do extra work. the work of preaching
teaching writing (?) for Colored people--

"Bro Davis will tell you that Burdett is a valuable man."

fee to Strieby, 5-30-1865, C. Nelson, ama, arc ; Bro. Burdett called to his
regiment & not here to help.

fee to Strieby, 5-30-1865, C. Nelson, ama, arc ; The mention check on Burdett
from Bri Toppan.
"I have already organized and set in operation two schools; one for boys and one for girls between the ages of five and ten years. Each numbers from ninety to ninety-five scholars. I found on an examination that ten of the boys could read and twenty could say their letters. Of the girls, twenty could read and forty say their letters. As a whole they look bright, animated, and intent to learn. Thus far the enterprise shows a face of very pleasant encouragement."

Fee calls for integrated schools; can do this at Berea

tells Strieby that there should be colored teachers at Camp Nelson to 1) show what these people can do 2) to set an example to put down the idea of cast. "Spirit of Cast"

Some, such as Hall, are calling for moving blacks to free states. Fee opposes.

"Camp Nelson cannot be the receptacle for all. How then shall we get education to the great mass who stay scattered over the country. What we have here is only a drop in the bucket."

"Outside of military posts the people will not yet be favorable to schools where colored children can be taught. We think we can do this at Berea soon as we can get ready for the Children - next spring, get houses up this fall & winter."

"Decision."

"After your observation - is it best to get colored children & whites into the same towns and schools or will that be all the while a forced effort and small and we be compelled to get the colored people together in groups for a generation and there educate and then by the force of example in persons already educated & cultured break down the spirit of cast."

"Is this your decision? What?"
"Rebel lands here can be Confiscated & other lands bought & sold. We can buy this land /sic/ at $50 per acre & sell it for same or even $60 to Colored Soldiers - three to five acres in a lot & let these people be self supporting - this must be done."

"... we need to get these people in cottages attached to small plots of ground or some mechanical labor labor from either or both of which they can earn something. They will work for themselves as they will not for Uncle Sam or any other than self. In doing so they will govern themselves, thus far, and avoid the driving (?) of overseers. I have within the last two days visited more than one hundred families and registered the name and condition of each member - about one thousand. By this I have the domestic need (?) and religious state of each one - I so mark each one. I have worked very hard to get this - shall go on again this day. Now I find many sleeping, lounging & /sic/ who would otherwise be out at work - this must be overcome by the natural stimulus before a success can be attained.

"Now we must either introduce machinery or scatter these cottages (now in straight rows (1 row ?) and each house about 15 feet apart) out onto little plots of ground which plots must be worked, not by government compelling some of them to work the grounds, but by letting each family work themselves & have the entire profit of their own work; and thus sustain themselves - 'pump or dround' - no true success here without something like this."

says the 11 sq miles of the camp must be so divided up, though claimed by rebels.
"Also we should avoid making a 'nigger' school - avoid the idea that there must be separation. I believe we ought to make this a school for humanity -- make efforts to have in here a due measure of white faces. I fear we shall not be able to get this here. Already the impression with all classes is that this Camp is for black people. We may have to make the true model at Berea -- possibly try at both."

Fee adds PS: says that he had thought only whipple would see this letter. Fee wants to have Whipple's thoughts on "Colored & White together. Will we have to yield to pressure of prejudice for a generation..." Shall we encourage blacks to"come together in towns of their own?" or say to them stay where you want.

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Fee says Gen Palmer asked him to feel out Frankfort on the issue of education for blacks. "all visited thought the time had not come yet."

This posed a problem for Fee: shall we try to reach them all?
DEATH AT CAMP NELSON (Scofield has just arrived back at Camp Nelson) 225

"The mortality also is fearful - From one sixth to one seventh of the whole number die ♦ every Month! They come and die! They come and die! This results from two causes 1st bad plan 2nd bad management - It is a bad plan - to crowd so many of these poor people together. It makes a great show but there is 'death in the pot' It will never do!"

SCHOOL AT CAMP NELSON LANGUISHING (Scofield just arrived back) 226

"Besides the School is doing very little. Mrs. Williams is feeble and unable to go forward with such heavy work - Brother Fee and brother Scofield offer to go forward with the Schools But we are told it is none of our business - the missionary society have organized the school."

Fee at Berea when this was written; Schofield says Fee discouraged about Camp Nelson
Fee returns from Berea, says schools not doing well; Mrs. Williams sick, Scofield tried to help, Mr. Wm's objected; sustained by Capt Hall.

Mrs. Daimon has one class of girls doing well.

In a later letter to Whipple on July 1, Fee had said that Hall had telegraphed Cincinnati for ten teachers "(as though they could come on next train)"

Then in this July 6 letter Fee says two teachers had arrived (of the ten Hall asked for) and they have had no experience with colored children, but Fee thinks they will do well. Same letter, but July 8 date on page 3 says two more teachers came on July 7th, young ladies (three of the four who arrived were apparently female).
Scofield to Strieby, July 15, 1865, camp nelson, ama, arc, ms no 44157

Scofield says he has just returned from Berea. "There are some three thousand Colored Soldiers now in Camp. The opportunity is too good to be lost. They are calling for instruction teaching, and preaching. I am doing what I can." He asks two teachers; says Gen Fisk there.

Freedmen's Aid Comm. provides 5 teachers at Camp Nelson

Lester Williams to M.E. Strieby, July 17, 1865, camp nelson, ama, arc

Williams writes that the Freedman's Aid Commission has now furnished five teachers for the schools, and another expected that week. His wife and Miss Damon the only other instructors of the AMA.
Shaw writes, presumably to AMA, and offers money to help distribute blacks. Shaw was going shortly to Springfield, Ill., I suppose his home, where he expected to be discharged.

Fisk arrived Camp Nelson; camp shapes up

Fee says Gen Fisk arrived, is going to dismiss some, relieve Capt Hall and Bro Williams; Bro Chapin to stay. Fisk has ordered Gen Palmer to let people come and go as they please. Fisk asked Fee to make suggestions as to how things should go at Camp Nelson. Military control given to Col Bierbow[?]. Fee told Bierbow[?], he could not stay unless a school is continued. "Genl Fisk is a member of the Methodist church - seems like a good man." Fee wants a school, not sure, but thinks Berea is probably the best place for it.

to whipple

Fee urges that an agent be employed by the govt of society to help blacks get employment, since they are new to freedom.
Hall reports to Strieby that Col. F. H. Bierbower has been appointed Superintendent under the Freedmen's Bureau of Camp Nelson. Hall says: "Col. Bierbower is a true man and has the interests of the colored man at heart."

"My school is improving rapidly, and much in general deportment, kindness of manner toward each other and progress in books. No cases of insubordination have occurred." Much work is being done among the blacks to help them help themselves.
FEE THINKS CAMP NELSON, RATHER THAN ABANDONED, SHOULD BECOME A BLACK TOWN

FEE to strieby, Aug 11, 1865, camp nelson, ama arc, ms no 44179

"... it will be hard to break up here - here I think will be a town perhaps a town of Colored people - mostly. +

"I have two invitations to go and address these Colored people now being freed - at Lexington and Danville - also organise /sic/ schools for them and get for them aid for a time. I expect to go next week. Now what will you say to me -- Shall I pledge a teacher at each place as principal - or if only one teacher, pay as part of salary? + "Or will you give up Kentucky to Western Freedman Aid?"

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PROBLEM OVER DANCING AT CAMP NELSON

FEE to striebe, Aug 16, 1865, camp nelson, ama, arc, ms no 44180

"Col Bierbower has done well in efforts toward freeing 'Niggers'. /sic/ But does not realise the necessity of having spiritually minded teachers - loves (?) (?) & music - late hours - was here with violin last Wednesday night at late hour - A man here, as undertaker, proposed to one of the teachers, sent by Freedman Aid, to waltz - The did so - I had retired - so had Sister Colton (Sister to Rev Isa A Thome) & others before the music began. Sister Colton hearing the dancing supposed the Colored people had possession of the room below, - annoyed got up to ask them to go away - Seeing 'whites' she turned in disgust Came to my room knocked & asked if such thing were to be allowed here. I was in bed - cried out not if I were superintendent-"
Scofield to Strieby, Aug 18, 1865, Camp Nelson, Ama, Arc, ms no. 44182

"I have about one hundred and fifty soldiers under instruction - and about forty children - but could have twice that number if I had the proper teachers - I am now using the Soldiers Home for a chapel and schools. There has been no such opportunity before for giving instruction to the soldiers - the officers also join with me in the work." Scofield asks that perhaps the society could hire his son, "Garrit Smith Scofield" to help him.

Col Jacques App'd Supt Camp Nelson (Aug)

Fee to Striebe, Aug 23, 1865, Camp Nelson, Ama, Arc, ms no. 44185

Col Jacques has arrived to take superintendency; Col Bierbower & Bro Williams are relieved. Fell will "probably" retain schools.
BLACK (light skinned) TEACHER ARRIVES AT CAMP NELSON

W. W. Wheeler to Geo. Whipple, Camp Nelson, Aug 31, 1865, ama, arc

Williams informed Fee that Williams had a petition signed by all members of the mess except two and that the petition was in favor of getting rid of the slightly colored teacher. "Bro Fee asked for the petition that he might reply to it, but was informed that 'The petition was addressed to myself.' Any communication which you might have to the signers can be presented through me. At least this is the substance. Bro Fee then sat down and answered the request that he said should remove the woman of color. He utterly refused and demanded for her the common civilities of the house. This house was set apart by the Bureau for the use of the teachers, officers and employees of the Refugee Home. The mess was formed for the same and now we claim a right in all good faith to bring in any competent teacher of good moral and christian deportment, and we claim that charges of a more serious nature than being a woman of color are necessary to eject her from the house. That persons professing christianity should act so unchristian is a wonder to me. These all admit that were Christ himself here he would act differently. 'But then I am not Christ.' we are not waiting the return of Col. Jaquess (I think that is the way to spell it) to settle the question. If he decides against us Bro. Fee will appeal to the Bureau and we feel sure of the question being rightly settled there."

SCHOOLS IN CAMP NELSON

Scofield to Strieby, sept 1, 1865, Camp Nelson, ama, arc, ms no 44189

"The work of teaching the Soldiers is rapidly increasing in extent and interest. I have a school in the Soldiers Home or rather two schools one during the day and one at night. The attendance is large, and every day increasing. The day school is devoted chiefly to children and women connected with the Regiments - and some who will not go to Refugee School, there are about 60, and can be 100. In the night school strictly for the Soldiers. I have an average attendance of about 120 our Room will seat 200, but we cannot teach them without more help. In the day School I am entirely alone. I have had a small boy at $2 per week but he is not such help as I need. In the night School such help as I can pick up for the occasion sometimes good sometimes poor. I have also started two Schools in the 124th Reg. nearly a mile away from the Home, but you will see that I cannot give them much attention." Scofield says Fee has told him he could send for his wife and two daughters. His wife is an experienced teacher; his daughters can teach. Could his boy also come and teach? Soldiers would pay the son's wages for teaching.
It is astonishing to see what small pebbles block the wheels of that institution. Two days ago brother Fee employed an accomplished teacher from Danville to go in there to teach, but alas! the poor girl had a face slightly tinged!— and will you believe it — there was a general uproar among the teachers and Superintendents because of it — The high bloods really refuse to eat in the same Hall with her though they can sit at another Table!— And that too when they have employed half a dozen black faces, to wait on them at the table and brush off the flies! Shame! —

"Some Colorphobia there 'I reckon'— Seriously I ask shall such a wrong be sustained?+

"The matter is not yet settled."

Mary Colton to Geo Whipple, Sept 10, 1865, Camp Nelson, ama, arc,

"About three weeks ago he /Fee/ met at Danville Ky a young Colored girl 18 years old, educated in Xenia Ohio. Her Father is a white man, her Mother a very prepossessing quadroon, living together in Danville, married, & members of the Methodist Ch. Belleis also a member of the same church, & quite genteel, & modest, & prepossessing in her appearance. Knowing the want of the school, & believing it would have a favorable impression on the colored people here & also was her right, & should be our privilege to teach her own color, Bro Fee proposed to her to come."
Mary Colton to Geo Whipple, Sept 10, 1865, camp nelson, ama, arc

"But Bro Whipple I must tell you you had pains - have been & still am at the un-christian un-gentlemanlike treatment which not only I but Bro Fee received every day from a man said to be a Baptist minister from Holden Mass, Rev. Ester Williams. All he can do he has done to injure Bro Fee in the estimation of this poor people & the teachers also. ... About three weeks ago he went to Danville to meet a young colored girl 16 years old, educated in Xenia Ohio. Her father is a white man, her mother a very prepossessing quadroon, living together in Danville, married. He is a member of the Methodist Church. Belle is also a member of the same church, as is quite genteel, & modest, & prepossessing in her appearance, knowing the wants of the school, & believing it would have a favorable impression on the colored people here, & also that it was her right, & should be our privilege to teach her own color, Bro Fee proposed to her to come. He had heard her highly spoken of & she had school, & church certificates of a high order ... the good abolition missionary teachers from Mass, & Ohio ... refused to come to their tables to eat while we were at our meals. Our dining hall has three tables at one of which Mr Fee my daughter & son & I have eaten ... and Miss Belle Mitchell was taken as we fell perfectly willing to sit at table with her."

When Fee went to Berea, Williams told Belle Mitchell to leave. Belle left Tuesday night.

fee to Strieby, Sept 15, 1865, kcamp nelson, ama, arc, ms no 44202

Pee says he arrived back and found: "...Col. Jacquess had returned and by order had sent off Miss Bell Mitchell - a teacher who, in harmony with your order, I had employed -- competent - good Christian standing -- we needed helpers immediately - others had been sent off - Lois Colton, sister of Rev Jas A. Horne Thorne (?) she took with her her daughter, Miss Smith -- we needed teachers -- Miss Mitchell as I have told you is slightly colored features not African (I speak as a fool) she was very exemplary, in conduct." Says during his absence Jacquess sent her home. She refused to go when Williams told her to go; Mrs. Colton told her to wait until Fee returned, but the girl said she must go today (saturday) or tomorrow.
"1 There was then an average attendance of near four hundred pupils with but six teachers - able for duty & one of these was to leave Monday morning, I arranged for Bell to take that vacant room.+

"2 On Monday Morning Mrs. Williams did make application for the aid of Mrs Scofield." goes on to describe numerous difficulties and needs; Fee goes on to say that he was relieved as supt of schools, and Mrs. Williams given that position.

After the removal of Miss Mitchell, Williams and wife & other went "into the common dining Hall for the Colored people and there sat down white folks on one side & colored women on the other side & ate of the supper prepared. All right so far as eating with colored people is concerned but why be so fastidious about eating in the same room with a neat tidy educated Christian young lady & then go into a greedy common dining Hall & eat with the uncouth. It was a condescension to 'niggers.'+

"It was after all drawing a line of white people on one side & niggers on the other. An insidious (?) that the poor creatures had not strength to resist." Fee said he could not endorse any program that takes the position "after all you are only niggers." This episode kind of made up Fee's mind for him; his work was a Berea.

Mrs. Colton and Mrs. Williams later got into a fuss in the school room; Colton apparently threatened to hit Mrs. Wms with a stick; after being threatened, she said.

BURRITT FEE & BRO WHEELER, DID NOT WITHDRAW FROM TABLE BECAUSE OF PRESENCE OF BELLE MITCHELL

fee to whipple, sept 20, 1865, camp nelson, ama, arc, ms no 44207

Some good people were tempted and led astray by Col jacquess and Bro. Williams who fed most away from the table where Belle Mitchell ate, but not Burritt Fee and Bro. Wheeler.
Miss Damons says that she signed the petition to have Miss Mitchell board with blacks: "I had none other than the purest sympathy for her, but for reasons which seemed best at the time I did place my name upon a petition to have her board with her friends in Camp." really doesn't explain her position.

"Last evenings Louisville Press brought the published account of the arrest of our Superintendent, Col. Jacquess, for complicity in a case of abortion & consequent death in 8 hours of his paramour or 'Mistress' a Georgia woman: He left here on pretence of going to his family in Ill. Went to Louisvill wrote back he was sick there - He was arrested by the police in the work of procuring abortion."
FISK ASKS FEE TO DROP BELLE MITCHELL CASE

Fee to striebe, sept 30, 1865, camp nelson, ama, arc. ms no 44216

Fisk "Wished me to go on with the idea of a Normal School for Ky--He was more favorable to Berea than this place-- That is not Central as this--To colored people. He was anxious to break up this Camp within 17 days --advised that I say nothing about Miss Bell Mitchell case --'let it go now.' I do not know how he feel about the question of 'Caste.'"

"Miss Bell Mitchell came here yesterday she went to the dinner table with Anna Smith - daughter of Mrs. Colton."

"Genl Barrett, the new Superintendent, called for her, Anna Smith & myself after dinner-- said to Miss Mitchell 'You cannot come to the table when I am here' other things were said. I think we have evidence that our schools, as suggested before, must be free from Government officials."

WHIPPLE APPARENTLY REPRIMANDED THOSE THAT SIGNED PETITION AGAINST BELLE MITCHELL

Mrs. Caroline Damon, to Geo Whipple, Oct 1, 1865, camp nelson, ama, arc

Mrs. Damon said the reprimand was the worst she had ever received in her 30 years of life.

Joseph C. Chapin to Whipple, Oct 2, 1865, camp nelson, ama, arc

Chapin said: "My own object in signing the request was that peace might be restored in this household. I saw at once that her presence at the table caused unpleasant feelings. Many of the boarders refused to come to the table at all -- I therefore entreated Mr. Fee to allow Miss Mitchell to board in one of the Cottages occupied by Miss Mary Taylor a Lady far superior to Miss M in general appearance and natural abilities, but my entreaties were vain." Says her color was objected to by no one.
Smith reports finding in Lexington with about 275 to 300 pupils; but a large number of poor children of soldiers & others not in school because they are not able to pay the required $1.25 per month. "The cold people had a 'mass convention,' as a Baptist preacher told me, a few days ago & ..." and are talking about opening a free school. They want a colored teacher and a white teacher.

"On coming here I have heard no little of Belle Mitchell - the teacher secured by Mr. Fee for this Camp & sent off by the negrophobe combination of officers & teachers among which latter I am sorry to find were some in your employ -- Belle lives in Danville, 16 miles. I have arranged with Mrs. Colton one of the teachers here (without employment for a few days) to go over to Danville & see if B. will go to Lexington & if she consents, to go to L. & make the necessary arrangements for her to go at once & open her school." Says the Lexington field is an important one; 5 teachers there.

Rev. James Monroe has a school there (Monroe, Hancock) 60 pupils.

Smith says Camp Nelson to be closed in 15 to 30 days; apparently thought that Fee was too contentious: "A man in charge with half his Zeal & double his discretion would have brought ten times the result. So it seems to me after listening to the history of Camp N. for the year past." Smith says you need to find competent colored teachers who can work without attracting much attention, in the Frankfort Lexington area.

"I might as well overcome my pride and confess that I am fully aware that I have done wrong & have felt so, since the moment I placed my name upon that petition for the removal of Miss Mitchell."

"I expected a dismissal from the Field. My pride rose again & I sent in my resignation." She asks consent of AMA to let her work for W. F. Aid Assn. If not, she would teach without compensation.
Miss Mitchell paid $10.00 plus board for two weeks at Camp Nelson, by Fee.

Schofield to keepers (?) Sheeley (?) and Jocelyn (?) Oct 1, 1865 (?), ama, arc

Says ran large school for soldiers in 15 Art., until 1st of Sept. They were moved elsewhere. Says Bro Smith has advised him to give his attention to looking after the general interests of the blacks during the coming winter, since many would obviously remain at camp Nelson.
Scofield to Strieby, Oct 31, 1865, Camp Nelson, AMA, ARC

Scofield asks whether or not there would be a winter school; says there were a number who wanted one. "Some of them young men of promise who are discharged Soldiers and desire to devote six months to School - They care for themselves, but could give nothing for their instruction."

"We have proposed (?) to the discharged colored Soldiers to purchase the whole establishment and construct it into a public School so at last that some little good might come of it."

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Fee to Whipple, Nov 1, 1865, Camp Nelson, AMA, ARC

"Genl Brisbin told me he would protect the schools put them where we may. The colored men there /Lexington/ unhesitatingly say they can safely adopt white teachers."

"I employed a colored teacher there /Berea/ for one month to assist in the free School - at $12 per month for tuition & the same for board."
James Monroe to Eld. Smith, Nov 18, 1865, Lexington, ky, ama, arc

"... the teacher you sent me from Danville Ky is here Teaching a Small School of some 50 or 60 Scollar Which Is as many as we had Room for at Present we are Trying to get a Room large Enough for our Purpose. we Can Corlect not less 2 or 3 Hundred Children. Can you Help the School to any Books or Clothe or Shoes or any thing that will be of use to the School will be Thankfully Received. Forwarded to the Care of Eld. James Monroe. Pastor of the 1st A. Baptist Church. Lexington Ky."

"P S any Information you may wish from time to time I will be glad to give it to you we are Striving Hard to become a people Out here In the West Educated & Intelligent Virtuous People."

Maj. J. W. Frazer to John Ogden, Supt Freedmen Schools, Nashville, Tenn, letter written in Bowling Green, ky, nov 28, 1865, ama, arc

Frazer requests that Rev. M. R. Davis be given the position of Asst. Supt of Freed. Schools in Bowling Green.
Scofield to Whipple, Dec 15, 1865, Camp Nelson, Ama, Arc

Says 119th Regt stationed there, want a school, can his son come to teach? Said Bro Smith advised him to remain in camp and look after freedmen generally.

Scofield had been handling claims of black soldiers, at 50¢ per claim; protecting them from people who would help them with paper work and steal the money. Scofield is simply getting 50¢ to cover postage and paper.

Mrs Wheeler taught at Berea Colored School 2 Months

Fee to Bro Whiting, Dec 8, 1865, Berea, Madison Co, Ky, Ama, Arc

"Mrs Wheeler has taught the Colored School here for two Months - has done well."
Mary Colton to whipple, dec 9, 1865, camp nelson, ama, arc

Says all teachers have gone, only she and her daughter left; winter setting in and these "poor creatures" dislike hearing them & say they must leave.

119th Col Reg. has moved to winter quarters. Still 500 soldiers there.

Families are leaving here and going to Berea;

"Gabriel Burdett - colored soldier- commissioned by your Society was ordered into service. (contrary to our expectations) detailed (?) again at my request by Genl Fink ordered here to help find homes for these refugees." Says Burdett took sick and died, leaving a wife and family. Hard to tell if he means Burdett died!
Schofield to Secretaries of American Miss. Asso., Dec 30, 1865, Camp Nelson, ama, arc.

Schofield says schools still going, being taught by his wife and daughter and such help as he could give with about 100 students who need books, clothes, etc. Also a school in the barracks for soldiers, numbering about 100. The camp is gradually dissolving.

Fee proposes integrated school at Berea

fee to Bro. Whiting, Berea, Madison Co, Jan 6, 1866, ama, arc

In a PS Fee says: "Our school here is now under care of our board of trustees and is starting with good prospects. We propose to build a new school room & in the primary department put in a Colored & white children. We wish to employ such a teacher as we know - one who shall be so well qualified & so excellent in person manner etc as to override prejudice & bigotry and command respect to the school for her sake & for Christ's sake."
Scofield says: 1500 women and children there and 6 companies of 119 art. About 175 steady attendance in school. There several hundred here in and about camp who should be in school. There are accommodation for perhaps "7 or 8 hundred pupils" The buildings will soon be sold and perhaps $200 will buy them. A great opportunity for the society.

"A Colored minister called at my house last Saturday to ask for help in getting a teacher."

"Bro Rogers and I have an agreement to meet all the colored ministers in this County, in convention, second Sabbath in next Month - then in other counties."

"The White school here is growing. Bro Rogers is teaching part of his time."
"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 3/5; and for the fourth week 78 thus showing a steady increase of the average attendance.\* Says 84 enrolled. "The talents as natural mental endowments of the greater part of our pupils considering the untutored state of their /sic/ for many generations is the past will compare favorably under similar circumstances with an equal number of white children. So that although only a very few of the whole number enrolled remain with us enough ..." progress is made to the second reader. She entertains "a reasonable hope" for the future of her students. She is going to start a class of boys in the first reader tomorrow.

"I think Miss Mitchell is a safe upright young lady--quite exemplary - but I knew she was not a first class teacher as my first engagement arrangement showed." She should be paid same as others.
WHITES WALK OUT OF BEREA SCHOOL
fee to whipple, march 6, 1866, berea, \textit{\textsc{mmm}} ama, arc

"Yesterday the colored children entered our school here - quite a number of the White children left - more than half - those who remain in the Academic Department are all professed Christians - about 12 or 15 - They are very hopeful - My two sons are among them. This is our time of trial."

REPORT OF BELLE MITCHELL
belle mitchell to strieby, march 14, 1866, lexington, ky, ama, arc

"I shall now proceed to answer your questions. I was first employed at Camp Nelson, Ky; I taught there 3 weeks, at the expiration of that time I then went home (It was in the month of August that I was employed at Camp Nelson I dont remember the Date of the month) remain there 3 weeks." Requested by Mr. Smith to come to Lexington to take charge of a school. He promised 20 dollars and board. "I thus feeling it my duty to engage in anything that would advance the Colored Race Consented to Come. I arrived in Lexington on 25 th of Sept and the Colored Citizens furnished me a school room. I then opened my School with 27 Scholars which had increased to 95. + "I have never received any Blanks before. I will send on last month's Report as Soon as I make it out."
fee to whipple, march 26, 1866, Berea, ama, arc

"I have just returned from attendance of the Convention of Colored delegates at Lexington - Their first convention.+

"The occasion was one of deep interest & entire harmony.+

"Met these Rev. E. P. Smith - also Gen Fisk & Gen Ely - later present Commandant - or agent for Bureau over Ky in a very excellent man in deep sympathy with anti-slavery men. He was very cordial & expressed great pleasure at seeing & hearing me. He made in his public address some very flattering remarks - so did Bro Smith - .. ."

"Bro Smith after hearing all I had to say about Camp Nelson Lexington & Berea thought that for the present I had better work on at Berea. He think this the preferable place for a Normal School-teachers department - better for a seminary for ministers - that those who will come to us will be of a better class than those we would go to promiscuously. I told him how insignificant a place Berea is - on paper or plan more than on earth-"

"I feel much drawn to labor for these colored people-" Thought blacks "receptive & trusting."

WILLIAM H. MILLER, TEACHER WITH BELLE MITCHELL RELIEVED

fee to whipple, march 26, 1866, ama, arc.

William H. Miller worked in black school with Belle Mitchell. Fee checked on him as a teacher and decided not to continue him. Fee in a hurry to catch the train, wrote a note to Miller relieving him. Miller never got the note and continued to work, complaining when he learned from Whipple he had not been paid, since Whipple thought he did not work.
paupers there, people starving, others without clothes, suffering badly. Some have developed hard feelings toward Scofield at Camp Nelson. Scofield wants help for them;zikx they have no place else to go. He told Jack, but no aid yet.

13 BLACK SCHOOLS IN LOUISVILLE, MAY 1866

Levi F. Burnett of Hdq, Sub Dist of Ky, Louisville, to Professor John Ogden, of Freed. Bur in Nashville, May 19, 1866. A MA, A RC

He has received only 7 forms for black school to fill out; there xq are
13 schools in Louisville.
fee to Whiting, May 2, 1866, Lexington, ama, arc.

"I have been to Louisville to gather young Soldiers (colored) just being mustered out. 31 have engaged to come immediately to school. We have not adequate funds in our treasury as a board to prepare."

Sara G. Stanley to Rev. Samuel Hunt, June 7, 1866, Louisville, ama, arc.

"My school is taught in the basement of the Centre St [blurred]. Colored Methodist church, a large, somewhat commodious room, furnished with black boards, maps and charts. The number of Scholars enrolled is one hundred and ninety, 104 females & 86 males. The average daily attendance is /sic/ " She says she has two female assistants, young girls. The school is controlled by a board of colored directors. Those who are able are required to pay one dollar per month. The school has been in session about a year. The only outside money has come from the AMA. "There are five other schools, located in colored churches and organized upon a basis familiar to that which I teach." Some of these charge as much as $1.50 per mo. of those able to pay. "The teachers are mostly well qualified for their office, three are graduates of Oberlin College and are some young men of fine scholarly attainment." The schools are to be reorganized in the autumn under the head of the Freedmen's Bureau; the plan is identical with that adopted in Nashville. The schools will be paid for, partly, by a tax on property of blacks. "Peter Lewis is a very intelligent Freedman and one of the most highly respected men in this community."

Peter Lewis is a very intelligent Freedman and one of the most highly respected men in this community."
"I wish you could have been present to witnessed /sic/ the Exhibition at the close of the Colored School it was very encouraging to see with what rapidity the little Wooley heads have learned to read & write and some of them in arithmetic and see how they regretted the close of the School. They are all greatly encouraged over the idea of becoming Scholars. We intend to start the School again in Sept next to continue during the winter."
Instead of spending the last four weeks of school getting ready for the usual public exhibition as is the custom in Louisville, she spent the 4 weeks on review. Worked well.
scofield to whipple, oct 4, 1866, camp nelson, ama, arc

Scofield, depressed over financial matters and the closing of Camp Nelson, told of a "Reb" who had "... have just left our home, who threatened to 'blow Hell out of Old Scofield'-- and what had I done; why simply, advised or rather directed a poor abused black man, to go to the civil authorities and make complaint, for this, my life is threatened and our Camp and School house is to be burned down they say ...." XXXXXXXX Says he had to "face a company of these poor cowards."

John B. Scott to Rev. Samuel Hunt, Lexington Ky, Oct 6, 1866, ama, arc

Scott had been wanting to go to work of for the AMA; went to Louisville where he was hired at $1.00 per day to teach adults. Scott, from England, was introduced as "'A gentleman from England!'" and declared to be "'A most accomplished Scholar,'" and then "'A true friend of our Race.'" Scott was very flattered by these remarks, made by an unspecified black leader.
W. W. Wheeler to Whipple, Nov 22, 1866, Berea, ama, arc

"The second term, there were 70 enrolled. Two discharged colored soldiers came and were placed in the Academic department. This caused another exodus of white students."

Blacks must enter all possible professions (farming, etc?)

fee to. strieb, nov 30, 1866, camp nelson, ama, arc

Blacks must aspire to the "highest development /and/ must not remain a nation of boot blacks or mere stevedores. They must become owners of land and producers of valuable commodities. Then they will be esteemed in their own eyes and in the eyes of others." Urges they be helped to get land.
Celia M. Bradley and Emma E. Cross, Lexington, Report for Nov. 1866,
123 in primary studies, Howard School, Fayette Co.

S. C. Hall to W. E. Whiting, Dec 5, 1866, Lexington, ama, arc

"The people (Col) here are more wealthy and intelligent than in many parts of the South and I am I am XXIII entertaining some pretty strong hopes that XXIII another year they will XXIII help establish schools."
fee to whipple, Dec 12, 1866, berea, ama, arc

Apparently a mob broke into Scofield's house and he was threatened. "Gen Ely does not like Bro Scofield & Genl Fisk did not.+

"The Bureau men were against him partly from jealousy. What he did in the way of securing claims and retaining Colored people here detracted from their profits. He had less protection than he would have had if he had been secularly engaged."

ATTESTANCE OFF IN LEXINGTON, REPORT OF S C HALL

s c hall to samuel hunt, jan 5, 1867, lexington, ama, arc

Writes that attendance off, probably because of cold weather; the decrease is such that one of the buildings could be temporarily closed.

Teachers: Miss Jones & Miss (?)
fee to whipple, jan 25, 1867, berea, ama, arc

"Gabriel Burdett is now at my house. He thinks to max leave Camp Nelson - put his family here for education & travel as an evangelist. This he tells me is the Council of Br. Crawath (?)"

fee to whipple, feb 11, 1867, berea, ama, arc

"Bro Scofield did good in Camp Nelson & I like the man in many respects. But he might have done much more good if he had devoted himself to preaching the gospel instead of getting claims for soldiers & their wives. That was a work others who were not ministers could have done, and done with as much success & satisfaction as he for a large portion of the claims forwarded were rejected - This left the colored applicant dissatisfied. Bro Scofield had his fifty cents and had failed."

The classic Christian argument: should you tend the religious and tell them to be warmed and filled!
fee to whipple, feb 11, 1867, berea, kama, arc

"Mr Moss offers yet to sell the land, 190 acres and the houses - about 20 to the colored people & offers to give to Gabriel Burdett a house & 3 acres of land. Gabriel will not act without my council & cooperation. I feel that a school ought to be there also. The place has many excellencies & is central to a large Colored population. The Lord direct."

Is he talking about an ares around or part of camp nelson?

SCHOOL IN DANVILLE (1867)

George G. Collins to E. P. Smith, Feb 19, 1867, Danville, ama, arc

Collins reports that the Freedmen's Bureau pays the rent for the building used as a school. His wife Clara E. Collins and a hired assistant run the school with him.
fee to Bro. Ceavath, sept 3, 1867, Berea, ama, arc

Says a black and/white minister spoke to Berea students. The black, born in Maryland, spent much time in Ohio, and presently pastor of a church in Lexington. "He is a man of ability and rare excellence. His address to the school was one of vigorous thought & practical utility."

"Last week on my way home form the churches in Bracken & Lewis Cos. I attended a Convention of Colored people near Paris in Bourbon Co. There were present about six thousand people as I suppose. They were quiet & orderly, not one drunken colored person did I see on the ground."

"On the 4 of July I attended a still larger assemblage, perhaps ten-thousand persons. Not one Colored man did I see drunken - all orderly & quiet."

C. C. Vaughn to "Dear Fellow Laborer," Cynthianna, ky, ama, arc

"I have quite a successful Day School numbering in my last report 104 & 20 in my night School since my last report my School have increased to 110 in my Day School, & this is the delight of my pleasure, laboring for my people that have been so long under the galling yoke of oppression & are now cast of upon the charity of Christian people. I am doing all the good I can in the cause of Education, & I am glad to say I am Sustained by some of the most prominent citizens of the village. The Children are taken great interest in learning and I hope by the help of God I can see the first Sabbath School numbered 38 & in the course of five weeks there was upwards of 150 & continued to increase & is now Blooming I hope for the Glory of God."

"I am boarding with quite an intelligent family & those that takes a great interest in the welfare of my School. and I think as much of them as I if they was my parents. He is well known by all in the surrounding country & Lexington, he has been a Citizen of this town for twenty odd years & since Emancipation taken great interest in corresponding with the Bureau & Sustaining a School here. He has a flourishing trade & is worth considerable property. & if you wish any charitable deed done in the reach of this friend he is always willing to give a helping hand to the cause of good. His name is Henry Johnson. I must speak a word concerning the church it is prospering But we need more & Earnest Pray, Pray that my people will come out of the Dungeon of ignorance to the marvelous light of Knowledge."
Hattie Worles to Edward P. Smith, Feb 20, 1869, Greenville, Ky., ama, arc

"My school commenced in September the 28th/1868. it numbered 55 pupils." she said she liked her field, did not correspond with any society or church, and would like to teach next year. *W* *W* *W* penmanship excellent.

taught at the "colored school at Greenville"

SCHOOL AT CAMP NELSON STILL GOING 1869

fee to whiting, march 10, 1869, berea, ama, arc

school at Camp nelson "doing well." with 106 students
MAYS LICK, KY, SCHOOL (1869)

Emma Endner (?) to (?), March 10, 1869, Mayslick, Ky, ama, arc

up from 40 since she started,

Emma has 50 students, much interest in the school, been teaching 2 months, Has 40 students at night.

SCHOOL IN HENDERSON

L. L. Alexander to E. M. Cravath, Henderson, Ky., December 30, 1869, ama, arc

Alexander orders a subscription to American Missionary and says: "I have had quite an interesting School during the past year; and expect to remain in Henderson another Year;..."
DEDICATION OF SCHOOL IN LEXINGTON (1870)

John G. Hamilton to E. M. Cravath, Sept 27, 1870, Lexington, Ky, ama, arc

"The people are delighted with the building and all over the town the talk is of the dedication. The Societies will be out in regalia & we hope that they will regale us with money."

APPLIES TO TEACH AT PARIS

Miss C. M. Smith to E. M. Cravath, Sept 30, 1870, Paris, Ky, ama, arc

"If you have not employed a teacher for the Baptist School in this place I would like to take it." Miss C. M. Smith asks.
CATLETTSBURG, KY, WANTS TEACHER

Louis Barnes to E. M Cravath, Oct 3, 1870, ama, arc

Says that there are 35 to 40 scholars in Catlettsburg; they can't get tax money; they need a teacher. Louis Barnes

direct response to

MT STERLING SCH 1870

H. C. Thompson, Clifton (?), Richard Everett to E. M Cravath, Oct 4, 1870, Mount Sterling, Ky, ama, arc.

says the school that was taught by Mrs. Stratton is now taught by Miss Mattie Young.
LOUISVILLE SCHOOL (1870)

G. Stanley Pope to Rev. E. M. Cravath, Oct 17, 1870, Louisville, AMA, ARC

School going well with about 200 students; expects eventually 250

Workers are putting iron work on fence that day.

Pope to Cravath, Oct 20, 1870, Louisville, AMA, ARC; books and slates had arrived.

SCHOOL HELD "EXHIBITION"

G. Stanley Pope to Strieby, Dec 27, 1870, Louisville, AMA, ARC

Said the school had an exhibition last week, not successful financially. Charged 25¢ to raise money, but very cold weather kept people away. Raised $44.00
BURDETT STARS SCHOOL AT CAMP NELSON

Burdette to E. M Cravath, Jan 4, 1871, Camp Nelson, ama, arc

Burdette says new term started; his church is an independent church.

SCHOOL IN ASHLAND

Kife K Lenthese (?) to E. M Cravath, Jan 23, 1871, Ashland, ama, arc

The writer states that a "colored school" had been established at that place, and they needed AMA money; their funds are not sufficient to allow them to employ teachers longer than one month.
FREE PUBLIC SCHOOL DRAWS OFF STUDENTS (Lex 1871)

john B. Hamilton to rev. e. m. cravath, feb 8, 1871, lexington, ama, arc

"The school is in excellent condition but not large in numbers. The free public schools take away many of those who used to attend the AMA Schools and it is only by very hard work that we are able to keep many we now have."

TEACHING LOAD AT LEXINGTON

Sarah Hamilton & S. A. Adams to E. M. S. Cravath, march 6, 1871, lexington, ama, arc.

"The work is wearing on us as the Spring approaches there being so small a number of teachers that the same who teach in the day are obliged to teach at night making eight-hours teaching per day. If we could be relieved of the night school we would be better fitted to do the work of the day. We are now preparing for an exhibition at the close of the term."
Ms.

D. E. Emerson to E. M. Cravath, March 26, 1871, Louisville, AMA, ARC

"We do feel very much encouraged in the work here at L. The scholars have certainly made very fair progress as their examination papers at the close of the term, testify. And they seem very much interested in their school." "It does us good to hear some of these older scholars in prayer express their desires in simple unpretending language, asking for just the things they feel they need. The fact that they are dropping the senseless regamarole of words that they formerly used, and which they hear so much in their own churches, is a hopeful sign to us."... they are really learning a good deal. It is encouraging to see how anxious they are to correct any mistake that they make."

All this was in a letter asking that the teachers might extend school through June and July. It was being closed in May.

Emerson E. M. Cravath
Dela Emerson

F B (R) G. Pisani to Rev. E. M. Cravath, April 22, 1871, Cynthiana, AMA, ARC

Pisani was the language teacher at Cynthiana and asked if the AMA could help that school with financial aid. Said the school had begun Jan 9, 1871 been in session.
ELY SCHOOL ENDED, Leu (1871)

C. L. Lloyd to Mr. Cravath, Sept 4, 1871, Louisville, ama, arc

Lloyd says he reached Louisville and 602 W. Chestnut Street and found the building abandoned, to his horror. Lloyd is writing to ask what happened. "I went to 5th St. S. S. yesterday, knowing I sh'd find many of our pupils there & as I shall probably never see them again, I felt that I must have, at least, a glimpse of them. They crowded round me, men, women & children, with eager words of welcome & I confess I was deeply moved by their piteous lamentations over the loss of the 'Ely.'" Says people visited him and wanted him to keep Ely open; he says he would like to keep the scholars together if possible. Asks what to do.

LLOYD TO STAY IN LOUISVILLE SCHOOL (1871) (?)

C. L. Lloyd to Cravath, Sept 6, 1871, Louisville, ama, arc

Peter Lewis has urged her/him to stay and teach. "He ('uncle Peter') came to see me yesterday & begged me to write you at once asking you to send one or two teachers to Louis., promising to secure for them their use suitable rooms. He said if I or some of us Northerners didn't become Principal of the Public School that none of the advanced scholars w'd attend there; many of them said those teachers had no better education than themselves; some say they shall send their children (advanced scholars) to the Catholics. He tho't there w'd be enough of the older scholars to support one teacher at least. I told him I didn't think you w'd send them this year." Lloyd doesn't know where AMA wants him to go.
SCHOOL REOPENS IN LOUISVILLE (Oct 1871)

Horace Morris to E. M. Cravath, Oct 12, 1871, Louisville, ama, arc

School opened the Monday after the lease was signed, sept 11, and is "pretty full." several hundred in school.

"We have some earnest friends (White) who are willing and anxious to help us, they say that if we can purchase the building from your Association at anything like reasonable figures that they will raise the money for that purpose with the express understanding that it shall always be used for Colored Public School purposes, as if at any time it should be sold proceeds for same purpose.

ENROLLMENT IN LOUISVILLE SCHOOL (1871, Oct)

Horace Morris to E. M. Cravath, Oct 20, 1871, Louisville, ama, arc

weekly report ending Oct 13: total enrollment 560; average daily attendance for week= 288 girls and 177 boys for a total of 465. There are 7 teachers
horace morris to e m cravath, nov 8, 1871, louisville, ama arc

school still flourishing; 600 enrolled; 8 teachers.

E. H. Fairchild to Cravath, Jan 23, 1872, Berea, ama, arc

"We shall be obliged to expel Daniel French for licentiousness. A colored girl, daughter of our cook, is pregnant by him, as she says. French is gone and we are waiting to hear from him, if he has anything to say."

"I would like your answers to the following question."

"If two students of suitable age, one white and the other colored, should become engaged to be married, and should conduct themselves with as much propriety as discreet young people usually do under such circumstances, ought we to sever their connexion with the school on that account?"

"My mind is clear on the subject, but I have sometimes found myself wrong when it was clear. We have no case of the kind and may not be in danger of having; but I want all the light I can get, to guide me if such a case should arise."
J. G. Hamilton, to Cravath, March 13, 1872, Lexington, ama, arc

Hamilton, who ran the AMA school in Lexington, says that: "It looks now as if Kentucky would do something for the education of the blacks but how much it is now difficult to determine. Liberal ideas advance slowly but we catch the glimmer of the dawn and (?) the full day of progress will be upon us."

"Gabriel Burdett has just ended a most valuable service in Gerrard County speaking on the subject of temperance. They have had a county election - did not succeed in prohibition but will doubtless in the next effort."

"White men who are good judges tell me no man in the county spoke with such power & effect as did Burdett to various (?) audiences White & Colored. White men opened Court House then churches & even tables to him -- Many of the best men of the County."
Horace Morris to Cravath, Field Sec, AMA, NYC; Aug 14, 1872, Louisville, AMA, ARC

Says the lease for Ely Normal Sch building signed by Mr. Murray, President of the Board of Trustees of Public Schools of Louisville.

"We open school the 1st Monday in September, and hope to have a better school than last year. We will have two schools, one up town and the other in Ely School building." Goes on to ask if the AMA will sell Ely bldg? Price?

Burdett to Cravath, Oct 7, 1872, Camp Nelson, AMA, ARC

"I have had quite an interesting time with the Democrats as well as with our own party."

"They give an unabashed attention and seem to /be/ astonished that a Colored man knows so much about them."
BURDETT URGED TO BE COUNTY REPUBLICAN REPRESENTATIVE

fee to cravath, jan 29, 1873, berea, ama, arc

"Camp Nelson has been a great burden on my shoulders. I do not see the end yet my purpose was to do good and had men met their pledges to Gabriel Burdett I should not have been embarrassed. I still trust the Lord will help me through. There is a good school there now & Gabriel Burdett has had encouraging success in gathering souls. They come & go. Gabriel is being invited to preach in the 'White churches.'

"Also the Republican Representative has recently died & many Republicans & Democrats are urging him to accept the nomination and be elected as County Representative. I suppose he could be elected. His term of service would not be more than two or three months."

"Burdett is inclined to preach & not accept -"

ELY BDDG, DAMAGED AS SCHOOL BY RR DOWN STREET

horace morris to cravath, july 17, 1873, louisville, ama, arc

Says officials will want Ely Bldg again this year for school. Says the bldg has been lessened in attractiveness as a school bldg because the railroad runs along 14th street. The track is a double track with constant traffic.
HAMILTON SUGGEST BLACK TEACHERS FOR LEXINGTON SCHOOL

hamilton to cravath, july 29, 1873, Lexington, ama, arc

Hamilton is concerned that they cannot afford to board white teachers at reasonable rates, "... that good colored teachers will average us $35 per month all expenses paid and that it will cost $30 or more per month to pay the board of white teachers. Under these circumstances I think it would be well to try the experiment of running the schools by colored teachers, for this year. We have two here, that will do if they will consent to teach. Can't you send us one thoroughly qualified colored teacher from the North - one who has force of character, energy & ability."

HAMILTON SEEKS CRAVATH'S SUPPORT FOR BOND AS BANK OFFICIAL

hamilton to cravath, aug 11, 1873, lexington, ama, arc

Hamilton tells cravath that the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company is in good shape; that it greatly aids freedmen in helping them learn responsibility and Hamilton desires that Cravath again go his bond as a bank official. Hamilton says that in another year "Mr. Jackson upon whom the chief responsibility now rests ... will be thoroughly qualified to discharge the duties and I can retire if best."
"We are getting up Schools all around Camp Nelson and make Camp Nelson the Center and raly from this point all around here twelve miles. And I am persuaded that in a short time we will have backers able to go out all over this part of the County and teach the Common School."

"We opened School on the 6 with two teachers, Mrs Belle Jackson, whom you know as Belle Mitchell and Miss Laura King. The indications are that we will have a good attendance, though not enough to justify an additional teacher before Christmas. I am now teaching three classes and expect to take two more."
MRS. BELLE JACKSON's PAY: SUPPORT FROM STATE

Hamilton to Cravath, Nov 12, 1873, Lexington, AMA, ARC

"We are to pay Mrs. Jackson $35 per month and Miss King, $30. We are expecting an appropriation from the Council and negotiations to that end are now pending."

ATTENDANCE REPORT OF LOUISVILLE SCHOOL

Horace Morris to Cravath, Dec 10, 1873, Louisville, AMA, ARC

Total enrollment for November was 1,595, with average daily attendance of 1154. "We have four (4) schools now, and employ 19 teachers."
C C VAUGHN EXPELLED BERE A, EXCOMMUNICATED

E. H. Fairchild, to Cravath, Dec 12, 1873, Berea, ama, arc.

"It was C. C. Vaughn who got into trouble with Miss Sherman. He was excommunicated from the church and expelled from the school; but he never acknowledged his guilt.+

"He is a young man of good appearance and considerable ability, but nobody here has any confidence in him.+

"Where he taught school last season, I am informed, the people regard him as a vile character."

[Signature]

LEXINGTON SCHOOL OFFICIALS TO USE AMA BLDG

Hamilton to Cravath, Dec 24, 1873, Lexington, ama, arc.

Says the question of school is still before the Council of the city. Hamilton expects a favorable report; a committee was appointed to look into school situation and report in Jan, 1874. "They will appropriate funds to pay teachers for all the schools. Something has been said about obtaining Control of the School building but no definite proposition made.+

"They will simply appropriate money to carry on a School in our building under the general Control and Supervision of the American Miss Assn and the direct controll of the School Committee. Please let me know if this arrangement meets your approval."
burdett to cravath, Jan 20, 1874, Ariel, Jessamine Co, KY., ama, arc

"Our School is now in session and we have a fine man who is a Christian gentleman and a Scollar and a quaker friend of Levi Coffins. +
"And our School is large and doing well. +
"And all thing promis a good term the present quarter. But we have set in this time to have a six months school and after that set in next Septembr hold a nine months school and mak Ariel an academy."

Burdett says he has Whipple's letter and is sorry he can't come to meeting. "We have a fine man and his wife as teacher and they have done much good during their short stay. And I hope they will do much good in the next three months."
Hamilton to Cravath, April 23, 1874, Lexington, A.M.A., A.R.C.

"I told you some months ago that I thought this year would close my work in the Bank. Recent events and the consultation with Sec. Whipple have confirmed me in that opinion. I don't want to pass through another year of such tormenting anxiety as the last one has been, at least since the Panic of last Fall."

"Can you use me in the Indian work of the Association?" His wife, the doctor, says, needs a colder climate. Perhaps the Northwest?
fee to cravath, sept 4, 1874, camp nelson, ama, arc

"I am on a tour through several Counties, preaching & lecturing on Education & Civil Rights - Jessamine Franklin Mercer & Boyle -- have had thus far quiet attentive audiences with manifest & expressed good impressions.+

"The violence in some Counties in this State originates chiefly from Whisky, political strife together with ... desire on part of Democrats to intimidate -- scare from association of Civil Rights. What the nation needs to do is to take a decisive step for the right & then invest the annoyed man with respect & warn the lawless."

Fee says his son Howard is going to teach at Camp Nelson

HOWARD FEE PLANNING EXHIBITION AT CAMP NELSON

burdett to cravath, nov 19, 1874, camp nelson, ama, arc

"Howard Fee ... is Striving hard to have a grand exhibition at the Close of this term.+

"We are now putting on a new roof on our large building."
burdett to cravath, Feb 2, 1875, camp nelson, ama, arc

Burdett says 45 in school, with hope of 50 in several days. "And what makes the school all the more interesting is that there are more of the advanced Scollars in there than have been for some time. And they are learning fast. Howard S. Fee is in good spirits and is determined to make the school a grand success. And Mr. Eugene Fairchild had come to help him and I am shure that they will do a good work here at this point." please send send check.

Burdett to Cravath, Feb-19, 1875, Camp Nelson, Ama, ARC

Burdett say 52 in school & more talking of starting; hopes to have 10 or 12 to send out as teachers in spring.

OLMSTED DESCRIBES NEGRO TRADER IN DEEP SOUTH, WITH PARTNER IN KY

olmsted, cotton kingdom, ed by schlesinger, 1953

p 408/ While passing through the area where Mississippi and Louisiana are divided by the Mississippi River, Olmsted made a general comment of the large plantations and their slaves:

"The slaves generally of this district appear uncommonly well--doubtless, chiefly, because the large incomes of their owners enable them to select the best from the yearly exportations of Virginia and Kentucky, but also because they are systematically well fed."
Olmsted describes Negro trader in Deep South, with partner in Ky

Olmsted meets man in Louisiana area and listens to discussion of female slave sold to a Louisiana planter the year before. Then Olmsted describes the man:

"The man was a regular negro trader. He told me that he had a partner in Kentucky, and that they owned a farm there, and another one here. His partner bought negroes, as opportunity offered to get them advantageously, and kept them on their Kentucky farm; and he went on occasionally, and brought the surplus to their Louisiana plantation——where he held them for sale."

Note of receipt, April 12, 1875, Berea, Ky

E. H. Fairchild wrote: received of Miss D. E. Emerson $25 in contribution from 1st Cong. S. S. Galesburg, Ill., for A. A. Burleigh.
CHURCH AND SCHOOL AT CAMP NELSON (BURDETT) DOING WELL

Burdett to Cravath, Sept 30, 1875, Camp Nelson, Ama, Arc

Church doing well, many converted. School started last Monday.

BURDETT REPORTS ON CHURCH HE ORGANIZED AT SUGAR CREEK

Burdett to Cravath, Nov 26, 1875, Sugar Creek, Gerard Co, Ky, Ama, Arc

Burdett says he organized this church about 3 years ago at "Sugar Kreek" and it has been going down lately, so he is over there holding meetings day and night to get it revived.

"Both with the white and Colorade in my meetings here in the County where I was reared up the seems to be a wide door opened for me to work. I have one stared now where I can preach one a month at a white Baptist Church near where I am on Sugar Kreek."
BURDETT CAN'T GET ANYONE TO TAKE SUGAR CREEK CHURCH

Burdett said he had just come from a protracted meeting at "Sugar Kreek" where he had been successful. The church has now ordained deacons and is ready to hire a minister. Burdett tried to get "Brother Drue of Berea" to take the church, but Drue could not. The church can only pay $50 a year; Burdett said that he did not have the time, but since no one else would take the church, he would have to do it.

HOWARD FEE EVALUATES CAMP NELSON SCHOOL

Howard S. Fee to Strieby, Feb 18, 1876, camp nelson, ama, arc

"We receive some money from the School - but small amount though in comparison to the number of scholars. We now have over fifty in regular attendance and some well advanced for colored scholars." "I have held on to the work here because I felt that truly it was and is a needy field. I do hope the work here may not go down for I feel that it is a point that ought not to be lost. I came back here this year so feeling although they lacked $150 of paying me what was promised."
Allen Allensworth to M. E. Strieby, Feb 24 (?), 1876, Louisville, ama, arc Harvey

Allensworth, pastor of Mtex Harry St. Colored Baptist Church, wanted to know if his church could rent the chapel of the School Building in Louisville, for a year. If they could rent the property, they would also look after the property and protect it. Lives or church at 54 Harvey St.

J. Montgomery to Miss D. E. Emerson, March 18, 1876, Louisville, ama, arc

Montgomery, who is, I think, the janitor, and probably black, writes that the furniture that was moved from the school building on Broadway has been returned except for a few pieces.
Allen Allensworth to Strieby, April (1,?) 1876, Louisville, ama, arc

Allensworth says he has not heard from AmA and wishes an answer. "The church that wishes to rent the chapel is the Harvey Street Colored Baptist. The lot we have been, and is now, using is not ours, we wish to enlarge our house and purchase a lot. It will take about one year to complete our arrangement. The chapel of the school will just suit our purpose during that time. We wish to hold regular devine service, except every Sunday Afternoon we will then have Union Sunday School conducted by the Sup't. and teachers of the various Sunday Schools in the City. I am a missionary employed by a Home Missionary Society. The property needs some person to look after it personally as the boys are breaking out the window lights very fast. There are now over 30 glasses out of the chapel windows. We will put them in, do the chapel up in nice style and return it to you in a condition 100% better than what it is now, besides take good care of the whole house and lot, also turn it over to you when you are prepared to dispose of it should you desire to do so before the end of the year. It will cost 50. $ to put it in repair i-e- the hall, steps, etc."

J. Montgomery to Miss D. E. Emerson, April 10, 1876, Louisville, ama, arc

Montgomery sent a list of the furniture in the Broadway bldg. "I have seen Mr. Allenworth and he will take possession in a few days." Montgomery asks for 6 of the chairs in the building if they will sell them.
j. Montgomery to Miss D. E. Emerson, April 22, 1876, Louisville, Ama, Arc

"Rev. Alensworth has got the chapel looking very nice. & I will let you know from time to time the condition of things & take pleasure in doing so."

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Burdeett to Strieby, Nov 11, 1876, Camp Nelson, Ama, Arc

Does not have high hopes for blacks in Ky. "We are in a hopeless minority here and I fear we will not be able to accomplish much with all of the impediments that will of corse be thrown in our way. But I hope that this matter of the election will soon be settled and that in the right way."

"But if it should so turn out that we /sic/ I am ready to go anywhere that it may appear the best to go. But I am almost of the opinion that if we who are here were in Kansas where they can here for the most of the colored people are farmers and have no other trade and of course cannot do much in town.""

"And but few of them would be in town if they had not been driven to towns from necessity. But I think some times if we were in some potion of the country where we could live in peace and labor more to advantage it would be better for our race. And when I see such oppression as I see here in this Rebel state I have been tempted to ask the question if we were forced to leave this state would we till yet help in some other field."

"For I tell you no one could tell what danger one is in here who speaks his opinion unless he could be here a while and see what is going on. For ever since the election the democrats have been very mad and have been threatening all prominent men and some times I think it is almost useless to stay here at the hard (?) life when there are other better field to labor in I may be mistaken as to what the future may bring but I fear the
burdett to strieby, Feb 1, 1877, camp nelson, ama, arc

"The year has began And our Chur appears to be determin to do more this year the she has done for some time previous to this year.+

"And our school is now doing better than it did in the past term. Though we have been greatly oppressed by the heard times.+

"But the winter has abated some so that we can get out to work. And they say they will enter more of their Children into the school and pay up their Church dues.+

"And if the Government gets more settled I think we will be able to do more this year than. But by reason of the heard times I have been oppressed myself very much. I have had to buy more fuel than any winter since I have been here. And have had more Children in school than usual. So it has been heard for me to get a long this winter. So you must not think harde if I ask you to please send me a check for this quarter ending with February."

BURDETT EXPECTS POLITICAL SITUATION TO GET BETTER

burdett to strieby, Feb 12, 1877, camp nelson, ama, arc

Winter has been very hard. "But now that the weather is better now And the political question will soon be settled and I hope that a better State of things will follow."
JAR ROGERS GIVES REFERENCE FOR REV. DREW

J. A. R. Rogers to Strieby, Berea, Jan 5, 1878, ama, arc

"... I have known brother Jns Drew of Jackson Co. for years & regard him as one of the best & wisest of our mountain preachers, & well adapted to do good at Camp Nelson & can heartily commend him."

John Drew

THE FEMALE HIGH SCHOOL (FOR BLACKS) FRANKFORT: OF MATTIE ANDERSON

Mattie E. Anderson to Whipple, Jan 8, 1878, Frankfort, Ky, ama, arc

"Several years ago I was persuaded to come here for the purpose of establishing a High School for colored girls. The children were not prepared for higher studies being only in Primary Grades. The children enrolled during the first two sessions passed out before completing common branches while some unable to pay their tuition sought cheaper schools. Many of the latter returned after finding the advantages of the Female School far superior to those found elsewhere. The enrollment last year was 90. This session 80 have entered thus far. The tuition is One Dollar per month. From Sept. 1871 it has been supported entirely by the tuition collected from patrons of this school. The children seemed to have a thirst for knowledge. It now consists of 30 primary pupils while the balance are divided into Intermediate Grammar Grades and the Junior year of the High School. I need an assistant, a young lady educated in Gaines High School in Cincinnati is ready to come at any moment, but I need desks to accommodate pupils who want to attend. Last summer three young ladies from this school, taught Public Schools. They have Teachers Certificates for one and 2 years, six more are preparing themselves for positions as teachers at the close of this session. This is encouraging. During the summer of 1871 the building I teach in was erected by Mr. Peter Smith for a school house. I bought it and succeeded in paying for it. $600. During last summer I erected an additional room for primary pupils, but have desks in that room for six pupils, hence my old room is crowded. As I have spent all my money in paying for the new room I am unable to buy desks. I need 20 double desks to accommodate pupils 10
Anderson to whipple, Jan 8, 1878, Frankfort, AMA, ARC

Lend a helping hand.

"Both rooms are comfortable, neatly finished with plenty of Blackboard space. The principal object is to supply Colored Public Schools in this state with competent teachers." "The school is known as The Female High School."

In a Jan 9, 1878, Letter, says she has tried to operate without aid; glad of AMA interest. Says she taught a Game 15 yrs before coming to Ky.

In a Feb 11, Letter to Strieby, says she can't turn pupils away I had to crowd them in. Waiting for answer.

In Feb 25, Letter to Strieby, the young lady she has engaged to help her or act in a school of High School in Akron, Ohio. She is Frances J. Martin.

Anderson to Strieby, Feb 25, 1878, Frankfort, AMA, ARC

"I have a few pupils who have been unable to pay their tuition but they are bright promising pupils and XXX I could not turn the /sic/ away. I could not teach many free of charge as the school has not been assisted by any society. I often go around among the colored people and urge them to send their children to school, a great many say they are unable to pay. Last week I found Twenty girls all primary, who are anxious to come but whose parents were unable to pay."
anderson to strieby, march 5, 1878, frankfort, ama, arc

She did not receive their letter of Feb 6, but they have now sent a copy. "Upon the arrival of the new teacher my pupils acted like little missionaries and brought in a large number of new scholars."

"The assistance you have pledged will enable me to provide liberally for the necessities of the school." Says the proposition is very acceptable to her; she says she has invested everything she has in this school. She is sending a recommendation from the Pres & Sec of the School Bd of Keokuk, Iowa, where she taught four years. She will report on her school every month.

anderson to strieby, april 20, 1878, frankfort, ama, arc: Miss Martin became ill, diagnosed as consumption, and died, before her mother could get to Frankfort. Two of her girls have been chosen to teach in Lexington.

anderson to strieby, may 29, 1878, frankfort, ama, arc: has hired a Miss of Cincinnati to help her teach.

Jennie Watson

anderson to strieby, may 29, 1878, frankfort, ama, arc: says public examination will be held June 13, and closing exercises on June 19.

anderson to striebe, june 23, 1878: Examination one of pleasure. She crowded in a large number of people, many visitors. Annie Patterson, the smartest pupil in her grade did very well. The closing exercises were opened with prayer by Elder Evans pastor of the A. M. E. Church." A number of essays were read and the valedictory address by Witty Streets. Benediction by Rev. Robert Martin, Pastor of the First Baptist Church. "It was the first exercise of that kind among colored people attended by white leaders as well as gentlemen of this city so strong has been the prejudice against colored schools and mixing with colored audiences here." There were few young white ladies there. There were many praises handed to Miss Anderson and Mrs Watson. She says there is work enough in Frankfort for 8 teachers. One of her pupils, Miss Alice Spencer, is teaching at Watkinsville, 10 miles from Frankfort. Miss Lizza Hocker will work in the area 1 mi. away. Miss Virgin Gatewood has been promised a job at Clifton in Woodford Co.
J. Montgomery to Strieby, Aug 20, 1878, Louisville, Am., Arc.

Montgomery had offered to check on the building from time to time. He noticed that the building was not being cared for. "The Faince around the building has been carried oft. and the upper window are open so it can rain in sid.+

"I spoke to the porter some time ago about the condition of things around the Building but they have not taken any steps whatever and the building is going to rack very fast."
j montgomery to strieby, aug 26, 1878, Louisville, ama, arc.

Says when he wrote he thought the AMA knew that Rev. Allen Allensworth had left the city last fall. The same congregation remains and is still holding religious services, but do not take care of the building as they agreed to do. The fence has been carried off; boys have pulled the shingles off the out houses.

anderson to strieby, sept 30, 1878, frankfort, ama, arc.

Report for Sept. "Mrs. Watson was unable to return on account of her husband being afflicted with heart disease, but Elder De Baptiste (pastor of the First Colored Baptist Church in Chicago) kindly recommended Miss Lucetia H. Newman, daughter of Elder Wm P. Newman (deceased). Miss Newman is a student of the High School at Appleton, Wisconsin with an addition of two years study in the Methodist college near that city. She has also six years experience in teaching in the Public Schools of Appleton."
To AMA, Schools for Freedmen, Teacher's Monthly Report, ama, arc

Sarah D. Todd, Howard School, Lexington, November 1866

20 days kept for the month
183 pupils
142 average attendance
62 males, 121 females
94 primary studies
89 intermediate
S. C. Hale, Supt. Howard School, Lexington, ama, arc
for month of January 1867

Teachers: Misses Brooks, Bradley, Barker, Todd, Taylor & Camp

Total pupils: 561
average 312
323-primary
59-intermediate
179 advanced
general progress-good

S. C. Hale Supt.

Monthly summary of Hale: 8 teachers, all female, 2 black
AMERICAN ARC, Teacher's Monthly Report, of Rebecca A. Mortimer

30 pupils
16 males
14 females
20 primary studies
4 intermediate
30 average attendance

AMERICAN ARC, Jan 1867, Barker is teacher
REPORT OF MONTH, HOWARD SCHOOL, CELIA M. BRADLEY

AMA, ARC, Jan 1867

140 total
95 males
45 females
119 primary
29 intermediate

MONTHLY TEACHER'S REPORT, HOWARD SCHOOL

AMA, ARC

Jan, 1867, Teacher Nancy D. Brooks

93 total pupils
36 males
50 females
86 advanced
Jan 1867, Alice L. Taylor, teacher

56 total
25 males
31 females
18 primary
18 intermediate

January 1867, Sarah D. Todd, teacher

86 pupils
38 males
48 females
86 advanced
Mattie Worles to Edw. P. Smith, Feb 20, 1869

"My school commenced in September the 28 1868 it numbered 55 pupils."
"I do not correspond with any society nor church."
"Will you please send me a list of the teachers, when you have them published."

Mattie Worles
No 50 Oliver St, between Central Ave & John Sts, Cincinnati.

ATTENDANCE REPORT, ELY NORMAL, LOUISVILLE, FEB 1871

G. Stanley Pope, supt.

Miss M. V. Adams, advanced; 15 males, 17 females
Miss Delia E. Emerson, advanced; 21 males, 28 females
Mrs. L. A. Campbell, intermediate; 16 males, 24 females
Miss S. L. Emerson, intermediate; 27 males, 30 females
Miss C. L. Lloyd, primary; 26 males, 30 females
ATTENDANCE REPORT, ARIEL, CAMP NELSON, JESSAMIN CO, KY, FEB 1871

ama, arc

Teacher: Enoch Seals. 14 males, 9 females

& Supt.

March Enoch Sealz: 12 male, 10 females

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ATTENDANCE REPORT, NORMAL, LEXINGTON, FEB 1871, MAY 1871

ama, arc

John G. Hamilton, Supt,

Teachers:
Miss Sarah Hamilton-Normal: 17 male, 17 female
" M. L. Callahan-Grammar: 33 male, 23 female
Mrs. S. A. Adams-Secondary: 19 male, 22 female
Miss Laura King -Primary: 19 male, 2 female

May
10 male, 9 female
18 " 16 "
8 " 22 "
19 " 17 "

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F. R. G. Pisani to Cravath, June 25, 1871, Cynthiana, Ky, ama, arc

"I send you per Adams Express. Sixteen Dollars and Fifty cents - $16.50. Please Rec'd it and as Soon as I can make it conveience to go around my Shholors. I will collect the Balance of mony of my Books. My Scholars is hard run for money just now I will send you five Dollars and fifty cents in a a few weeks. I hope next session I will be able to aid your association. The Colored people here has no ways of making a Living just now. He has just now commencing in Building a House of Worship, and it takes Every dime, in Building our Church we put our trust in God to help us in this Great — Work that we has just Start to do we has no Free School my School is in Debt now Dear Rev. E. M. C. Help us and we will help you we wants to have Friends in the North, Let me now if you Rec'd the mony for the Books if you please."

F. R. G. Pisani

PISANI ASKS FOR CONNECTION WITH AMA

F. R. G. Pisani to Cravath, Oct 1871, Covington, Ky, ama, arc

He wrote earlier, but no response. Says he knows Levi Coffin of Cincinnati. Has asked Coffin to write AMA to try to get Pisani a position.
GRAND UNITED LODGE, NO. 1,982, I. O. O. F. (colored)  

anony, hist daviess co, 1883

This lodge "... was organized in September, 1878, with about eighty members / sic/ Richard Vairian, Noble Father; John Swain, Noble Grand; Charles Jackson, Permanent Secretary. The place of meeting has been uniformly at their lodge room over the Deposit Bank. The present membership numbers 100 or more, and the lodge in every respect is in a very flourishing condition. They have a $30 banner, and their regalia cost $300. Present officers: John Swain, Noble Father; Alfred Woods, Noble Grand; Samuel Curd, Vice Grand; Charles Henderson, Permanent Secretary; Robert Crump, E. S."

THE UNITED BROTHERS OF FRIENDSHIP, No. 7 (colored lodge)

anony, hist daviess co, 1883

The United Brothers of Friendship, No. 7, was organized in the winter of 1866-'7, with a charter membership of about twenty-five. It is a secret order confined to colored men. Among the first members were William Moreton, Sandy Alexander, Albert Jackson and Wesley Troutman. The object of the order was at first benevolence, but now insurance is combined with the working of the lodge. The limit of insurance is $3,000. The society has prospered, owning now $4,000 worth of property, and its membership now amounts to eighty, in good standing. The present officers: H. C. Helm, Master; Terry Howard, Deputy Master; Wm. Griffith, Secretary; Currier Valentine, Assistant Secretary; Albert Jackson, Treasurer; John Garnet, John Nepp, George Alexander, Robert Dawes and Pat Taylor. The society meets the first and third Mondays of each month, at their hall.
The Little United Brothers of Friendship was organized about 1872, with about fifteen members. It is a society composed of colored boys, and is under the control of the United Brothers of Friendship. It has now about sixty members in good standing.

Si. Johnson is the President; Levi Bartlett, Vice President; Robert Sherman, Secretary; John Nepp, Treasurer. The society meets twice a month, the second and fourth Mondays.

The Little United Sisters of Friendship is immediately under the direction of the United Sisters. It was organized in August, 1881, and at the present time has over fifty members. It meets twice a month, at the hall of the United Brothers.

The United Sisters of Friendship is a secret order among the colored ladies of Owensboro. U. B. F. Temple, No. 8, was organized about 1868, with a membership of fifteen or twenty. It is under the direction of the United Brothers of Friendship, but holds separate meetings. Its objects are benevolence and social bility, and life insurance, limited to $1,500. The present membership is over 200, and the prospects of the society are very bright. The presiding officer is denominated Princess, and is at present Mrs. Lizzie Daws; the Secretary is Mrs. Annie Verret. The society meets at the U. B. F. Hall, the first and third Tuesday night of each month.
Black died of cholera, 1850

Anony, hist daviess co, 1883

p 411/ In 1850 on May 13, "a negro man died of cholera in town." in Owensboro.

p 412/ another black died "in the country" of cholera May 2, 1852

Black killed by stage driver

Anony, hist daviess co, 1883

p 419/ March 3, 1866, Anthony Fuqua (col) was killed by a stage driver.
BLACK LAD LYNCHED (May 13, 1866) at court house

anony, hist daviess co, 1883

p 419/ May 21, 1866 "'Tom,' a negro boy, hung on the court-house square by a mob; /begin p 420/ ... a negro named 'Tom' /same one?/ was tried before City Judge Washburn for rape. On his way to the jail an unknown party placed one end of a rope over his head, and threw the other end over a limb of a tree in the court-house yard, and the father of the injured girl drew the prisoner up, where he was kept suspended twenty or thirty minutes, and until after he was quite dead."

BLACK LYNCHED (JAN XXX 1869) FOR RAPE

anony, hist daviess co 1883

p 421/ On Jan 27, 1869, "... a negro man, committed to jail for rape, was hung in the court-house yard."
"Oct. 8, /1881/ Henry Nelson, colored, was shot down in cold blood at a negro dance in Owensboro."

"June 30, /1882/ Madison Jessup shot and killed George Smith, a respectable citizen; both were colored. Jessup got away, and Artie, the wife of the deceased, was arrested for complicity in the act, found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment for life; but the Court of Appeals reversed the decision, and the case now stands continued in court."
"Dec. 25, / 1882 / a young negro named Charlie Weir killed Jim Montgomery, a white man, in a beer saloon in Owensboro. Weir and two negro girls were drinking beer, when Montgomery commenced a scuffle with him; on being ordered out of the saloon the negro / begin p 429/ ran, followed by Montgomery, when the former shot and killed the latter. Self-defense was claimed."

"Negroes were admitted to the franchise in 1867, and although their first vote, April 6, of that year in Owensboro, was all given, except two, for the Republican ticket, the Democratic success was greater than before for several years."
"In 1881 the two cents per $100 was for colored schools. Although the county of Daviess gave a majority against it, the proposition was carried by the State."

"1864. -- During the spring of this year negro enrolling commenced, and their freedom from slavery encouraged. Joseph Thomas and several others visited a negro military camp near Indianapolis, for the purpose of obtaining indemnity for citizens of Daviess County for the loss of their servants, but they were treated in a very ruffianly manner. Directly before their eyes, one negro loaded a gun and called upon his fellows to join him, saying, with reference to Mr. Thomas particularly, 'There goes the d---d rascal who has the papers! Shoot him! G-d d--n him!' Captain Snow, a white man there, said he could not control the ruffianly conduct of the dark soldiery, and he guessed Mr. T. would have to take care of himself. Colonel Russel, who was not there, afterward said that if he had been present he would have prevented such insolence."
HOSTILITY IN O'BORO BETWEEN WHITE STATE GUARD AND BLACK US TROOPS

anony, hist daviess co, 1883

p 170/ June 18, 1864. "Powers arrived from Hawesville with about a score of negro recruits on board a small steamer, and marched them to the court-house square, intending to quarter them in the court-house with Colonel Woodward's State Guard of white soldiers; but the latter refused to let them in. Both sides were called to arms, and a fight almost ensued. The colored recruits were then quartered in the jail, with nothing to eat, and under locks and bolts for about twenty-four hours."

BLACK TROOPS IN OWENSBORO AREA (July 24-Aug 25, 1864)

Recruited

anony, hist daviess co, 1883

p. 171/

"At this time negro recruiting went on rather slowly, but their crossing over into Indiana progressed briskly. On boarding Captain Coyle's gun-boat, he said he could not permit them to be taken off against their will. While people generally wished there were no negroes in the State, they hated to see them go in this way.+

"August.—In the early part of this month an Owensboro patrolman fired at a colored man and missed him, the ball passing near the gun-boat; whereupon the latter fired 100 musket balls along the bank."
"Aug. 4.--Colonel Bishop and colored soldiers arrived at 11 p. m. Aug. 6, Circuit Clerk locked up his office, as the colored infantry had the court-house as quarters. Aug. 8, about 200 negro soldiers came up from Henderson. Aug. 23, 165 more arrived from the same place. Aug. 25, they all left at night. Aug. 15, Captain J. C. Cowin, of the One Hundred and Eighth Colored Infantry, after a little fighting, captured nine guerrillas at Yelvington and brought them to Owensboro, where they were confined in jail."


p 174/ Sept 7 "Colonel Moon and 118 colored troops arrived at the fairground. Sept. 11, about 200 negro soldiers went to Henderson."

p 174/ Confeds (13 in number) enter O'boro, 200 remained in upper part of town. They apparently intended to take the steamer, "believing that negro soldiers were aboard." unable to do so. Troops remained about two weeks after about Oct 17, 1864.
p 175/

"Nov. 1, three companies of colored soldiers arrived, and quartered in the court-house. Nov. 2, a colored picket killed. A guerrilla shot J. Taylor's negro, robbed and hung up Mr. Cavin (who lived in the country) two or three times, and robbed others in the county."

p.

DAVIESS CO. COURT HOUSE BURNED, ALLEGEDLY FOR HOUSING BLACK TROOPS

p 175/ author says on Jan 4, 1865, court house burned by Davidson and his men, but records and furniture mostly saved. "Davidson had orders to destroy every court-house that had been occupied by negro troops. Probably two or three other court-houses were burned in the State, under these orders."
LAST BLACK SOLDIERS LEAVE OWENSBORO

p 177/ Sept 5, 1865, a company of black soldiers arrived; Sept 25, last black troops left O'boro, leaving no troops in the town.

HIGH COST OF LABOR AT END OF CIVIL WAR: immigrant importation

p 185/ With the Eman Proc"wages for mannual labor went to an intolerable height. / begin p 186/ Negro farm hands demanded $200 to $250 a year, and cooks $25 to $125. At the close of the war, when greenbacks were more plentiful than specie, and the negroes about all free, the prices of labor rose to an alarming extent." Citizens attempted to form a company to import laborers from Scotland. "finally dropped, through sheer neglect, before any immigration was effected."
In a section entitled ‘CAPITAL PUNISHMENT’ quotes Collins’s History as saying only 2 cases of hangings in the history of Daviess county, one of who was a “Negro man for rape, in 1838,...” later says:

“The Negro above referred to was a slave belonging to Mr. Shauntee. The scaffold from which he was hung /sic/ was erected near where St. Stephen’s (Catholic) Church now stands. He was executed by R. C. Jett, Sheriff.”

The author is apparently referring to legal hangings.

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But by far the worst thing they did was to burn Messrs. Ayers & Elders’ wharf-boat, with a number of human beings confined upon it. They mistakenly supposed that considerable Government freight was upon it. The private property consumed was estimated at about $6,000. Nine colored soldiers, said to have been the guard that conducted the Yelvington prisoners to Louisville, were at this boat. They first fired at the guerrillas, and then concealed themselves within, for a time; but it is said that three jumped off, ran up the bank and escaped. Two of them were shot by the murderers and thrown overboard, and the charred remains of one more was found on the boat, the fire being extinguished before the hull was consumed. Three negroes took refuge in the hull, and were cut out by Mr. Ayres after the marauders had left. They pleaded pitiously for their lives and declared they were anxious to return to their owners. Lieutenant Walters, previously of the Third Kentucky Cavalry, was killed during the affair. A lot of Government stores on the levee were fired just before they left, but the most of the property was saved afterward by the citizens. These guerrillas were here but one hour, and they left on the Litchfield.
The Lexington Colored Christian Church was organized about the year 1851. Previously to the organization as a church, its members had belonged to various white churches of the county and State. Elder Thomas Philips, a farmer, slave of John Brand, white, was given his freedom by Mr. Brand and he at once engaged in the work of the ministry. He had a few prayer meetings, and finally conceived the idea of forming an independent congregation. He secured a lot and a building, which formerly had been an old carriage factory on West Fourth Street between Limestone and Upper.

"From the study of the deeds in the court house it appears that John Brand, the former owner of the first pastor, purchased the lot and building for the congregation which received a deed later from Allen & Wesson. The cost of the lot and building was $500."

"The first meeting was held by the congregation, April, 1851. At that time there was about thirty-five male members. The first Elders were David Withers and Botsman Christopher. Elder Thomas Philips preached for the congregation eight years and continued at intervals until his death some time after the war."

"The next regular minister was Elder Davis, in 1859. At this time the membership was 100. During the pastorate of Elder Davis the church, which had been used as a carriage factory, was repaired and remodeled."

"About 1860 Alexander Campbell of Woodford County, a servant of the Fleming family, was purchased by the white congregation in Midway, Ky. He had been preaching with considerable success in that county and in 1864 he succeeded Elder Davis as pastor, serving until his death, December 15, 1870."

McDonnold, Hist of the Cumberland Pres Ch, 1899

"They all belonged to the same congregations of which the white people were members, and were under the ministrations of the same preachers who served the white congregations." Unlike some other denominations, there were no separate churches for black Cumberland Presbyterians. White ministers tended black members as they did white members. "In addition to this privilege of attending services along with the white people, the colored people had preachers of their own race, and held their own special services, occupying the same houses which were owned and used by the white congregations." Says state laws requiring the presence of a white were followed.

Says blacks were never quite as free to express religious ecstasy with whites present. Describes black meetings at camp meeting as wild.

Says "colored ministers sometimes preached to white audiences." Says black ministers were ordained in the same way as white ministers."
EARLY OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY IN KY (1804) (general statement)

connelly, story of ky, 1890

portions. Much of the wealth of the State consisted in slaves. Some of these were inherited; others were purchased — oftentimes out of pure pity for the unhappy chattel on the block. Yet to many of the Kentucky people, with their great love of freedom, slavery was as obnoxious as to the people of the North. As early as 1804 a society led by six Baptist ministers, was organized for the emancipation of slaves. The Baptist Association declaring it "improper for ministers, churches or associations to meddle with emancipation, or any other political subject," the "Emancipators," as they called themselves, withdrew and organized "The Baptist Licking Locust Association," or "Friends of Humanity."

SLAVE INSURRECTION IN KY IN 1848 (general acct)

connelly, story of ky, 1890

There is no account of insurrection among the slaves of this State until 1848 (about the time the French mob was surging through the Orleans palace and Louis Philippe escaping through a back door). In that year fifty-five slaves under the guidance of a party of Abolitionists, set out for freedom across the river. Thirteen escaped, the rest were captured; and the leader of the Abolition party, who had received stolen goods in payment for his services, was sentenced to twenty years' service in the penitentiary.
This evidence of discontent revived the interest in the emancipation question. In 1853 sixty-three colored people, emancipated for the purpose, left Louisville for Liberia, on the western coast of Africa. The following year forty-four were sent from Kentucky and in 1855 fifty-two more were sent. At this time sales of negro men are recorded at $1,378, $1,295 and $1,260. In 1856, when the Liberia scheme had proved a failure, on account of the unhealthfulness of the climate, emancipation meetings were held, and delegates appointed to a convention called for the purpose of amending the Constitution and providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves. New York had emancipated hers gradually; in 1840 Rhode Island and Connecticut had only a few; New Jersey had three hundred, and Pennsylvania about sixty-four. Why should not Kentucky pursue the same method?
CHAPTER XV.

TWO ABOLITIONISTS IN CYNTHIANA—DOYLE AND GRAHAM.

About the year 1847, a man named Doyle, from Ohio, came to Kentucky, and passed through the counties of Bourbon, Scott and Harrison, and persuaded slaves to leave their masters and to follow him, and promised that he would set them free. Hundreds followed him as far as Claysville, Kentucky, but they were there met by a large force of armed white men, from the counties before named, and a battle ensued. How many were killed and wounded is not now known. Doyle and many of the negroes were captured and brought to this town. Doyle was sent, after due course of trial, to the penitentiary at Frankfort; the negroes were returned to their homes. Doyle was pardoned after some years had elapsed. Many of the slaves reached the promised land of the “Ohio” state and were never heard of more.

Some time in the year 1851, a man by the name of Graham came here from Ohio, and stopped at the house of an old minister who had once preached in Ohio where Mr. Graham had made his acquaintance. The minister was a pro-slavery man, but he bore a conscience, and did not wish Mr. Graham to come to grief. He therefore advised him to keep himself in close quarters that night and to return to his home the next day as soon as possible. Graham said nothing except “he had wished to see the poor slaves at worship.” After the family of the minister had retired, Graham stole out of the house and proceeded to gratify his desire to see the negroes at their devotions. He went to an out-house, where they were lifting up their voices very loudly in song and prayer and took his seat. The negroes were not slow to perceive that they were honored by a white auditor, and the preacher wrestled “powerful with the spirit;” then they all sang, and the sisters groaned and wept, and some shouted. The negroes have the most melodious voices ever heard; no amount of training will give a white man’s voice the silver ring that nature has vouchsafed to the voice of the black man. Mr. Graham was moved to the inmost depths of his soul. After church was over he talked to a few negroes who went home and told their masters every word he said.

The next morning, contrary to the minister’s advice, Graham walked around town, and talked to any negro who was willing to exchange a word with him. About 10 o’clock in the morning the minister and his family were startled by a fearful noise of many angry voices yelling in concert. Stepping to the door the minister saw his guest, Graham, making for his house with all speed, attended by a mob that had pelted the poor man with eggs, and had spitefully used him. The minister and other good citizens rescued Graham, but not before the mob had blacked his face with nitrate of silver. He was placed on the cars, and was glad to escape with his life.

The late unpleasantness was beginning then. “Uncle Tom’s Cabin” was the first blast from the North that aroused the dormant demon of sectional
A certificate of emancipation of a negro woman and a negro man, named respectively, Patience and Scipio, belonging to Joseph Mayes, of Henrico County, Virginia, was filed and ordered to be recorded. The county did not have a record book, to record this, someone was purchased.

On Friday evening, about seven o'clock, the whole town was thrown into an intense state of excitement by the arrival and disembarkation of one hundred and sixty negro soldiers, commanded by white officers. Such a sight had never been witnessed before, and not knowing the object of their visit, or apprehending their approach, every citizen was more or less alarmed. These troops took possession of the Court House. 

Apprehension of an early attack from the rebels was entertained by every one, and on short notice the archives of both clerks' offices were removed from the building. At ten o'clock next morning all of the drays and wagons of the city were pressed into service to remove the plunder, including picks and shovels, from the Court House, to a high and isolated bluff on the river bank, directly in front of the present bridge office, at the intersection of Water and Fourth Streets. The soldiers were provided with picks and shovels and set to work throwing up earthworks and fortifying the bluff against any attack from the rebels. Here they were engaged until the evening when the officer in command received orders from Louisville to evacuate and proceed to Owensboro. They left on the steamer "Echo" taking the picks and shovels.

It was claimed later that Governor Dixon, Mayor Banks, and W. B. Woodruff were instrumental in getting the black troops removed.
p 333/
"On the 8th day of August /1867/ the historic high bank of earth standing on the river front, between third and fourth cross streets, known as 'Fort Nigger,' was excavated and thrown back into a hollow or ravine lying between said bank and Water street."

p 217, note 405 tells us this bank being built in 1864.

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p 221/ A Union force entered Henderson. Soldiers took some cattle, etc., into their possession, while others invited soldiers into their home to dine. Before they left, however, some black troops arrived:

"Previous to their departure, however, Colonel Moon, with sixty corps d'Afrique, arrived for the purpose of putting down the rebellion, but more especially to recruit the colored men. Moon and his lesser satellites took possession of the bluff on the river bank, which had been partially fortified by a previous company. Colonel Moon remained two days, and during the time forwarded to Owensboro ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FOUR colored Henderson recruits.+

"By this time, Colonel Johnson's conscript program had been defeated, but the county had been relieved of one hundred and twenty-five or fifty thousand dollars worth of slave and other property."

p 224/
"On Sunday night / mid-Sept, 1864 / two companies of negro troops arrived and took possession of the Court House. This then superseded the necessity of any further effort at a citizen organization, and hence the initiatory steps toward that object were for the time laid by." The local mayor, D. Banks, had ordered on Sept 10, 1864, a saturday, for all able bodied citizens to meet to form a force to protect the city.
p 171/ "During the year 1825, Elizabeth D. Gwatkin, grandmother of Adam and Gwatkin Rankin, died. By her will, thirty-eight negroes became the property of Horatio D. Gwatkin, for the term of fifteen years, and at the expiration of that time, they were to be given their freedom according to law. At the June term of the County Court this year, the thirty-eight slaves were brought into court, their names entered of record, and they were given their freedom. A poor old man, who had fought throughout the War of American Independence, became a pauper upon the county. John Ramsay and wife were allowed the round sum of fifty dollars for his annual support."

p 194/ "There seemed to be a greater disposition to make money at this time than ever before, and notwithstanding war was inevitable, and as a culminating consequence slavery would be abolished, very many of the leading planters of the county purchased large numbers of negroes, and extended the magnitude of their crops. Negroes were purchased up to the time of, and even before the first proclamation of Mr. Lincoln, and when all doubt as to the real and true intent of the party in power was settled beyond question, emissaries from the North were cautiously circulating among the negro population, and many bits of Abolition literature had been discovered."
ABOLITION ACTIVITY AMONG BLACKS IN HENDERSON CO

starling, hist henderson co, 1847

p 194/ "... emissaries from the North were cautiously circulating among the negro population, and many bits of Abolition literature had been discovered. There were secret movements of the blacks, and evident dissatisfaction. There was hardly a day or night, but one or more of them did not find safe passage to Indiana. Insurrections became talked of, and for a time great uneasiness was manifestly apparent. Patrols and guards were kept along the entire river front, and yet with all these expensive precautions, many slaves effected a safe and farewell escape. In the latter part of 1859 a fellow named George A. Boyle, who had lived in Henderson for a year or more, and had oftentimes expressed himself in sympathy with Old John Brown, of Harper's Ferry fame, declared that he had a 'big Republican heart,' and was suspected and accused of having circulated a large number of abolition pamphlets amongst / p 195/ the slaves of the city and county. He was watched and detected in holding Republican council with several negroes, and the City Council, upon learning this fact, voted that he should vacate the town. To this end a committee waited upon the gentleman of Abolition faith, and warned him if he did not depart, and that immediately, he would be furnished a free ride, and a tar suit profusely ornamented with varigated /sic/ feathers. Boyle guided by the advice of the committee, took to his heels, and was never again seen in Henderson. He was a blacksmith by trade. There were many more such men as Boyle, but so secret were their movements, and so carefully and judiciously laid were all their plans, they escaped discovery, and continued to do their work unmolested."

RUNAWAY SLAVES, HENDERSON CO AREA, 1843-45 PERIOD

starling, hist henderson co, 1847

p 174/ "In 1843 began, and in 1844-45 was steadily developing the systematic enticing away, or stealing of slaves from Kentucky, and running them off to Canada by a cordon of posts, or relays, which came to be known as the underground railroad. Few were stolen at first, and occasionally cases recapture on Ohio soil, and restoration to owners occurred. In several cases, Ohio juries, under the just laws enacted to meet the exigencies, gave judgment for damages, to the reasonable value of the slaves rescued, but in no cases were the judgments paid. This semblance of justice continued to grow lax, and men, who, at first, were willing to see stolen, or runaway slaves, restored, soon became indifferent, and in a few years, themselves encouraged this growing interference with the property rights of the people of Kentucky."
"Owing, perhaps, to past stringent orders concerning negro worship, the citizens became anxious and interested in their spiritual welfare; they, therefore, at the February 1848 meeting of the Board of Trustees presented a plan of worship, embodies in a petition, which they asked to be adopted. The following is the order of the Board: 'Mr. F. Cunningham presented the petition of sundry citizens with regard to instructing the negroes in the way of salvation. Mr. Samuel N. Langley moved to lay said petition on the table. Carried unanimously and so the said petition was laid on the table.'"

"In 1799, settlers began to import slaves to the county. At the October Court of Quarter Sessions General Samuel Hopkins reported a bill of sale for record, which conveyed the title from John Hopkins, of Mercer County, to General Hopkins, of this county, in and to seven negro slaves, two men, one woman, one boy and four / p 100 / small children, two sorrel horses and one black mare, for and in consideration of two hundred and forty three pounds, eleven shillings and eight pence."
PAY FROM PATROL, WHIPPING SLAVES, BY TOWN (HENDERSON) BD. OR TRUSTEES

starling, hist henderson, 1887

Year 1823

The Town of Henderson Board of Trustees held a monthly meeting. At one of these meetings: "Thomas H. Herndon was appointed Captain of the patrol for the year, and his salary fixed at twenty dollars. He was also allowed the sum of four dollars eighty-seven and a half cents for whipping slaves by order of the Magistrate."

HENDERSON FEARFUL (1838) OF BLACKS CARRYING WEAPONS

starling, hist henderson co, 1887

For some reason, which the records of 1838 failed to explain, the Trustees became alarmed concerning the carrying or concealing of unlawful weapons by the colored population. They, therefore, at their October meeting, ordered 'That ... Fountain Cunningham, ... be appointed to search all suspected negro premises for unlawful weapons or stolen property, and that they have power to enter and search all suspected places, that they arrest and bring before the Board all negroes having unlawful weapons, and that they seize the weapons, etc.' I left out about ten names listed.
The Trustees directed the Collector to collect this year, in addition to the tax levied upon each and every white male over the age of twenty-one years, one dollar for each and every free colored male over the age of sixteen years as a poll-tax."

No reason given for age differences
witt: Jacob Held, Dr. Pinkney Thompson, H. S. Park and Y. E. Allison, met at the dwelling house of Jacob Held, in the City of Henderson, and took the oath required by law and the constitution as such Trustees; which oath was administered by E. L. Starling, Mayor of said city. Whereupon they organized by unanimously electing Jacob Held President and Y. E. Allison permanent Secretary.

The Trustees purchased a lot at the corner of First and Alves Streets, 75x200 feet, and had erected thereon a frame building with two rooms, each 30x30 feet. The school was opened September 2d, 1872, with Professor Sam'l Harris (white), superintendent and teacher, and Mrs. E. P. Thompson (colored), assistant. The latter served three months and resigned, after which the Board employed Mrs. Mary Letcher, who, with Professor Harris, continued in the school to the close of the session in 1874.

After this the Board employed John K. Mason, superintendent and teacher, and Martha J. Mason, his wife, assistant, who still occupy the positions. Mason and his wife were citizens of Louisville, but had for several years been teachers in the Runkle Institute at Paducah, Kentucky.

In 1878 the City Council added another room to the school building and another teacher, Miss Virgie D. Harris, a graduate of the school, was employed as second assistant. Miss Harris held the position to the close of the session June, 1882.

The Board having made other additions to the building, the session of 1882-83 opened with four teachers, as follows: John K. Mason, superintendent and teacher; Mrs. Martha J. Mason, first assistant; Miss Alice D. Moting, second assistant; William H. Hall, third assistant.

This school is governed by the same rules and the same text books as are used in the public schools for white children, and its sessions are of the same length, ten months. This school has three departments, namely: primary, elementary and intermediate, in the latter physiology and book-keeping are taught. The attendance has steadily increased from 145 pupils in 1874 to 368 enrolled in 1882, an increase of 152.473 per cent.

In addition to the revenues derived from the sources authorized by the act of the Legislature, approved March 10th, 1871, this school receives its pro rata of the State fund for common school purposes, which, at $1.30 on each of the 588 persons of school age enrolled in 1883, amounts to $764.40.

The average cost of maintaining this institution is about $1,300 per annum. This school has proven a blessing to the children of colored parents, as it is a credit to those who were instrumental in its organization. No bickerings or complaint has marred its peace, and at no time has a demand necessary been denied. Many of our best people have manifested an interest in its good government and blessings, and a commendable spirit of liberality has ever guided the Council in its protecting care.
HISTORY, BLACK PUBLIC SCHOOLS, HENDERSON, 1870s-1880s

starling, hist henderson co, 1887

FOSTER'S NEGRO ORDER, HENDERSON, 1863

starling, hist henderson co, 1887

p 211/

May 20, Foster issued his first order concerning the negro race. It was as follows:

"All negroes coming into the district of Western Kentucky from States south of Tennessee, and all negroes who have been employed in the service of rebels in arms, are declared enemies of war. It is ordered by the commanding general that all such negroes in the Counties of Hancock, Daviess, McLean, Henderson, Union, Crittenden, Livingston, Lyon, Caldwell, Webster and Hopkins be collected at Henderson and furnished quarters and subsistence. Chaplain James F. St. Clair, Sixty-fifth Regiment, is charged with the execution of this order."

In May, orders were issued from the War Department, authorizing General Boyle and the Governor to recruit men for the Federal service. The terms offered recruits were exceeding liberal, and as a...
The history of this church is brief; never the less, it goes to show how much can be accomplished by energy, earnest work, and united purposes.

The church was organized February 15th, 1877, by Elder R. D. Peay, pastor of the White Baptist, assisted by Judge F. H. Lockett. It had a membership at that time of forty-four members, and now numbers three hundred and twenty-five affiliating members.

On February 15th, 1877, the same day of organization Elder Lewis Norris was called to the pastorate and accepted the charge. Just here it may be well to go further back in the life of this congregation. Originally, there was but one Colored Baptist Church—the First Baptist. In 1867, Elder Norris was called from Bardstown, Kentucky, to take charge of the First Baptist Congregation. He accepted the same year, coming to Henderson and entering upon the duties of the charge. For ten years, he labored with this congregation, and during the time purchased the lot on the corner of Elm and Washington Streets, and commenced raising money for the purpose of building the two story brick, now standing as a monument to the liberality and industry of the colored people. He procured the plan and had raised over eight hundred dollars for building purposes, when some dissatisfaction arose in the congregation, and he resigned charge of the church. He was then called to Bowling Green, but at the instance of several whites, declined the call, and remained in Henderson. About this time forty-four members of the First Baptist secured letters of withdrawal, and immediately rented the Old Cumberland Presbyterian church building, on Fourth Street, and organized what is now known as the Fourth Street Church. Elder Norris was called to this charge, and accepted. He immediately applied his whole time and energies to building up the new church, first buying from Mr. Joseph Adams a lot on the corner of First and Adams Street.

The Deacons of the church, Ephraim Marshall, Randall Bibbs, George Towles, Stephen Swope, Elias Cabell, Smith Posey and Thomas Payne, gave him every assistance, and worked with him in harmony and general good will. This and the continued unceasing and untiring labors of the pastor, deacons and members had the effect to very materially increase the membership of the church, and the prospect of soon building for themselves a temple they could call their own, subscribing liberally themselves, and being materially aided by their white friends. Elder Norris and his deacons soon found themselves in a condition—financially as they thought, to undertake the building proposed. In 1879, the house was built and roofed in, and was occupied by the congregation in 1880. The church is a large brick with a towering cupola, and a deep toned bell to correspond. The congregation have never had but one pastor. They have had many ups and downs, and are yet financially embarrassed, but hope by the blessings of a kind providence, to extricate themselves from all entanglements during this and the coming year.

Note—On the third Sunday of September, 1884, the handsome and imposing church edifice above referred to was burned about eleven o'clock in the morning, and the congregation turned out into the street.
The African Baptist Church of Jesu Christ, in Henderson, Henderson County, State of Kentucky, began in log cabins, corn, and tobacco fields; the members assembled in barns, and under shade trees, to worship The Almighty Father. In 1840, they were admitted and received to membership in the “White Baptist Church,” and baptised by Rev. H. B. Wiggin, and there provisions were made for them until 1845; then a committee of five white brethren was appointed to organize an “African Baptist Church.” Seventy members of colored, with white brethren and pastor met in the basement story of the present Baptist Church on the eighth of June, 1845. Rev. G. Matthews preached a sermon from Rev. 3, Ch. 8 vs. “Behold I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it.” He explained the commission given the church, and the nature of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ. At the close, Rev. Franklin, of the committee suggested Rev. F. Cunningham moderator, and W. H. Cunningham clerk. The articles of Faith and Rules of Decorum were read and explained, the congregation accepted, and agreed to live in accordance with the teachings of the word of God. James Towles and Henry Alves, were chosen deacons, F. Cunningham, moderator, announced to them that you are now an African Baptist Church, to work by the directions of the committee.

Rev. George Matthews, pastor of the White Baptist Church, rose and offered an appropriate prayer to the Almighty God, that he would ratify in Heaven what was done on earth to his Honor and Glory, and then the hand of recognition was extended by the committee.

Rev. Willis Walker, who was a slave, was chosen pastor, and was afterward bought from his owner by the colored church at a cost of five hundred and twenty dollars. Rev. Walker preached as a Free-will Baptist for many years preceding his connection with Missionary Baptist, his labors being crowned with great success.

In October, 1846, the church held a protracted meeting, which resulted in the conversion of fifty persons. In 1849, The Holy Spirit was poured out upon the people and a number of seventy were obedient to the Faith of Jesus Christ.

In 1852 Rev. Walker was joined by Rev. M. Taylor and Major Towles, and when the associational report of 1857 was made up, it was found that “The African Baptist Church” had increased to three hundred and seventy members, the entire membership of Henderson County being centered in this church.

Rev. Walker’s last work, he had prayed to his Heavenly Father to permit him to be found at his post when death comes, so he was in the water and was baptising when the angel of death said unto him, “well done, good and faithful servant,” and after a period of twenty-four years labor, he returned to his Father’s embrace, and many sad hearts mourned the loss. The church finding herself without a pastor, invited Rev. Henry Green, of Danville, Kentucky, to visit here, and he came and pastored three years.

Charles Jenkins was licensed in 1800. In the spring of 1865, Rev. Washington Stander, was called and served two years. On the nineteenth day of August, 1866, thirty-three members were dismissed by letter to constitute the Race Creek Baptist Church, six miles north...
thrown upon their own resources, with not a dollar to sustain themselves, and the church finding itself without a house in which to worship God. Suspicion ran high, prejudice and passions were the topics of the day, the thoughts of a dark prospect seem to chill the blood in every vein, but remembering the text of Rev. Matthews, "Behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it," a regular meeting for business was held on the twenty-third day of January, 1866, and after much discussion, a committee was appointed consisting of Thomas Gains, Sr., Peter Harris, John Mackey, Henry Smith and Charles Livers, with instructions to secure a place for worship.

At a business meeting February 1st, 1866, the Committee reported success, then the following brethren were chosen Trustees, Charles Livers, Thomas Gains, Sr., and John Mackey, and on the eighth day of February, 1866, entered into contract with E. W. Worsham for the old Methodist Church, corner of Elm and Washington Streets, with a seating capacity of more than four hundred persons, for a consideration of $5,090.

The first Lord's day in June, 1866, the congregation was asked to remain after preaching for the purpose of organizing a Sabbath School, after explanation given by G. H. Grant, Charles Livers, Paris McBride and others, it was agreed to proceed to the organization of a Sabbath School, and on motion G. H. Grant was chosen Superintendent, Paris McBride, assistant Superintendent; Charles Livers, Secretary; and George King, Treasurer.

In 1867, the church being without a pastor, G. H. Grant was chosen to supply the pulpit.

On the twenty-third day of October, 1867, Rev. Lewis Norris was called to take pastoral charge of the church, and he served eight years. During his administration, several new churches were organized, and several preachers ordained to the work of the Gospel Ministry. In September, 1867, M. Taylor was ordained to the ministry; in 1870, on the ninth day of October, G. H. Grant was ordained; in 1871, March 10th, five members were dismissed to constitute St. Paul's Baptist Church, in Corydon, twelve miles southwest of the city; April 6th, eighteen members were dismissed to constitute the St. John Baptist Church, nine miles west of the city; November 4th, nine members were dismissed to constitute the New Hope Baptist Church, seven miles south of the city; in 1871, May 1st, thirteen members were dismissed to constitute the Walnut Hill Baptist Church, five miles southeast of the city; in 1872, Joseph Bell and Primus Burris, were ordained to the ministry.

In 1871, Rev. Lewis Norris, baptised one hundred and eighty persons, who were added to the church, and it was ascertained that the seating capacity of the house would not accommodate the congregation, and so $1200 were expended in building an addition, which seated seven or eight hundred persons.

In November, 1876, Elder G. H. Grant was chosen to take pastoral charge of the church. Finding it, and the Sabbath School, retrograding from its previous high standing, the church greatly confused and Sabbath School numbering for a time of forty members...
ary, 1877, to constitute the Fourth Street Baptist Church, in this
city, giving them $250.

The members having agreed to erect a brick edifice to the honor
of God's name, the officers suggested a plan to raise the money,
which was heartily endorsed by all the members, and they raised from
$60 to $100 per week. The Sabbath School increased to two hun-
dred and thirty scholars. A resolution to purchase an organ was
highly approved, and J. K. Mason was appointed to select the organ.
A committee of ladies were appointed to solicit means for that pur-
pose. In a few days the amount needed (one hundred and twenty-
five dollars) was in hand. Peace and tranquility prevailed in all the
departments of the church.

Rev. C. R. Ware was called to the pastoral charge, January 1st,
1879. He found the church in a fine working condition, both spirit-
ually and temporally.

In the spring of 1879, the old frame building was removed from
the lot, then the foundation for the new building was laid at once.
The building committee were brethren of honesty, wisdom and energy.
They were as follows: Junius Sneed, Thomas Gaines, Sr., Henry
Glass, Peter Harris, Erasmus McCormick, J. A. Carr, J. E. McBride,
B. R. Hughes, Winston Harris, Michael Brown, John K. Mason, and
W. F. Gaines, Secretary. The dimensions of the new building is
46x76, two stories high, the upper story eighteen feet, basement eight
feet. The corner stone of the new building was laid on the fourth
of July, 1879. The contractors were three or four months building
the house, and during that time the congregation was occupying the

Benevolent Aid Society's Lodge room in Woodruff Hall. On the
fifteenth day of September, 1879, the congregation removed to their
new house of worship, which was so far completed at a cost of $4,900.
Rev. P. H. Kennedy was called and entered upon pastoral duty, Jan-
uary 1st, 1881. He found the congregation worshipping in the base-
ment story of the building, the second story to be plastered, windows
to be put in, and to be furnished with seats and pulpit. The people,
yet led by a working spirit to complete their edifice, responded to
every call until it was finished, at a cost of about $7,050. The fol-
lowing persons are filling the office of deacons: J. E. McBride, H.
Glass, J. Sneed, Thomas Gaines, Sr., Peter Harris, R. McCormick
and J. A. Carr.
The "Bastardy Act" --see Littell's Laws, Dec 14, 1795, Vol 1, chpt 190, secs. 1-3--did not apply to slaves. Whites could swear they had an illegitimate child etc. and the state would force the said father to provide for that child.

The Ky Court of Appeals held that "any single woman, not being a slave" could follow this procedure.

The Court of Appeals held that 'any single woman, not being a slave' could swear and obtain a warrant in cases concerning illegitimate children, and free single persons of color were not excluded. But no negro or mulatto could be a witness except in pleas of the Commonwealth against negroes or mulattoes, or in civil cases, where negroes or mulattoes alone were the parties. Neither were negroes, mulattoes, or Indians permitted to give evidence except between or against negroes, mulattoes, or Indians. But these disqualifications did not prevent such persons from taking an oath or making an affidavit to begin a controversy, although the mother could not be a witness at the trial. It did not mean that there could be no conviction in the county court, because the court could admit other evidence upon which to convict the father. Williams had acted correctly in permitting the oath of the mulatto woman and issuing the warrant. The case was remanded for a new trial."

see Evarts v. Commonwealth, 2 Monroe's Reports (ky) 55 (1841)
Williams v Blincoe, 5 Littell's Reports (ky) 171 (1824)
FREE BLACKS & VAGRANCY LAWS (1834)

sunley, ky poor law, 1942

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"In 1834, the mayors and trustees of the towns were authorized to take
action against the free persons of color who were residents of a town or
city, but who were keeping disorderly houses, harboring runaway slaves,
loitering, or engaged in a questionable means of support. A summons was
to be issued by the mayor or trustees and directed to any constable or
peace officer of the county. The trial was to be before the mayor or
trustees, and the constable was to summon the jury. The defendant was to
have the same right of challenge as in the civil cases, and the hearing
was to be presided over by the mayor or by at least three trustees.†

"If a person were found guilty of vagrancy, the mayor or trustees could
take him into custody and hire him out at public auction to the highest
bidder for not more than three months. The hirer was to receive the
services of the free person of color, but he was to furnish good food,
lodging, and clothing and he was not to remove the colored person outside
the county. If the free persons of color lived outside the towns, the
justices of the peace were given jurisdiction. In the towns, the money
received from the hire was to be used for the defendant's family, to
defray the city debts, or for the improvement of the streets; but in the
county, the money was to be used for the care of the defendant's family or to reduce the county levy."

† See Act 24, 1834, Chapt. 58, Secz 1-6

FREE BLACK VAGRANTS & FRANKFORT (1810)

sunley, ky poor law, 1942

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"Other provisions for the repression of vagrancy appeared in the acts
governing the early towns during the first half of the nineteenth century.
In 1810, the trustees of Frankfort were given authority to act in regard
to the vagrant free negroes, mulattoes, and persons of color. This act
included those who had no means of support, the disorderly and riotous,
and those who kept disorderly or riotous houses. The trustees could
apprehend them, commit them to jail, or release them on bail to appear
at the next meeting of the county court. The court might discharge them
or order them to be hired out by the sheriff to the highest bidder for not
more than one month.† The money obtained from hire was to go into the
town treasury.†

"An act of 1812 gave permission to the trustees of Frankfort to appoint
a night watchman who could arrest anyone who acted suspiciously or dis-
orderly. If a free negro, mulatto, or person of color were in the town
without any means of support, or if they were disorderly or riotous, the
trustees could issue an order committing them to jail or release them on
bail until the next term / p 90/ of the county court. The court could
discharge the case or order the accused to be hired out to the highest
bidder for a period not exceeding one monty."

† Acts Jan 27, 1810, Chapt. 149, Secz 2
As early as 1825, the trustees of Bowling Green were authorized to organize a town patrol, which was to consist of white male citizens who were residents, between eighteen and fifty years of age, and who were living within the town or within two hundred hards of the city limit. They were to watch and patrol the town and suburbs at night in order to guard against fire, to suppress disorderly conduct, and to apprehend the slaves or others who were not able to give a satisfactory account of themselves. Anyone who was apprehended by the guards was not to be detained later than nine o'clock the following morning without due process of law. The captains of the guard could inflict any number of stripes, not exceeding ten, on any slave who was found off the premises of his master after ten o'clock at night, provided that he did not have a pass from his master or a good excuse. If the captain did not want to whip the slave, he could imprison him until the sun was one hour high the following morning.

Acts, Dec 17, 1825, chpt 65, sec 1, 2

Ky provided for state and county "tax relief" for certain groups of disabled ex-soldiers in 1866. "Any white person who had lost an arm or leg during his service in the United States Army or Navy and was unable to support himself and family was exempted from state and county taxes if his estate were worth less than $1,000."

In 1912 an act provided aid for indigent or disabled persons who had served one year of the close of a year in Confederate service, 1861-65.
"In October, 1750, the Ohio Company sent out Christopher Gist to search out lands upon the Ohio and down as far as the falls thereof. Following an Indian trail Gist accompanied only by a Negro servant, --a brave man he must have been--reached the Ohio and passed down the river to within fifteen miles of the falls. Seeing numerous signs of Indians he wisely turned back to the Kentucky River. From the top of Pilot Knob in Powell County, after seeing much of the fertile soil of Kentucky, he returned to his home on the Yadkin in the summer of 1751."

"An Act to incorporate the Lawrenceburg Colored Cemetery Company was approved March 9, 1888. By this Act and under it, this cemetery was organized with the following incorporators named in this Act: Thomas Burrus, Henry Harris, Matt Ellison, Henry Brown and General Carter."
The following paper is in possession of Mrs. Annie Bond Cole: "I have this day sold to John W. Bond a negro slave named Sadie, aged about twenty years, for the sum of $950.00 to be paid the first day of January, 1860, for which sum he has this day executed to me his note. I warrant the title to said slave, and warrant her sound in body and in mind, this September 22nd, 1859."—Signed, William H. Witherspoon.

Another statement in Mrs. Cole's scrap-book records: "I have this day sold to John W. Bond, for and in consideration of $750.00, one negro girl, Sarah, a slave for life, about seventeen years old and warrant her sound. Given under my hand this 8th day of December, 1856. (Signed) J. H. Walker. At this period the barter and sale of slaves was as active as that of any other property.

The following note, ninety-five years old, is in Mrs. Cole's possession: "We have this day hired of Stephen C. Brown for William Brown, a negro woman named Cynthiana and her two children. Now we bind ourselves to return said negroes to the said Brown on the first day of January next clothed as follows: the woman a good new linsey frock, a good new flax linen shirt, a good new pair of shoes, a good new pair of yarn stockings, a two dollar and half blanket, a bonnet, and in the spring we give to her two new linen shirts and frocks. The children are to be returned clothed with good new linsey shirts and frocks each. In the spring they are to have two good new tow linen alps each, and we are not to hire them out to any other person or take either of them out of the county. (Signed) William B. Mitchell, January 1, 1841."
FARM SALE, ANDERSON CO, 1850, INCLUDING SLAVES

A sale bill, eighty-six years old, is in the possession of Mrs. Annie Bond Cole, as follows: Having sold my farm in Anderson County, I, Joe Cooley, will sell on Saturday, September 26, 1850, the following, to-wit: one buck nigger 25 years old, weight 200 pounds; 4 nigger wenches, from eight to twenty four years old; 3 nigger boys six years old; 13 nigger hoes; 6 yoke oxen well broke; 10 ox yokes; 1 saddle pony 5 years old; 3 double shovel plows; 25 one gallon whiskey jugs; 100 gallons of apple cider; 1 barrel of good sorghum; 2 barrels of kraut; 1 extra good nigger whip; 2 tons of tobacco two years old; sale starts at ten o'clock sharp. Terms cash, I am going to Missouri and need the money. Col. W. H. Johnson, Auctioneer; Joe Cooley, owner.

WHITE IMPRESSIONS OF BLACKS & "BLACK MAMMY"

The above Wm. B. Mitchell was the grandfather of Mrs. Mary E. Vowels of Lawrenceburg, and E. T. Mitchell, of Sparrow, Anderson County, Ky. The old black "Mammy" was an institution in the southern home before and after the War Between the States. Farm owners of slaves fed and clothed the old negroes who grew too old to work. Today we have some grey heads who recall the black mammy who helped care for them in their early youth, and speak affectionately of them. While she belonged to "de white folks," the white people in the southern home belonged to her. She lived for two or three generations in the same family, and her authority on rearing "Missus'" children was respected. She was full of stories for the children and full of superstitions.

She could conjure warts off the children's hands, and ward off "rheumatics in the joints" by carrying a buckeye in the pocket. A bag of "asphidity" tied around the children's neck made them teethe easily. The left hind foot of a rabbit "kotched" in a grave yard was carried for luck. Black mammy was the pioneer crooner of spirituals that soothed the white children to sweet slumbers.
"Kentucky was a slave State until the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment, and negroes and mulattoes were under disabilities after that time. Among other things, they could not testify in cases to which white persons were parties. The Federal Circuit Court was of opinion, under this state of things, that it had jurisdiction to punish crimes committed by whites in Kentucky in the forcible injury of negroes. The Supreme Court of the United States finally held this view erroneous. Meanwhile the State had, by legislation, removed the disability referred to. The statutory exclusion of negroes from being members of grand juries or petit juries resulted in a claim by the Federal Circuit Court that the cases of negroes under indictment for crime could under the removal statutes be removed into the Federal Court for trial; and when once removed the accused had a right to be discharged, as the indictment against him was not found by a legally empaneled grand jury. The serious effect of this ruling will be at once appreciated, for it made it impossible to punish any negro or mulatto for any offense, no matter how grave, that must be prosecuted by indictment. The Legislature had refused to strike the word 'white' out of the statute. Under these circumstances the Jefferson Circuit Court, and on appeal the Court of Appeals, held that the effect of the Federal legislation had been to repeal the disability. Upon these ruling being made the Federal courts ceased to take jurisdiction of removals on that ground. Since that time all shadow of disability on the ground of race, color or previous condition of servitude has been removed by State legislation."

"St. Mark's African Church was organized in 1867 under the Rev. Mr. Atwell, but it ceased to exist in not many years, and then the Rev. Dr. Norton built the Church of Our Merciful Savior for colored people, on Madison Street, near Tenth. At the death of Dr. Norton the present bishop assumed the charge of the mission, and has had several different assistants in the work. Four years ago he sold the property on Madison Street, and with the money received therefor and with gifts received from many good people, he purchased the Presbyterian Church on the corner of Eleventh and Walnut streets, which is commodious and handsome. The present minister is the Rev. T. J. Brown and his service is most effective."
The Colored Men's Department of the Association was organized January 6, 1893, in the rooms now occupied, with an enrollment of fifteen members. Since then the number has increased to one hundred and twenty-eight members, and this large membership proves that to some extent at least the young colored men appreciate the benefits of the association and the privileges which they are permitted to enjoy through its efforts in their behalf. Sunday afternoon gospel meetings are held regularly. This department has a library of six hundred volumes and is housed in comfortable quarters consisting of four rooms.

Anderson County was not a large slave holding county, and in looking over the records it is rare indeed to find any owner who had over twenty-five, and the great majority of slave owners possessed less than ten. But they were increasing rapidly for a slave was rarely "sold down the river," as selling to the South was called. Being so few slaves to the householder in this county, the relation between the family and the slave was so intimate that there was a real affection between them, and none but an unruly slave, or for the purpose of settling an estate, was "sold down the river." Many a slave was emancipated by the owner. In some instances a woman and all her children would be freed at the same time. And, while they probably could not make a living while the children were small, they continued to live about the old home, as they did before being emancipated. Free negroes hired themselves out and a majority of them saved their money. Nathan Turner and his wife, Esther (freed slaves) bought their son born in slavery and emancipated him when he was twenty-one years old. When general emancipation came, many farms had suffered on account of over-cultivation to furnish food. Many, while slaves, were permitted to hire themselves out by their masters, and in many instances were given a part of their wages. There were carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, all excellent in their calling!
Masters did not allow mistreatment of their slaves as a rule. Only in one instance was a master indicted for cruelty to a slave woman. The following is taken from the court record of October 27, 1853: Slave: Commonwealth against G. Taylor. Commonwealth appeared by Attorney and Defendant ordered to show cause why his female slave, Nilsy, should not be taken from his possession, and hired out in manner and form directed by law. After witnesses were heard, the sheriff was ordered to "take possession of said slave instantly, and hire her out to some citizen of the county, who will treat her humanely, take bond from the hirer that he will have her forthcoming at the next term of the court on April 3, 1854, and that he will not take said slave nor permit others to take her out of the county. The sheriff is directed not to permit the said Taylor to hire nor control said slave, or any else for his use, and to report to this court." At the April term of court in 1854, all the parties appeared by their attorneys and the defendant confessed that he was guilty of the offense charged against him in the indictment; therefore the sheriff was ordered to take the slave, Nilsy, and sell her for the benefit of the defendant either publicly or privately; said Taylor consenting to the sale. The sale to be one-half cash in hand to be paid to Taylor, the balance in six months with good security payable to the defendant. The court records show only this one extreme case.

Numerous people in the county were opposed to slavery in varying degrees, but no bitter agitators. They were quiet about the matter and exerted little or no influence. There was little traffic in slaves in the county, slaves being generally sold to neighboring people. The law did not allow slaves to be brought into the state for traffic, but only by those moving into the state for permanent residence. Of course there was "bootlegging" where the temptation was great. Slavery was not as profitable in Kentucky as further south. In consequence of the division of the people in the state on the question, it could never take a stand for or against secession and finally declared for neutrality, which it could not enforce, and was invaded from both sides, the North and the South.
EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES: ANDERSON CO (1831-1850)
mckee & bond, hist anderson co, 1936

Many slaves were emancipated in the county as shown by the following record: Dec. 12th, 1831, Memucan Allin emancipated negro, James Allin, 42 years of age; July, 1832, N. B. Meux emancipated Rachel, mulatto woman 25, and her female child 5 years old; Sept., 1833, emancipated slave Nathaniel by will of James B. Wallace; Dennis Hedgeman, a free man of color, bought his daughter Rosetta, for $500 cash and emancipated her on March, 1836. In 1839, Easter Mizner was emancipated by Jeremiah Mizner for $300, paid by her to him, and for dutiful service. "For identification said negro is a dark mulatto, about 45 years of age, full in form and five feet high."

In 1844, by Arthur Slaydon's will, Beverly, a black man, about 48 years old, six feet tall, and Cain, about 40 years old and near six feet, were emancipated. August, 1831, Samuel Harrison by deed emancipated his slave Joshua, black in color, ordinary in size. Certificate granted him. September, 1849, George J. Marshall emancipated his slaves (late the slaves of Wm. Marshall), Ellen and her children, bright mulattoes, Ellen 28 years old, her children Frances 10, John 8, John 5, Claiborn 3 and Susan Maria 8 months. June, 1850, Deed of emancipation from Nathan Turner and his wife to their slave, Will Turner age about 21, color dark, about 5 feet 8 inches tall.

SEARCHING BLACKS FOR WEAPONS, 1861, ANDERSON CO
mckee & bond, hist anderson co, 1936

The court record of April 30th, 1861, ordered that S. E. Bratton and John B. Parker be authorized and directed to examine all free negroes, their quarters and other persons of color in this county, getting permission of the owners of slaves, in case of refusal report to this court those refusing, and deliver all arms and munitions of any kind found in possession of said persons.
Church South lost all her colored membership in Louisville to other churches.

In 1820 the colored membership in Louisville was about one-third that of the whites. In 1835 it was more than for times as great. In 1845, when the M. E. Church South was organized, three principal congregations had 966 white and 840 colored members. For each colored congregation there was a substantial, good-sized brick church; Jackson Street, south of Jefferson; Green Street, above Second and Center Street, near the Court House. Pastors, aided by white and colored local preachers, gave services in the colored churches on Sunday afternoon and week nights. Preachers esteemed it a pleasure to preach to a colored congregation. Sometimes all of the "Colored Churches" were under the pastoral care of a "Missionary" appointed by the Bishop from the Conference. R. D. Neal, long and favorably known as a pastor and presiding elder, is remembered as such a missionary. S. D. Akin and Aaron Moore as others. The white quarterly Conference had the oversight of their colored churches, licensed exhorters and local preachers and renewed the same. In many country towns there were colored churches where special services were given. When no such churches existed, colored people attended the regular church services and many pastors gave them special services in the churches. As a result of the late war and emancipation the M. E.

In 1845 a society was formed and as soon as possible thereafter a two-story brick church was built on Ninth, near Walnut, and named Asbury Chapel, in honor of Bishop Asbury, who gave deacon's ordination to Richard Allen, their first Bishop, who was the first colored Methodist preacher that ever received ordination.

William Quinn was one of the Bishops of the African M. E. Church. He began his course in the East, but spent years as a missionary among his people in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois and became Bishop in 1844. He served twenty-nine years and died at 85. In Louisville a second society was formed and a two-story church on Grayson, near Ninth, was erected in 1850 and called "Quinn Chapel." How Africans of the same denomination, at that time, could have acquired ownership of two such churches so close together was a marvel. They yet stand as monuments of the ability, liberality and zeal of the African slaves at that period. The same denomination has a small church on Fifteenth, but...
The Center Street congregation of the M. E. Church South joined "Zion Church," and in 1866 a Conference was held in that building, most of whose members had been local preachers in the Southern Church. Several of the white Southern pastors visited the Conference and gave them words of sympathy and encouragement. There was no opposition to their occupancy of the church.

In 1868 W. H. Miles, reared in Marion or Washington County, was Zion's pastor at Center Street. He had gone from the M. E. Church South, but had become possessed with a desire to return. He did return and through a lawsuit secured possession of the church as the property of the M. E. Church South, but the majority of the congregation clung to "Zion" and established themselves elsewhere.

Part of the Zion people from Center Street built a frame church on Fifteenth Street, between Walnut and Grayson. One of its young pastors was A. Walters, born in slavery at Bardstown, obtained some schooling there, was a farmhand in the country, a hotel servant and steamboat worker at Louisville, got more education at Indianapolis, became a preacher, served on Kentucky circuits, also in Louisville, San Francisco and New York, became Bishop at 34, traveled in the Holy Land and Europe, preached to pleased Britons in principal churches and is leader in the Centennial services of his church.

A part of the membership of Center Street adhering to the "Zion Church," established themselves on Jacob Street, between Preston and Jackson Stew, and under E. H. Curry erected a chapel, which has given place to the "Tabernacle," a two-story brick building where the richest of Zion's sons and daughters worship. Curry was a slave and a blacksmith at Bloomfield, Ky. He is reckoned a strong man in his Conference.

About 1872 the Zion people purchased the Twelfth Street Southern Methodist Church, which was destroyed by the cyclone down to the floor of the upper room. The congregation has since worshiped in the lower part of the building.

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The Green Street Colored Presbyterian Church was organized May 20, 1870, at Ninth and Green streets, by a committee of Presbytery, consisting of E. P. Humphrey, J. L. McKee, J. S. Hays and Elder James Davidson. The original members were Benjamin Tinker, formerly owned in Dr. McKee's family, and for many years sexton of the Chestnut Street Church; Mrs. Hannah Cobb, Benjamin P. Ferguson, Mrs. P. B. Ferguson, Andrew Ferguson, Mrs. Harriet Butler, Miss Mary Jane Batter, Mrs. M. A. Pointer, Calvin Threlkeld, James Jones, Mrs. Mahala Jones, Mrs. Dorcas Harris and Mrs. Mildred Crawford. A call was extended to Rev. J. R. Riley, who, with the aid of the Board of Freedmen, entered with zeal upon his pastoral work.

The congregation worshiped in the building on the south side of Green Street, near Ninth, until June 29, 1870, when Andrew Ferguson, out of his hard-earned accumulations, purchased for his people a building on Madison Street, between Eleventh and Twelfth, at a cost of $2,880. Rev. J. R. Riley, having

1887. After a pastorate of four years and a half he resigned the charge September 8, 1891, to accept the chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy and Christian Evidences in Biddle University, Charlotte, N. C. Rev. George S. Turner was pastor for three years and was succeeded by Rev. S. W. Parr, the present incumbent. This church has sent two young men into the gospel ministry, and ordained twelve elders. The elders were Benjamin P. Ferguson, who served the church twenty-one years; Calvin Threlkeld, James Jones, B. F. Briggs, Clarence Miller, who served the church sixteen years; John Walker, A. S. Hundley, John Sweeney, W. H. Griffith, William Johnson, W. B. Ellis and J. R. Clark. Jesse Merriwether, so long interested in the public schools for colored youth, was a member of this church. The present membership is 60. Andrew Ferguson died February 2, 1866, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, respected by all who knew him and beloved by the congregation to whom he had been a true benefactor. A tablet adorns the church wall, with the inscription:

To the Memory of Andrew Ferguson.
The history of music in Louisville dates beyond the memory of any of the present generation—going back to the year 1778, when Louisville, in embryo, was situated on Corn Island. At a time when the hearts of those brave settlers were never at rest for fear of the invasion of their homes by the merciless Indians, it was a negro fiddler, who, in this instance, furnished the meagre supply to the universal demand of humanity for music.

Colonel Durrett, in his "Romance of the Origin of Louisville," says: "A means of endless pleasure to the islanders was a fiddle in the hands of a negro named Cato Watts, who belonged to Capt. John Dunne, one of the original settlers." Cato would play all day in the shade of the trees, while the young and the old joined in the Virginia reel, the Irish jig, or the Highland fling. When Sunday came, however, the fiddle of Cato was silent, and all joined in singing the hymns of Watts, from a copy in the hands of Mrs. James Patton. The chronicler goes on to state, in substance: "In 1778, the settlers left that they might leave the confined quarters of their island home and risk a residence on the main shore, as the hostile tribes around them had been conquered by General Clark. A fort was then built at the foot of what is now known as Twelfth Street. As Christmas of that year approached, the settlers determined to celebrate it in their new home, and this plan was carried out. One thing was wanting, however, to make the occasion a success, and that was Cato's fiddle strings were all gone, and the young people could not dance without music. At this juncture, a Frenchman by the name of Jean mentioned stopped at the fort to repair his boat, and was invited to the housewarming. He happened to mention his fiddle, and was at once besieged to play for them, obligingly consenting. He could only play certain French airs, however, which were not at all suited to the Kentucky dances, and all were in despair, when Cato, the old standby, appeared on the scene, having secured some of the Frenchman's strings. He struck up the favorite Virginia reel, and, in a moment all was happiness again." This is the first mention of music of any kind in Louisville, and as it is a story of happiness, contentment and good-fellowship, it makes a pleasant starting point for a pleasant subject.

Cato's music was certainly the music of the people and, in this day and generation, when the whole world is waking up to the study of folk lore in every form, it behooves us to record any and every thing bearing on so important a subject as folk music. If a history of music in Kentucky were being written, a large portion should be devoted to the music of the negro in our State, but the music of the negro in a city is of little interest, because he is so surrounded and influenced by the music of the whites that his own loses its characteristics and, therefore, its interest.

The great composers of to-day are constantly using the folk music of their respective countries as a basis for their compositions. Dr. Dvorak, the head of the American Conservatory, is attempting to do it for us, but he is a foreigner, and it must remain for an American composer to do this properly. There is no richer field in the South in negro song than Central Kentucky. Some negro hymns from Boyle County were sent to the Folk Lore Magazine a few years ago, and that periodical stated that they were the most valuable contributions made to that department during the decade. The old negroes, who alone know this music, are fast dying out, and it is sad that some effort is not made to secure it before it is too late.

Another branch of folk music, which is already lost, is that of the roustabouts on the Mississippi and Ohio River steamboats. These negroes were with
the whites constantly, but kept to themselves in a peculiar degree, and, therefore, their music was untainted. It has all perished with the roustabouts themselves, and it is a great loss to the students of folk lore. In this connection it will be well to relate that there is a tradition that the famous "Jim Crow" song and dance originated in Louisville. The tradition runs thus: Jim Crow was an old negro who amused the children on the streets with his songs and dances. The original Daddy Rice saw him, and at once copied him on the stage, and, in this way, the old song and dance of Jim Crow got its start. The song runs:

In 1842, 559 colored members of the First Baptist Church of Louisville, were organized into a separate church. The successor of that body is the Fifth Avenue Church, of which the Rev. John H. Frank is the pastor. This is one of the most orderly and well-conducted churches of any kind in the city. It has now some 1,600 members. Its pastors have stood high among the white people. Notably the Revs. Adams and Heath. When Elder Adams died there were so many white people who desired to attend the funeral, that it was decided to have the exercises at Walnut Street Church. During the fifteen years that the writer has lived in Louisville, the largest funeral, of which he has any knowledge, with a single exception of that of Dr. Broadus, was the funeral of Elder Heath, which was attended by a large number of white people and several white ministers took part in the exercises. Elder Heath belonged to a race of Africans, of which there are very few in this country. He was a man of remarkable gifts and graces, and
The Green Street Baptist Church, on Green, near Preston, is one of the oldest and largest churches in the city. The Rev. Dr. D. A. Gaddie has long been the honored pastor. These two are the oldest and largest of our colored Baptist churches.

The Ninth Street Church, near Magazine, the Rev. J. M. Burley, pastor.

The United Primitive Church, Broadway, near Eighth, the Rev. James Shanklin, pastor.

The Pilgrim Church, on Eleventh, near Market, the Rev. Walter Rhodes, pastor.

The Evergreen Church, South Louisville, Rev. Joseph Richardson, pastor.

The Portland Church, on Missouri Avenue, the Rev. T. M. Faulkner, pastor.

Centennial Olivet Church, on Harney street, the Rev. John Lewis, pastor.

St. John's Church, on Eighth, near Oldham, the Rev. J. Riley, pastor.
The State University is an institution in Louisville under the control of the colored Baptists, which they have established for the training of preachers and teachers. They have some assistance from the white people of the city and some from the American Baptist Home Mission of New York; but they have relied chiefly upon their own exertions and the results have been most creditable. The Rev. C. L. Purce is the president. They have the buildings and grounds on Kentucky Street.

The American Baptist is a paper published and supported by the colored Baptists of the state. The editor is Mr. W. H. Steward, and a fair measure of success has been achieved.

There are now over 5,000 colored Baptists in the city.

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Story is told that Cato Watt's fiddle had no strings for the feast of 12-25, 1778, but a Frenchman appeared at the dock. He mentioned he had a fiddle and attempted to play several pieces of dance music that the inhabitants did not understand. Then Cato Watts got the fiddle and began the Virginia Reel. The people celebrated.
EARLY SLAVE LAWS IN LOUISVILLE (1809)

johnston, mem hist louisville, I, 1896

p 67/ "The negroes who wanted the freedom of time and habit did not meet with entire success in the early town. In 1809 all persons who allowed their slaves to hire their own time were fined, and the slaved thrashed for the luxury. In 1819, not more than three negroes were at one time allowed to assemble at the market house or public places and make a noise. If they so assembled on Sunday and became noisy they were liable to fifteen lashes for this luxury. No slave was allowed to be out at night, unless he held a written pass from his owner, without being liable to imprisonment for the rest of the night and possibly a thrashing the next morning when the watchmen could see how to lay on the lashes well. The bell of the Presbyterian Church, on Fourth Street between Market and Jefferson, was rung every night at ten o'clock, and the negroes all understood that this meant for them to hurry home. This was the origin of the ten o'clock night bell in Louisville, and the custom was kept up long after there were no negro slaves to be rung home by it."

SLAVE POPULATION IN FRANKLIN CO, 1840, 1850

johnson, hist franklin co, 1912

p 131/ "The population of Franklin County in 1840 was 9,420, in 1850 it was 12,462.
"The number of slaves in 1840, 2,846; in 1850, 3,365.
"The population of Frankfort in 1840 was 1,917; in 1850 it was 3,308."
"The Baptist Monitor. A paper by this name was the first published by colored people back in the 80's. It was brought to Hopkinsville from Princeton, where it had been started. James L. Allensworth was the editor while it was published here. After several years it was removed to another town, or at any rate, ceased publication. Afterwards there was a paper called Kentucky News and it is said that it acquired the plant of the Monitor. +

In August, 1892, there was a negro paper called the Indicator. It was started by E. W. Glass in connection with Rev. E. Williams and Peter Boyd. It became a paper of consequence, being one of only two colored papers in western Kentucky."

"A copy of the Weekly Indicator, dated April 18, 1896, is a six-column folio weekly, fifteen by twenty-two inches. It is a paper that bespeaks progress. Ten columns are devoted to advertisements, the leading firms among both white people and negroes being advertised. There are one and a half columns of editorials. In addition to a "Home and Society" column there are "Notes" and "Jottings" from Paducah, Russellville, Princeton, Providence, Mayfield, Greenville and Elkton. There are ten and one-half columns given to items from points outside of Christian County. On page three is a "Literary Department," with J. M. Maxwell as editor. This section, in this issue, is devoted to the circumstances of Lowell's writing a poem on the death of his friend Agassiz. The poem, which was published in the Atlantic Monthly, dated May, 1894, is given with comments and explanations. +

"Across the top of the first page of the Indicator is the motto: "Education," and also the purpose of the paper: "Devoted to the Educational Interests of the Colored Race in Southwestern Kentucky.""
"The Grand Jury empaneled in March had seven white men and five colored men on it, the first time colored men had served on a Grand Jury in Western Kentucky."

"Ed. Glass, the first colored man elected to the City Council, chosen in the Fifth Ward. He was re-elected every two years for the next succeeding twelve years."

"In January, 1898, the following colored Republicans held offices in Christian County: James L. Allensworth, County Coroner; Ed. W. Glass, City Councilman, Hopkinsville; Kinney Tyler, Deputy Jailer; John W. Knight, Constable; J. C. Lyte, Pension Examiner; William Leveritt, County Physician."
THE FIRST EXECUTION

The first person hanged in the county was a colored girl, the property of Dr. Edward Rumsey. As nearly as we can fix the time by the statements of the oldest citizens, who were told of it when they were children, the hanging was about the year 1812. The girl's name is not known, but in those days there was a divided opinion on the justice of her execution. She was left to nurse a fretful child and gave it laudanum, from the effects of which it died. One opinion was that she attempted to administer the drug to quiet the babe but gave it too much and killed it. The jury, however, found her guilty of murder and she was publicly hanged on the river bank, not far from where the present county jail stands. She was buried under the scaffold, but subsequently the remains were dug up and removed, because the bones were supposed to be near the vein of water making the Rock Spring, some distance down the river bank, from which the water supply of the town was obtained.

The second person hanged was a negro man known as "Old Kemp," who was the property of Joshua Cates, a leading citizen. He was put to death for shooting his master, and the hanging was probably about the year 1820, or a little later. Mr. Cates recovered from the wound and used every exertion to save Old Kemp's life, but to no avail, and he was hanged near the old Nashville road. He was buried on the spot and "Old Kemp's grave" was a familiar object to the Hopkinsville boys two generations ago. He was sentenced to death by Judge Benj. Shackelford, who succeeded Judge William Wallace in 1814.
At this point we turn to the records of the court for information, and no longer trust to the "memory of the oldest inhabitant." Early in the thirties there seems to have been a reign of murder. In 1832, "Edmund, a slave, the property of James Jones," was tried for the crime of stabbing Brewer Reeves and sentenced to death. He was to be executed November 16, 1832, but on the 12th of the same month a pardon was granted him by Gov. Breathitt, which arrived after the gallows had been erected. The records show that Edmund was valued at $450.

A DOUBLE HANGING—CASSY AND SQUIRE

In 1833, occurred a murder, which was one of the most sensational that ever happened in this county. Mrs. Miller, while standing by a well, was shoved in and drowned by Cassy, a colored girl, the property of Wm. Grey. The girl was arrested and implicated Squire, a young negro man, belonging to Mrs. Rhoda Clark, and they both charged that John Miller instigated them to do the deed. All three were tried at the August term of Circuit Court, separate trials being granted. Cassy was arraigned August 13, 1833, and the trial proceeded without her presence in court, as she was very sick at the time in the jail and could not be brought out. She was defended by Gustavus A. Henry, afterwards known as "The Eagle Orator of Tennessee." The following jury was empaneled:


The jury, through their foreman, John D. Jameson, returned a verdict of "guilty," although the girl was then lying at the point of death and it was thought advisable to take her deposition in the other cases as a witness for the Commonwealth, so critical was her condition. She was brought out sick and weak on the 16th and received the sentence of death.
Her attorney attempted to obtain a new trial, but the motion was overruled and the judgment of the court was subsequently carried out.

"Squire, a slave, the property of Mrs. Rhoda Clark," was next arraigned. He was charged with being an accessory before the fact, and was defended by David S. Patton and Wm. W. Fry. Cassy's evidence was read, as she was too sick to appear in court. The following jury tried the case on the 14th of August:


The verdict was: "We, the jury, find the defendant guilty as charged. J. C. Haden, one of the jury."

Squire's attorneys made a motion to arrest judgment, but this was overruled. They then attempted to secure a new trial, but their efforts were futile and on August 24th, he, too, was sentenced to be hanged at the same time designated in the case of Cassy.

The judgment of the court was carried out and they were hanged together on October 2, 1833, to the limb of a tree on the Madisonville road, near where Maj. John Sipes afterward lived. Deputy Sheriff Pinkney French officiated and the third and fourth hangings in the county were conducted with "neatness and dispatch."

John Miller, the white man indicated as accessory before the fact, as mentioned above, was put on trial August 17th, and was convicted five days later. The jury was composed of the following citizens: Edward Delasier, John Jones, John H. Goode, Jos. Quisenberry, Thos. Hopkins, Nicholas M. Ellis, Richard C. Faulkner, Edmund Meacham, Israel M. Marshall, Thos. Sandford, Wm. C. Scott and Silas Boyd.

On August 24, a motion was made for a new trial and the court took until the next term of court to consider the motion. On the 9th of the following November the motion was overruled and Miller was sentenced to be hanged Friday, December 27, 1833, but escaped from the jail before that time and was never recaptured. Hon. Jos. B. Crockett was the Commonwealth's Attorney during these times, and it was due to his vigorous prosecution more than to the conclusiveness of the evidence that Miller was convicted. There were always grave doubts in the minds of many as to his guilt and it is not improbable that he was an innocent man. Some of his connections now live in the northern part of the county and are good and useful citizens.
SLAVE SAM HANGED FOR RAPE, 1839, CHRISTIAN CO

meacham, hist christian co, 1930

It was six years after the double hanging before there was another death sentence. The fifth and next criminal to die at the hands of the law was "Sam, a slave, the property of Thos. B. Wilson." He was charged with rape, his victim being Frances W. Hill, who appeared in court and testified against him. He was put on trial May 11, 1839, and the following jury sat upon the case:


Sam was found guilty and sentenced on May 15th, by Judge Shackelford, to be hanged on Friday, June 7, 1839, between the hours of 11 A.M. and 2 P.M. The jail was reported unsafe and the jailer authorized to employ three guards, but notwithstanding this precaution Sam broke jail and outraged the wife of a reputable citizen of the county. He was re-captured and executed as directed by law and richly deserved the fate he met. Richard D. Bradley was the sheriff and the hanging took place on the same spot where the last preceding execution was. The limb of the tree previously used having been cut off, a pole was laid in the forks of two trees, to serve as a gallows. The body of the victim was taken by medical students to a cabin in the southeastern suburbs of the city and there dissected.

SLAVE JESSE HANGED, CHRISTIAN CO, 1842, MURDER WHITE WOMAN

meacham, hist christian co, 1930

The next person to play the leading role in an official tragedy was "Jesse, a slave, the property of Dr. Smith." He was hung for the murder of a white woman, who was traveling through the country alone. He reported the finding of her murdered body in the woods and upon being closely questioned, suspicion was directed towards him as the guilty party and he was arrested and indicted by the grand jury. He was tried August 6, 1842, by the following jury:


The jury returned a speedy verdict and Jesse was sentenced the same day to be hanged on Friday, Sept. 2, 1842, between the hours of 10 A.M. and 2 P.M., on a public gallows.

He was hanged near the Princeton Road, on the bank of the dry branch, by Thos. Barnett, who was sheriff at that time. The body passed into the hands of the doctors and was dissected in the interest of science.

The next was Lonz Pennington, the only white man ever executed by law in the county. A detailed account of his execution, May 1, 1846, appears elsewhere.
Seven years after the events narrated just above, the eighth hanging in Christian County took place. The victim was a negro slave, the property of W. B. Mason, named John. He killed Mr. Mason’s overseer, a man named Bard Sherrill, in the year 1853. He was placed on trial October 7th, of the same year, the following gentlemen composing the jury:

Wm. T. Bronaugh, Alex Arbuckle, John M. Boyd, Isham D. Bobbitt, Jesse Fox, Aquilla Long, Wiley Barnes, James Alder, Wm. J. Crabtree, Elijah Armstrong, Gideon Overshiner, Alex Bradshaw. The jury, through their foreman, Gideon Overshiner, returned a verdict of “guilty” and John was, on October 8th, sentenced to be hanged on November 18, 1853, between the hours of 10 A.M., and 2 P.M., in a piece of woodland near the Greenville road, in the suburbs of Hopkinsville. Judge Henry J. Stites was the presiding judge and the sentence was executed by Sheriff John B. Gowen, at the appointed time and place.

Juries had a way of enforcing the law a generation ago, and it was only three years after the hanging of John, before Jacob, a negro man, the property of H. G. Bowling, traveled over the same route. He, too, murdered a white man—Charlie Boyd by name. He killed him with an axe, and although Jacob protested that he killed Boyd in defending his own life, he was convicted and died at the end of a rope. He was arraigned for trial on October 9, 1856, and the jury was composed of the following citizens:


“We of the jury find the defendant guilty as charged in the indictment. Benj. Bradshaw, foreman.”

Judge Geo. B. Cook was then on the bench, and on October 17th the court passed sentence of death upon the convicted man, directing Sheriff John B. Gowen to take him on Friday, December 12, 1856, to a piece of woodland near the Greenville road, in the vicinity of the town of Hopkinsville, and hang him by the neck until dead. This sentence was carried out on the same spot where the last preceding hanging took place.
We now come to the tenth and last hanging in Christian County, from the formation of the county up to a quarter of a century ago. In 1862, "Ned, a slave, the property of John T. Edmunds," killed a fellow servant, for which he was indicted for murder. He was put on trial March 18, 1862, and the jury who decided his destiny was as follows:


Through the foreman, Wiley Robinson, the jury returned a verdict of "guilty," and on March 22 Ned was sentenced to death by Judge Thos. C. Dabney, who was then Circuit Judge.

The time fixed was May 16, 1862, and the judgment of the court was carried out by Deputy Sheriff R. T. McDaniel. The hanging, like all others in the county, was public and was witnessed by a great crowd. It took place on the Greenville road near the Fair Grounds.

The next execution after the one in 1862 was that of a negro named Jordan Taylor, for the murder of a woman of his own race, named Sally Saunders, on the night of October 8, 1884, near Casky. Jealousy was the motive. Taylor and the woman had worked as field hands together that day, and after night she refused to allow him to go with her to her home some distance away on another farm. She left alone. Taylor followed her and split her head with an axe and hid the body. A quarrel with her had been in public and he was suspected. The body was found and Taylor confessed. An old negro named John Lee, a Hoodoo doctor, who had fixed up love powders for Taylor to use on the woman, was indicted with him. Taylor first swore that Lee had advised him to kill the woman when the "conjure" didn't work. After his conviction and Lee went to trial, Taylor repudiated his first story and exonerated the old man entirely and he was acquitted. This jury tried Taylor March 26: A. M. Cooper, Thos. Brown, James Lacy, Wash Harry, Van Dulin, W. H. Sizemore, John W. Courtney, G. W. Clark, Alex Walker, J. S. Forrey, E. D. Boyd and E. F. Morris. He was hanged in an enclosure in the rear of the jail in the presence of only 48 people. John Boyd was the sheriff who performed the duty.
The next legal execution in chronological order was Beverley Adams, who was tried for the murder of another negro at the June term, in 1894, and sentenced to be hanged September 14, 1894. The jury that convicted him was as follows: Jesse Denton, C. N. Edwards, W. H. Butler, M. V. Dulin, J. H. Murphy, Milton Hight, W. T. Bonte, Bayless Parker, Lee Davis, J. W. Carloss, R. L. Boyd, Alex Campbell. Lem R. Davis was sheriff at the time and carried out the sentence of the court in an enclosure in the rear of the county jail, by hanging Adams.

The "First Tax List of Cumberland County, May 1, 1799," shows the property, including the slaves of all residents. From p 32-39 the names and property is given. /p 39/ the largest slaveholder is given, John Thurman, with 17 slaves and 1,800 acres of land on the Cumberland River. Also total white males over 21--350
total blacks --87

/p 40/ gives total pop of Cumberland Co in first census of 1800 at 3,284.
GENERAL STATEMENT: SLAVERY IN CUMBERLAND CO

wells, hist cumberland co, 1947

Education

**Martha Norris Memorial High School**

The Marrowbone High School was constructed in 1925 on a tract of land consisting of four acres deeded to the Trustees by H. C. Davis and wife for $1,000.

**Lewis Creek No. 1B**

Lewis Creek School was taken from Salem District and lies on Lewis Creek. It was deeded to the Board as a parcel of land for education, 1931. It was a donation.

**Pitman No. B**

Pitman is a part of Leatherwood. It is on Pitmans Creek, a tributary of Marrowbone. Two deeds cover the district, one of 1933 by J. P. Gray, Mary Gray, Jennie Meers, W. R. Meers, Annie Alexander, E. C. Alexander, W. D. Carden, Jesse Carden, and Alice Carden. One acre. The other deed is by A. O. Sharp, special commissioner, 1934. First tract, $1.00; second, $10.00.

**Smith Grove No. 45**

This is a new school building erected in 1935-6 on a tract of land purchased from K. C. Smith and Tina Smith, 1934. It is close to the old building. Price paid, $60.00.

**Elm Shade No. 30**

This school was built about 1912 on a parcel of land deeded by A. W. Sharp to the Board, and in 1935 was exchanged for present Elm Shade land from H. N. Jones. It is on Sulphur Creek.

**Jones Chapel No. 7**

This school received a deed in 1934 from Sellie Thomas and Etta May Thomas of one acre for $150. The school is on Highway 61, on Big Renox Creek.

**Colored People of Cumberland County**

Cumberland County being one of the counties of Kentucky blessed with rich creek and river bottom lands, naturally attracted the moneyed men of the Eastern states. And as they came in search of more wealth they brought their slaves along with them. If you remember, as we stated before, one of the first five men to see this country was a colored man.

Cumberland County being a granddaughter of the State of Virginia, one would expect the perpetuity of slavery, for it was in that grandmother state that the first twenty Negroes were sold in 1619 to the white settlers. The early settlers usually erected a log cabin
in the yard back of their dwelling for the colored man and his family. Sometimes a kitchen connected by a long floorless hall answered for his quarters. As a usual thing the black man was kind, obedient, and faithful. The good old "mammies" will never be forgotten. The happiest hour of the day to the slave man was when the disc of the sun began to touch the western horizon. Then, free from all cares of the past and with no burden of the morrow bothering his mind, he closed the day with a whoop and a song as he rocked to his haven of rest.

In 1799, there were 207 slaves besides a few free Negroes in Cumberland County. Jack Coe brought a number of Negroes to the southern part of the county at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They married Indians and populated all the headwaters of Kettle Creek, including Coe Town and what was later called Zeke Town. This intermarriage produced a fierce race of people who, for a long time afterwards, were guilty of perpetrating crime. This race has made much improvement in the last half century. T. E. Coe, one of the original Coe descendants, has taught the Coe free school of that district for over 45 years and was still teaching in 1945. At this date there were 780 Negroes in the county.

The question of slavery agitated the minds of the white people for more than one hundred years. The members of the first and second Constitutional Conventions labored to make the State of Kentucky free, but all in vain. But little change was made in the third Constitution. In 1808 the U. S. passed an act prohibiting the importation of slaves. In 1833 the State of Kentucky enacted a law prohibiting the sale of slaves in this state, brought for that purpose from another state, but that was repealed in 1849. These laws did not deny the immigrants the right to bring along with them their own slaves, for they were no more than other personal property. They were brought by the early settlers to help subdue the forest.

The institution of slavery was considered by most people as being wrong. Nothing good ever resulted from it. It came near wrecking our nation. The churches of the state took action against it. In 1809 the Baptist members who were opposed to it refused to commune with those who owned slaves and caused a split in that church. Two years later another split came over slavery. Some Methodists declared those who owned slaves were not fit to preach and they divided into North and South branches. Families were divided over the sin of the institution.

Free slaves were the ones set free by the owners on account of their religious beliefs or those paid for by the state. Runaways sometimes caused trouble. Laws bound the slave up until his sphere was very limited. He was not allowed to carry a gun, shot, powder, club, or any other weapon. Neither was he allowed to join in an argument with the whites or testify for or against. Penalties for infraction of these laws were from 10 to 59 lashes. If he committed a crime that called for hanging the State paid for him.

Negroes, like horses, sold for their working abilities. When a deed was required, as for land. Prices ranged from $1,500. Below are reproduced two deeds.

"This indenture made and entered into this March 14, and between James Saulley and Harold Saulley, Parties of Part, and James Smith, Party of the Second Part.

"Witnesseth, that said Saulleys have this day sold to Jamie one negro boy named Miles, age 13, and one girl named Fills for $700 each. We guarantee them both to be sensible and healthy.

"Joseph Bledsoe"

**Bill of Sale of Rane Station: 1842**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One red cow</td>
<td>$5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One red heifer</td>
<td>3.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One lot of hogs</td>
<td>6.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One crib of corn</td>
<td>4.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One sorrel colt</td>
<td>13.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three stands of bees</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One gopher plow</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two bottles of ink</td>
<td>.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight yds. of calico</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten first class sheep</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One negro man, 75</td>
<td>11.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Monroe's administration, 1817-25, was known as "the era of feeling." Political differences were set aside, the ravages of war subsided, and the whole country centered its attention on improvements. The harsh treatment of masters toward the softened to the degree that many of them began to believe they were wrong. Thousands of the people agreed to set their slaves free. The Government would provide a colony to which they could be shipped. This was done in 1817 by purchasing a strip of land 36,000 square miles, on the northwest coast of Africa, from the living there. The colony was called Liberia, meaning "the land the capital was called Monrovia. The burden of transportation met by contribution. This complicated the business, for the people had given their slaves freedom that was their part, so the churches and freewill contributors to raise the money to defray transportation costs of $36.00 per slave. The panic of 1837
the business, but following that period there were thousands of slaves from the whole country freed and shipped to Liberia. News from the colony which reached the ears of the ones back here in the States was always discouraging and the scheme died before the Civil War. Cumberland County at Burkesville was the “port of embarkation” where steamboats received the few that were shipped from here. In 1823 there were four and in the 40’s there were seven others, according to available records.

By the first Government census, 1810, as given by James Fergus, assistant to the Marshal of Kentucky, there were 6,191 people in the county. Of this number there were 922 colored slaves. The population of Burkesville then was 86 whites and 20 Negroes, slaves. From 1809 to 1810 there were born in the county both colors 230 babies and 26 deaths occurred among the population. From the first Monday in August, 1819, to the following August, 1820, there were born 263, died 37. In 1840 there were born in the county 285; died 97, 10 blacks.

Besides the four free slaves who went to Liberia as James Fergus stated, there were 15 free slaves living in Burkesville, all of whom preferred to live either by themselves or with some white family. John M. Emerson, Isaac Taylor, John Baker, John Alexander, Thomas Clay provided them with homes, and, some lived in cabins alone. Stepney was in her 116th year and was supported by the county. At this date there were 1,352 slaves in the county.

Burkesville had an auction block near the court house door on which the Negroes were stood for sale. The auctioneer stood by their side, clad in a coat that reached to his knees, a large hat 24 inches in diameter, and with a gavel in his hand. Slaves were graded according to several standards. Men were called “old bucks”; boys, “young bucks”; women were called “old wenches”; girls, “young wenches”; and children, picaninnies.

At to blood, they were blacks, mulattoes, quadroons, and octo­roons. Black men usually commanded the highest prices for if one had been bred too “bright” he probably might pass as a Caucasian. “Before auction day,” says Uncle Dick Sewell, “an old man was polished and tweezed.” His face was greased and rubbed until it showed a patent leather shine, and his head was cleared of all gray hairs, if not too many, by the younger children with tweezers.

Age, working ability, and health were the main requisites for men, while women brought higher prices if endowed with two other characteristics—that of looks and fecundity, especially did these two qualities play a big part during the period from 1833 to 1849, when the laws of Kentucky prohibited the importation of slaves into the state for sale. It was during this period that the African race lost much of its original identity. The scarcity of slaves led men to break the Seventh Commandment, and often they would sell their own children. Records and tradition both relate instances where beautiful mulattoes and quadroons, some from refined white families, were stood upon the auction block before the gazing crowds and exposed, that the purchasers might see they were symmetrically This of course would excite men’s carnal nature, and bids would to extravagant heights.

There were no laws governing the marriage of Negroes. I should desire to marry, their master would hold a broomstick twenty inches from the ground and give the signal. If both jump at the same time, their master pronounced them man and wife; one failed to clear it then the wedding was postponed until a day for that day was ruined by “starting life with a blunder.”

The children of “Massa” and “Missus” were required to be dressed with a title. Boys were “Mahs John” or “Mahs James” were “Miss Lucy” or “Miss Mary”; small children were “Little Mary” or “Little Mahs Henry,” etc.

North of the Ohio River was free territory including Canad and cruel masters often lost their slaves who slipped away from this territory. Runaways became so numerous that the state patrolled the system in 1830, and each county was furnished with a “pat-a-rolls,” as the Negro called them, whose business it was guard the ferries and apprehend runaways and return them to owners. If the owners could not be contacted at once the Neg placed in jail, advertised, and sold for expense at the end of six months.

If the runaway had in his possession a release from his master, the County Clerk, witnessed by his master, then he turned loose; or if he had a “time permit” to visit some family to town he was given freedom until its expiration. On any of the occasions that he was out from home there was a constant din of the “patarolls,” for even the little slave children were saturated fear at hearing the Negro song played and sung: “Run, negger, the pataroll, I’ll ketch you.” A public whipping post stood on the public square at about the entrance of Glasgow Street to the Square. The rebellious slave was tied and given from 10 to 39 lashes on a back, the stripes of which he carried through life. Disobedient rebellious slaves were generally sold to the hated “neg tr and boiled or driven to New Orleans to work in the cotton fields under the most cruel masters. Before leaving town they chained together with a log chain and branch lines about three apart. When night overtook them they were crowded into “pens” which lined the road to the southern states, resembling line of garages and filling stations. It was scenes like these that Stephen Foster in 1853 to put into that immortal song the work few more days and the trouble all will end in the field where sugar cane grows.”

Education

The Pea Ridge Colony or Zeke Town, heretofore mentioned, started with two colored girls named Betty and Sookey. They to Cumberland County with John Coe early in 1800. Their
was a Negro and their father an Indian. They became mothers by a white father soon after their arrival. Betty had two sons named Ezekiel and Rance. Sookey had a son named Riley and a daughter named Patsy. Mr. Coe was kind to them, but Riley was too "bright" for a slave, for the reason that he might pass for a Caucasian. So Mr. Coe put him on the auction block, and he was sold to go "down the river." "Down the river" was a detestable phrase to the colored man's ears, but John Coe was pleased with the $1,600 sale.

Nine months later, one day while John Coe and Zeke were walking down Kettle Creek, Zeke saw tracks in the mud which he recognized as Riley's, and that night Riley came sneaking into the cabin of Zeke after dark. Zeke concealed him for eighteen months, during which time the "patrols" and his new master scoured the country from Cumberland County to the Gulf States to no avail. Then the man proposed to sell his chances back to Coe for $500. He hesitated at first, but Zeke told Coe to buy him back and he would help him find Riley. The deal was made, and Riley once more became the property of John Coe.

Zeke married Patsy by "jumping the broomstick" held by John Coe, and to them were born 14 children, all of whom moved to Pea Ridge the next year after slaves were freed and started colored Coe Town, which was drenched with blood for nearly 100 years on account of racial strife. Surrounding the colony lived the Taylors, Shorts, Capps, Pratts, Longs, and Vaughns, whose young folks would get too much alcohol for their safety and run their horses through the settlement hollowness, which would arouse that African spirit in them. Two of Zeke's boys, Old Bill and Calvin Coe, became the leaders of the town. One day Calvin was in his house resting and some of the white lads passed and called out: "Buffalo Bill, from Bunker Hill, never was curbed and never will." He took this as an insult and grabbed his gun and spread the alarm throughout the town, but the white boys left without further disturbance. Strife grew more and more bitter between the whites and the black Coes, and resulted in much bloodshed on both sides. It was whisky on the side of the whites, and ungovernable temper on the other side.

Bill Coe married Mandy Kirkpatrick, who had been the slave in a fine family that taught her to read and write and filled her with a desire to treat others as she would like to be treated. She went to Indiana and became converted to the Holiness doctrine, came back and began to preach salvation to lost souls, and eventually became the Apostle of her race. Thomas E. Coe, grandson of Zeke, absorbed much of her teaching. Coe Town is no longer considered a dangerous country to go through.

After the divisions had arisen in the different churches over slavery, the members decided to leave the slave question to the civil authorities to settle and content themselves with teaching the Negroes to read the Bible. The church-going people always took their slaves with them to church. They were not allowed to have organizations of their own, neither were they permitted to listen to preaching or to pray in the presence of two or more white people.

After the Negro was turned into a citizen of the country by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, given the right to vote, 1870, by the Fifteenth, he was still lost in the world and many remained with their masters. Some were turned on their own initiative and others were set up to housekeep for their masters. Having passed through so many generations dependent on the judgment of his master, it had become a part of him not to be self-reliant. He still likes to listen to the white man's counsel, not prone to hold grudges or ill feelings against those of his own only for a brief period of time.

This was tested out in 1876, when a certain colored man's woman approached the County Judge with a complaint against her own color for misconduct. After a few hours of meditation, the plaintiff, he begged for a withdrawal of the warrant. At a time within the same year another man was arrested and tried in a misdemeanor, and a colored jury was impaneled. The were smiling most of the time while the evidence was offered. They went to their room to make a verdict. Two minutes more an jury-room door flew open and each one came down the aisle with a broad smile on his face, and without being asked if they had a verdict one read in a loud voice: "We, the jury, find the defendant not guilty."

Of the 1,964 farmers in Cumberland County only 66 are colored (1940 census). Most of the colored people live in Burkesville; it is the most densely settled part of the county. Of 1,092 people in Burkesville, 360 are colored. Of this number about 180 are voters, and they are proud of this "balance wheel in election" opens the way for that familiar reiteration, "You help me and I'll help you."

Notwithstanding the narrow places through which he has to go, the colored man of this county has developed into a reliable citizen. He delights more in public works than private. His education is far in advance of that of 50 years ago. Some of his greatest delights. Harrison Newby and his children submit one of the best quartets in Kentucky.

The colored man of this county has never shown an aspiration for political recognition or for public office.

That spirit was quenched during the reign of the Ku Klux Klan which was started in 1870 by the whites of the Southern states banded themselves together and rode at nights around to the quarters, hooded and robed in white, for the purpose of intimidating the race and to frighten them beyond political thoughts, stayed away from the poles and many were punished and to those who were falsely accused. This unlawful practice reigned until 1878, and led to the Klan's punishment of many poor white
The Negro having been allowed one week at Christmas time to celebrate, always considered it having “real Christmas” to get drunk. This ignorant belief is still practiced by some of both races. (What a shame!)

While it is generally thought by the people living today that Negroes were the only race of people sold into slavery, yet among the settlers of Virginia there were many whites who were bound to other whites for a certain period of time to compensate for favors or for expenses in transporting them to America. These laws were kept in force far into the history of Kentucky, and numerous cases are to be found on record in Cumberland County where fathers would bind their children to some business man as apprentices for long periods. Sometimes they would be bound from the age of two until they became 21. In each case the old law of the state compelled the grantee to teach or have him taught to “read, write, and cipher to the Rule of Three,” and, on arriving at the age of 21, his master was required to give him three and one-half pounds (of English money) and a new suit of clothes.

Below is a copy of one of those white “human deeds”:

“This indenture made and entered into this May 9, 1804, witnessed for a good cause, I bind to Richard Harris Melton, my son, John Lewis, for a term of two years. Said John Lewis is to behave himself, obeying reasonable commands and keeping all his master’s secrets. The said Melton is to teach him the mystery of the Hatter’s Trade and to teach him to read, write, and cipher to the Rule of Three and before he sets him free is to give him three and one-half pounds and a new suit of clothes.

“Thomas Lewis
John Lewis
R. H. Melton.”

The “mystery” of carding wool, the “mystery” of farming, the “mystery” of pegging shoes, etc., were expressions used in their deeds.

By the school census of 1840 there were 1,268 slaves in Cumberland County valued at about $440,000. At the close of the Civil War which brought an end to slavery, there were 234 slave owners in the county.

COLORED SCHOOLS

Burkesville

Scarcely had the colored race been freed, when their education was planned. Many of their school buildings, like those of the whites, have crumbled to ruin and the places thereof forgotten. The slaves were freed in 1865, and made citizens by the Fourteenth Amendment, July 28, 1868, and on July 29, 1868, George W. Kingsbury sold to the “Freedmen of African Descent” one-fourth acre of land with house on it, 40 by 25 feet, to be used for both school and church. This was used for a number of years and then sold to Alexander (colored) in 1932. The Trustees paid $660.80 for and building.

LAWSONS BOTTOM

This school was built on a lot sold to the Trustees by W. E. in 1903 and was known as school “B”. It was used for school purposes, until ....... when it was sold to Richard Gulley. Mays received $5.00 for the lot. There is no colored school in Lawson’s Bottom.

CLAY LICK BOTTOM

The school building known as “G”, was built in 1897 on half acre lot adjoining the Colored Baptist Church in Clay Bottom, which was bought from Robert Young and Dollie for $5.00.

MARROWBONE

This school received a deed from Bose Nunn in 1916 for half acre of ground in the town of Marrowbone for school purposes, $275.

BEECH GROVE

The Beech Grove lot was purchased from James Herd and John Herd, in 1917, for school purposes. It is not far from Watco Consideration, $50.00.

COE

There was an old Coe building on Coe Ridge, which was abandoned. In 1932 a deed to a parcel of land was secured by T. E. Coe and wife and John Coe, Sr., for school, for $15.00.

NEW BURKESVILLE SCHOOL

In 1932, Sid S. Davis sold to the Board of Education two acres of land in south Burkesville, on which a nice school structure built to accommodate all the colored children of the town. Consideration, $300.
The subject of negro slavery, as identified with the agriculture of the county, is deserving of some notice in this connection. Many of the early settlers, who were from Maryland and Virginia, brought negro slaves here with them. They were obtained by inheritance, or were purchased with their money, and were considered as much a part of the property of the owner as anything else which he possessed. As pertinent to the subject, we make the following extract from an article written by Dr. R. J. Spurr: "Without the labor of the negro, this region would have made much slower progress in its settlement, and the character of its population would probably have been very different. To negro slavery we are largely indebted for the chivalric character and open-handed hospitality of our fathers. * * * While the negro, as a slave, had some weaknesses, such as a lack of proper respect for the truth, a propensity to petty pilfering, and a great fondness for alcoholic drinks, yet the masses were faithful to their owners, industrious and economical, and had at heart their welfare, prosperity and good name. They were good operatives on the farm, and, as a rule, were intrusted with the execution of the work to be done in the absence of the
labor, he would make a 'hand' with the negroes, requiring no more work of them than he performed himself. The negro had his house to himself and family, all of whom were well fed, well clothed in domestic cloth, attended to in sickness by the family physician, and as carefully nursed as any other member of the family. Their supply of fuel for winter use was unlimited, and during cold weather they kept up rousing fires both day and night. Nearly all of them had their 'truck patches' of from a half to an acre of ground, and could raise such produce as suited their taste, sweet potatoes, tobacco and melons being their favorite crops. Saturday afternoon was usually given them to work their 'patches,' and at night the more thrifty would 'cobble' shoes, make brooms, cut cord-wood and do other odd jobs to make money, which, unfortunately, was too frequently spent for whisky. Flagrant violations of domestic law were occasionally visited with stripes; this punishment, however, was rarely resorted to, except here and there by a fiend in human shape, who had no fear of God nor respect for the opinions of men. This class were few in number, and were frowned upon by the more respectable class of society. Persons who had not known anything practically of slavery until they came to the country, so soon as their circumstances would permit, became the owners of slaves, and almost invariably proved to be the hardest task-masters.

The slaves, with no cares pressing upon them, were the happiest people to be found in any community. A failure of the crops, loss of stock, or pecuniary troubles, while sympathized in by them, caused none of that anxiety which the owner experienced. They were all, men and women, raised to habits of industry. They are now all freemen, and the older ones, educated and accustomed to work, are rapidly passing away, while a new generation is coming on; reared with no restraints, they look upon work as one of the relics of slavery, and prefer anything, almost, to honest labor. Under this state of things, their future is not very bright nor flattering. Many of the slaves, belonging to the more conscientious of our citizens, were sufficiently educated to enable them to read the Bible, but the mass received no scholastic training. Their religious instruction, however, was not neglected. At family worship, they were brought into the house, the Scriptures read and explained to them, and encouragement to attend church given them. Many of them united with the various churches, whose records still show a considerable number of the colored population among the early membership, a majority of whom were noted for their strong abiding faith and strict moral deportment.

There were cases in which servants proved incorrigible, and sooner or later this class found their way to the cotton fields of the far South. Negroes were never reared here as an article of merchandise, but for the use of their owner, and, if true and trusty, were very seldom parted with. Men were encouraged to take their wives at home, if a suitable woman was in the family. If not, they generally found one in the immediate vicinity, when they were allowed to go to see her every night in the week, and as a general thing they were more steadfast to their families than they are now. Husband and wife were always kept together when possible, and often at great sacrifice. When the owner of either husband or wife were about removing to a distant place, some trade would be made, either by
p 469/ "The war was over, but military rule continued. Just before the August election, three regiments of negro troops were sent to Lexington, and when the election took place the polls were guarded by Federal soldiers. The demoralized state of the resident blacks, the irritating presence of negro troops, the interference of the military in domestic concerns, and the course pursued by the Freedman's /sic/ Bureau, kept Lexington affairs in a continually disturbed condition. On the 14th of August, after a short demonstration of undue familiarity between some of the black troops and some of the white soldiers of the Forty-ninth Indiana Regiment, a fight ensued, and a negro guard, rushing to the rescue of their comrades, arrested one J. A. Lantz, an intoxicated soldier of the white regiment. After being roughly forced along, as far as the corner of Main and Limestone streets, he resisted, and was immediately shot through the heart by the negro guard."
CHAPTER X.

THE COLORED PEOPLE OF LEXINGTON—THEIR RELIGIOUS ADVANTAGES—COLORED CHURCHES—EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES—SECRET AND BENEVOLENT ORGANIZATIONS—FAIRS, ETC.

It is not deemed inappropriate in these pages to say a few words of the colored people and their institutions—religions, educational, etc. The more respectable and intellectual of them deserve considerable credit for their efforts to advance the condition of their race. Their churches and schools mark their progress in intelligence, civilization and refinement, and stand as monuments to the worth of those who have labored for the benefit of their people. In the early period of the county's history, the negroes received religious instruction from the whites, and the old church records still in existence show the names of many colored people among the membership of the pioneer religious organizations of Lexington and Fayette County. It is not known at the present day to what denomination the first colored religious society organized in Lexington belonged. Both the Baptists and Methodists formed early churches among the colored people, but which has priority we are unable to say.

Pleasant Green Colored Baptist Church's early history is veiled in obscurity, and little can be learned of it except through vague tradition. “Old Aunt Nancy Lee,” as she is called, an aged colored woman, now supposed to be over a hundred years old, is one of its earliest members, but her account of it is too incoherent to throw much light on the subject. It was probably one of the earliest church organizations of the colored people in this city. It is said that the first property for church purposes ever bought by or for the colored people of Lexington was the lot on which the Pleasant Green Church now stands, and there is a tradition that a boy named Dick found a sum of money near the old station or fort in what is now Sandersville Precinct, supposed to have been hidden there by the whites during some Indian invasion, and that he gave the colored people a portion of the sum which they invested in the lot alluded to above. One of the first ministers of this organization was an old colored man who was known as “Captain,” and who held meetings in his own cabin. He was reared in the congregation as long as he could stand up, and, when enfeebled by age, used to sit down and talk to them. After his death, the congregation made efforts to buy a colored preacher named Jerry Overstreet, but before it was accomplished, Landon Carroll, a colored man who emigrated from Virginia with his master, and who could read and write, was accepted as Pastor. Occasionally, white preachers administered to them. One of these, Rev. Jeremiah Vardaman, who preached to them in the court house when it was a new building (that was a long time ago), was the first preacher, it is said, to take down the names of colored members and admit them into the Elkhorn Association.

The first church of Pleasant Green congregation was built upon the lot purchased by the treasurers of Capt. Kidd, which the boy Dick had found near the old fort. It
small frame building, and Anthony Lee, usually called "Tony," for short, the father of old "Aunt Nancy," was one of the first Deacons, and one of the leading members. As the membership increased, they built additions to the edifice to accommodate their members. The little frame was finally burned, when a small brick was erected in its place. This served until the freedom of the colored people, when the present church was built. Among the early preachers of this church, after "Old Father Captain," were Revs. Mundly, Loundom Ferrell, Orlando Payne, Dick Price (a son of "Old Father Captain"), George Brent Jr., George W. Dupee, Robert Clark, M. M. Bell, E. M. Mannum, R. P. Jacoby. Rev. William M. Pratt, of the First Baptist Church (white), frequently preached for them. The present Pastor of the church is Rev. J. F. Lyons. The membership of Pleasant Green is now 450, officered with Samuel Alexander, Peter White, Henry Peterson, Curte Braxton, Almar Webster, James Stubblefield and J. D. Jones. Deacons: Samuel Alexander, James Stubblefield and Enoch Sanders. Trustees. A flourishing Sunday school is maintained.

The First Baptist Church (colored) of Lexington is believed to have been organized about 1801. Like the Pleasant Green Church, its early history cannot be given very clearly. From the best information to be obtained, it seems both these were at first the same church, but when separated we are not able to say. The history of this church shows that "Old Father Captain" was its first Pastor, and, when compelled by age to resign the charge, Elder Loudon Ferrell was Pastor until his death, October 12, 1854. In 1852, the church sought a union with the Ekhorn Association as an arm of the First Baptist Church (white) of Lexington. At the time of the death of Elder Ferrell the church numbered about two thousand members. Elder Ferrell was succeeded as Pastor by Elder F. Braxton, who remained eight years, ending in 1862, when a split occurred, and about four hundred members left, and formed what is known as the "Independent Colored Baptist Church," with Elder Braxton as its Pastor. This left the First Church in some confusion, and Elder James Monroe, of Frankfort, was called to the pastorate. He gathered the flock together and remained Pastor until his death, in 1875. Elder J. F. Thomas was then called, remaining until 1879, and during his stay about one hundred and sixty members withdrew and formed a mission church at Slickaway. Elder W. J. Simon came next as Pastor, and remained one year, when he was elected President of the Colored Baptist School at Louisville, and, February 17, 1884, Elder S. P. Young, the present Pastor, took charge, and from him we obtained the later history of the church.

The present church edifice was built in 1856, and is 90 by 65 feet, and is worth about $15,000; present membership is 1,439. Clayborne Lee, one of the original members, is still living, and a regular attendant at church service. M. Washington, George Scroggins, John Gillis, John West, D. K. Williams, William Howard and William Tyler, are Deacons: M. Washington, George Scroggins and John Gillis have been in office thirty years. The Trustees are George Scroggins, S. Dunn and William Howard. This church gives to the education of the ministry $150 per year: to her Pastor, $500; and helps her poor, sick, etc. It has ordained and sent out forty ministers, some of whom are now Pastors of the leading Colored Baptist Churches of the State.

A good Sabbath school is carried on, with about two hundred and forty children and twenty teachers, and with D. K. Williams as Superintendent. Several mission Sunday
schools have been organized under the supervision of this church.

Of the Independent Colored Baptist Church of Lexington we have been unable to learn anything.

A Colored Episcopal Church has been established in Lexington, but we failed to obtain a sketch of it.

St. Paul's African Methodist Episcopal Church dates its existence back to 1820. As early as the period mentioned, a few colored people rented a stable from a Mr. Wilkins, located upon the present site of the church. Meetings had been held previously, but they had been very much disturbed by lawless persons. When the congregation rented the stable from Mr. Wilkins, he promised its members protection from all disturbance—a promise he faithfully kept. The first meetings were held by William Smith, a colored local preacher, who had charge of the congregation for a number of years, and built up a large membership. About 1830, the stable was torn down, and a small brick church erected where it stood, the congregation having, in the meantime, purchased the lot. It was enlarged and remodeled about the year 1850, in which form it served the wants of its members until 1877, when it was again remodeled into its present style and appearance.

From the foundation of this church, it was a mission of the Hill Street Methodist Church, and fed upon the crumbs that fell from its table. It was presided over and its welfare looked to by the conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, which did its official business and sometimes supplied it (temporarily) with white preachers, but its ministers were mostly colored men. At the close of the war, the colored Methodists of the city withdrew from the conference of the Methodist Church South to the number of about three hundred, for the purpose of forming an independent church. For fifty years or more, there had been independent churches of the colored people in the North, and, upon the application of this church to Bishop Payne, of the African Methodist Episcopal Conference of Ohio, it was admitted, and Rev. Grafton Graham (of Ohio) was sent to it as its Pastor. He remained three years, from 1866 to 1869, and was followed by Rev. Levi Evans, of Louisville, for two years, who was succeeded by Rev. J. B. Stansberry for three years. The Pastors since have been John W. Gazaway, two years; John Asbury, three years; Isaac Lindsay, one year; and the present Pastor, Rev. R. G. Whitman, who came in 1881. The church has now some three hundred and forty members, and is the oldest African Methodist Church in Lexington. It is the parent of Asbury Chapel, the original members of which it furnished; and Quinn Mission also was organized by members from it.

In the early history of this church, after the death of Rev. Smith, its first preacher, Rev. James Turner preached to it. He has been a member of it and a local preacher for a good many years, and Elder for the last thirteen years. The church building was remodeled in 1877, at a cost of $1,000, and is at present, including the parcelage and lots, valued at some $15,000. The Trustees are James Turner, Jordan Jackson, Henry Tandy, John Jackson and Leonard Fish. A Sunday school has been in successful operation for several years, with an average attendance of about one hundred, under the superintendence of Albert Byrd.

Quinn Mission (African Methodist Episcopal) was formed, as stated above, principally by members from St. Paul's African Methodist Episcopal Church. It was organized in the summer of 1872, by G. C. Riley, a mem-
number of that church, who began holding prayer meetings at private houses on Lee's Row. After a series of such meetings, he finally secured a room near Hayes' Corner, where he organized a church, assisted by Rev. Gomaway, of St. Paul's Church. It was called "Quinn," in honor of one of the Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. It was continued as a mission of the St. Paul's Church for one year, and Rev. Riley was its minister, during which time its membership reached fifty-five. In 1873, it passed under the control of the Kentucky African Methodist Episcopal Conference, and has been to the present time a mission station of the conference, under the supervision of the parent church. Its pastors since its reception into the itinerant work have been as follows: Revs. G. C. Riley, 1873-74; J. E. Wilson, 1874-75; S. H. Lay, 1875-76; S. H. Walker, 1878, for six months, when Rev. C. Baxter was appointed Presiding Elder, and became its Pastor. The present membership is 110; Stewards: T. Lewis, J. Lee and L. Thomas; Trustees: Isaac Johnson, John Edwards and Daniel Triplett. A frame church was erected in 1873, near the Kentucky Central Railroad depot, at a cost of $450, and was remodeled in 1876, now being worth some $750. A prosperous Sunday school of fifty odd pupils is maintained, of which Rev. C. Baxter is Superintendent.

Gunn's Chapel (African Methodist Episcopal Church) is so called in honor of Winn Gunn, Esq., who gave the lot on which the church stands for that purpose. His contributions to it amount to about $1,100. The church was organized in the spring of 1869, by Thomas Jones, a local preacher, who had been preaching for the different Colored Methodist Churches in this and adjoining counties since 1828. At the time of the formation of the church, he was a member of Asbury Chapel congregation, which had about one hundred and eighty members. He went to the Lexington Conference, held at Harrodsburg in February, 1869, and represented to that body the crowded state of the Asbury congregation, and was appointed to select a suitable place and form a new organization. Accordingly, he held his first meeting in Benevolent Hall, and organized a church consisting of seven members. He held meetings there for two months, and increased the membership to sixty. A house was next rented on Walnut street, where they worshiped until 1876. Their Pastors are as follows: Revs. Thomas Jones, 1869-70; George Downing, 1870-72; Adam Nunn, 1874-75; Benjamin Strider, a local preacher, 1875-77; N. L. Carr, 1877-78; and W. W. Locke, the present Pastor.

A Sunday school was established under the pastorate of Rev. Downing. During the ministry of Rev. Nunn, the present church and parsonage were built. The edifice is of brick, 40x50 feet, and, including parsonage, is valued at $4,000; is located at terminus of Dewees street. Under the ministry of the present Pastor, Rev. Locke, the church has been cleared of debt and the membership increased to 265 in about eighteen months. The Stewards are J. W. Russell, John Shleton, C. W. Hunter, Albert Hardin and Hilliard Robinson. The Trustees are Winn Gunn, George Washington, Samuel McDaniel, Philip Block and Philip Fowey. The Sunday school has an attendance of 130 children, under the superintendence of George Washington.

Asbury Methodist Episcopal Church (colored) was organized about the year 1847, principally through the instrumentality of Henry H. Lytle, who may be termed the father of it. Lytle, with David Francis, John Bell, Robert Jackson and about fifty
HISTORY OF FAYETTE COUNTY.

others, petitioned the Methodist Episcopal Church South (white) for the privilege of forming a society, to be known as the Asbury Methodist Episcopal Church, after Bishop Asbury, and to build a house of worship. Accordingly, on the 30th of August, 1847, the following Trustees were elected: David Francis, John Bell, Henry H. Lytle, Robert Jackson, R. Haws, George Perry, John Tilghman, Anthony Barrell and E. Alexander. W. W. Wilson was the Pastor. A committee was appointed to secure a lot, and in a few days they purchased the lot on which their present church now stands, for $500. There was an old carpenter-shop on the lot, and this was turned into a house of worship, and served for that purpose for five years, when the present edifice was begun, and finished in 1854. It was dedicated, when completed, by Bishop Basey, who preached a powerful sermon from the text, "There is one thing needful." The Pastors of the church since its organization have been Revs. H. H. Kavanagh, H. B. Basey, W. W. Anderson, Joseph Cross, H. H. Lytle, George W. Downing, W. L. Muir, M. Walton, Joseph Courtney, S. G. Griffin, E. W. Hammond and G. W. Hatton, the present Pastor. This church became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Conference in 1867, being in the same conference with the Centenary Methodist Church. Prior to that, it was with the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Its present membership is about five hundred, and the Trustees are Alexander Burton, David Clark, Levi Jones, Benjamin Hedge and C. McPheters. A good Sunday school is maintained.

The Christian Church (colored) of Lexington was organized about the year 1851. Previous to its organization as a church, its members had belonged to the various white churches of the county and the State. Elder Thomas Philips, a former servant of John Brand, Esq., was given his freedom by Mr. Brand, and at once engaged in the work of the ministry. He had held a few prayer meetings, and now conceived the idea of forming an independent congregation. He secured a building and lot, where the old Fourth Church stands, for which the congregation paid $500. The first meeting was held by the congregation in April, 1851, and at the time there were about thirty-five male members. The first Elders were David Withers and Botson Christopher. Elder Phillips preached for the church for eight years, and continued to preach at intervals for it until his death, which occurred some time after the war. The next regular Pastor was Elder William Davis, who began his ministry in 1859. At this time, the membership had reached 100. During the pastorate of Elder Davis, the church, which had originally been a carriage factory, was remodeled and repaired. About the year 1860, Alexander Campbell (colored), of Woodford County, a servant of the Fleming family, was purchased by members of the White Christian Church. He had been preaching with considerable success in Woodford County, and in 1864 he succeeded Elder Davis as Pastor of the Colored Christian Church of Lexington, serving as its Pastor faithfully until his death, December 15, 1870. During his ministry the membership greatly increased. In January, 1871, Elder H. M. Ayres, of Danville, Ky., was called to the pastorate. The membership was now 180, and the project of building a new church was agitated. A site had been selected by Elder Ayres' predecessor, but had been abandoned on account of its location. Elder Ayres, however, determined to tear down the old house and rebuild it, which he did in 1874, putting up an edifice 37 by 52 feet, at a cost of $8355. The congregation worshiped in this building until October, 1880.
In August preceding, the congregation bought a church on Constitution street, which had been erected by an offshoot from the old church, known as the "Second Christian Church." This new church had erected a handsome brick building, 41x70 feet, at a cost of $14,000. It was sold, August 9, 1880, under a decree of the court, and bought by Elder Ayres for his congregation, at the sum of $5,000. The church now comprises 230 members. The present Elders are Albert Taylor, E. R. Hathaway, Simeon Gardner, and Ellison King. The Trustees are Elder H. M. Ayres, G. W. Reed, Ellison King, Aaron Dupee, Nelson West, Simeon Gardner and A. W. Redd. On the 15th of November, 1881, a fire partially destroyed the building, which, however, was covered by insurance.

A Sabbath school in connection with the church is regularly maintained. It has an enrollment of over one hundred, with an average attendance of fifty-five, under the superintendence of Nelson West.

The history of education among the colored people of Lexington dates back to 1865, when the building known as "Ladies' Hall," on Church street, was purchased by the colored women at a cost of $3,500, and designed partly for school purposes. In 1867, through the influence principally of James Turner, who has taken more interest, perhaps, in the cause of educating his people than any colored man in the county, some half a dozen or more white female teachers were sent to Lexington by the American Missionary Society, who organized schools for the colored children, the general expenses of which were paid by the United States Government. The school in Ladies' Hall (the first-colored school organized) had an attendance of some five hundred pupils. The teachers supplied by the Missionary Society were intelligent, pious ladies, who effected much good among the colored people during their stay. About 1869-70, the society built a house for the better accommodation of the colored children, on Corrall street, at a cost of about $8,000. These teachers from the Missionary Society occupied this building until 1874, when they were withdrawn and sent to other fields of labor. There are now four buildings in the city for colored children, three of which belong to the city, and the other to the American Missionary Society. Twelve teachers are regularly employed in these schools, and all the branches of a common English education are taught. The Corrall Street School has four departments, and 310 pupils enrolled, with an average attendance of 255. The present Principal is H. O. Jones, from Nashville, Tenn., and Ella Ross, Sally Turner and Lucy Smith, assistant teachers. This is the largest colored school in the city, and all the English branches are efficiently taught. The Ladies' Hall School on Church street has three departments and an enrollment of 185 pupils. C. C. Moore is Principal; M. E. Breton and Susie M. King assistant teachers. The Pleasant Green School consists of three departments; 192 pupils are enrolled with an average attendance of 144. Henry L. Gowens has been Principal for the past two years. The assistant teachers are Hattie E. Wartfield and Lou McMillen. This school occupies three rooms in the basement of Pleasant Green Church. The Fourth Street School has two departments, with an enrollment of 115 pupils and an average attendance of 97. Mary B. Hawkins and Lou Simpson are the teachers.

Education has improved the condition of the colored people of Lexington very materially. It is estimated that at least two thousand colored children have been taught the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic since the introduction of colored schools.
Many colored children, however, are unable, through poverty, to attend regularly, and are only present in school at intervals.

In June, 1867, at a meeting of the School Board of Lexington, James F. Robinson, Jr., and John O. Hodges were appointed a committee to confer with Hon. M. C. Johnson as to the proper steps to be taken to secure and apply that part of the public fund for the benefit of colored schools. At the suggestion of Mr. Johnson, they accepted the bond of James Turner (colored) as Trustee, and passed into his hands $500. During the mission period, Turner was the only colored man connected with the colored schools, and acted with them until the mission was withdrawn, when an Advisory Board of seven members was appointed to act with the City School Board. This plan is still followed. The present Advisory Board is Reuben Scott, Horace Gaines. — Ingles, Marshall Clay, Andrew Lutty, etc. Last year, there was expended on the colored schools the sum of $5,000. The schools are in a flourishing condition, and increasing in interest and usefulness every year.

For many years, Freemasonry has existed among the colored people to a greater or less extent in different localities. Since the late war gave them their freedom, many secret and benevolent societies have sprung into existence, and particularly has Freemasonry flourished among them.

A Grand Lodge for the Colored Masons of Kentucky was organized in 1867, at Louisville. It was composed of four subordinate lodges at the time of formation, and Jesse Merriwether of Louisville, was chosen Grand Master, and George A. Schneller, Grand Secretary. The four subordinate lodges were, viz.: Mt. Moriah, No. 1; St. Thomas, No. 9; Merriwether, No. 3, at Louisville; and David Smith, No. 4, at Lexington. The latter has since ceased to exist. There are now seventeen subordinate lodges in the jurisdiction, distributed over the State as follows: Four in Louisville, one at Bardstown, two at Mayfield, one at Columbus, one at Henderson, one at Covington, one at Paris, and two in Lexington. The following are the Grand Masters since the organization of the Grand Lodge, in the order in which they served: Jesse Merriwether, of Louisville; William Sprarling, of Louisville; Kelsey Hudson, of Paducah; J. C. N. Fowler, of Louisville; William H. Gibson, of Louisville; George Taylor, of Louisville; G. W. Dupree, of Paducah; and Henry King, of Lexington, who is now serving his second term.

In 1879, a Grand Chapter was organized at Louisville, with J. C. N. Fowler as Grand High Priest. There are four subordinate chapters, viz.: Enterprise Chapter, at Louisville; Mt. Hope Chapter, at Paducah; Zerubabel Chapter, at Paris; and Mt. Carmel Chapter, at Lexington.

A Grand Commandery was organized at Lexington in August, 1881, with George Taylor, of Louisville, Grand Commander. It consists of three subordinate commanderies, stationed respectively at Louisville, Paris and Lexington.

Sardis Lodge, No. 8, was organized at Lexington in October, 1874, with nine members, and Henry King, W. M.; C. H. Allen, S. W.; and John Warfield, J. W. It now has fifty members, and is in good working order. Horace P. Gaines is the present Master.

Lincoln Lodge, No. 10, was organized in July, 1870, with J. F. Thomas, W. M.; D. H. Brown, S. W.; and Henry Lee, J. W. It started out with thirty members, and at present has fifty-four, of whom J. W. Ellis is Master. It meets in the same hall as Sardis Lodge, on Limestone street, opposite the county jail.
Mr. Carmel Royal Arch Chapter, No. 3, was first organized as No. 77, under the Missouri Grand Chapter (colored), in 1878, but became No. 3, under the organization of the Grand Chapter of Kentucky. It has at present thirty-five members in good standing. J. W. Ellis is H. P.; Joseph Bradley, K.; and Henry King, S.


To their credit be it said, the most respectable class of colored men of Lexington and Fayette County compose these bodies.

Gem of Kentucky Lodge, No. 1519, of Odd Fellows, was instituted November 25, 1872, on the petition of five members, viz.: Charles Allen, John Warfield, Frederick Robinson, J. W. Ellis and Andrew Scott. It has now about forty members, and, being the oldest lodge, had two others formed from its membership. It has a ladies' lodge, entitled the Household of Ruth, No. 57, numbering forty-five members.

Star Banner Lodge, No. 1770, of Odd Fellows, was instituted August 9, 1876, and was composed of members from the Gem of Kentucky Lodge. It began with sixty-two members. The present officers are Willis Merchant, N. G.; and D. Williams, Secretary. There are about sixty members on the roll in good standing.

Scientific Lodge, No. 1869, of Odd Fellows, was instituted April 15, 1873, with a membership of 180. A. W. Redd was the first N. G., and E. M. Marion, first Secretary. The present membership is 138, offered as follows: H. H. Jackson, N. G.; and A. W. Redd, P. Secretary.

Union Benevolent Society, No. 2, was organized October 20, 1852, and was composed entirely of slaves. Its object was the mutual protection of each other. Of the original members, there are now but three living, viz.: Lewis Page, Sam Breckinridge and Henry Brown. Other prominent members are Leonard Fish, Oscar Woods and -- Robinson.

It was chartered March 14, 1870, under the State laws. The society now owns eight acres of land, paid for, just outside of the city limits, which is used for a graveyard, and is known as "No. 2 Cemetery." About $1,500 is paid out annually for benevolent purposes. It has 685 members, and is prosperous financially. A Ramey is President, and A. W. Redd, Secretary.

The Colored Agricultural and Mechanical Association of Fayette and other counties was organized in 1809. Henry King was the prime mover, and through his influence mainly it was formed. In response to a call issued by him, the colored people assembled at Ladies' Hall on the 11th of August, in the year above mentioned, and a stock company was organized. Henry King was elected President; H. H. Harvey, Vice President; Henry Scruggins, Secretary; and James Turner, Treasurer; Board of Directors, James Harvey, Thomas Slaughter, George Perry, Edward Snoot and Theodore Clay. The number of members was limited to fifty, and the stock was all taken in a few weeks. In 1871, the society leased twenty-five acres of ground on the old Ficklin estate, of M. C. Johnson, for ten years, with privilege of fifteen years. The first exhibition was held October 6, 7, 8 and 9, 1869, with a large attendance, and after paying $100 for the grounds (on Mrs. Graves' farm), they had a surplus, which paid $10 to each stockholder. They received a charter from the Kentucky Legislature March 28, 1870. The second exhibition was held October 5, 6, 7 and 8 of this
year, and, with what funds they had on hand, increased the amount to $4,374.78. The society has erected buildings on their grounds at a cost of $3,500. A. L. Hardin has been Secretary for five years. Among the rules of the association is the following, which is highly commendable: "No prize-box selling, lotteries, gambling, or spirituous liquors of any kind will be allowed on the grounds. This rule will be strictly enforced." The last fair was held on the 20th day of September, 1881, and continued four days. The present officers are: H. P. Gaines, President; E. W. Jackson, Vice President; W. L. Taylor, Treasurer; and A. L. Hardin, Secretary; Board of Directors, Reuben Scott, Thomas Wilson, H. King, H. Lee, John Warfield, A. N. Smoot, and A. W. Redd; A. Scott, Ring Master; and Robert Robinson, Marshal. The association is in a flourishing condition, and its members deserve credit for the interest they have displayed in its organization and perfection.—W. H. Perrin.

SLAVERY IN KY CONST OF 1800

clark, hist of ky, 1937

p 162/ "The section of the constitution concerning slavery was brought over bodily from the first document, with the addition of a clause concerning the trial of slaves in the courts."

"The only change made in the constitutional attitude toward slavery from the first constitution was in article IX; this section, entitled, 'Mode of Revising the Constitution,' made amendment virtually impracticable."

Clark goes on to say that the process would take three years at best.
"When Kentucky was in a position to survey her political and economic situation after the war, she found her most obvious need a new constitution. Shortsighted proslavery delegates to the constitutional convention of 1849 had considered themselves the appointed guardians of slavery. As a result, they framed an extremely biased constitutional document. When slavery was abolished in Kentucky by adoption of the national constitutional amendments, the state constitution was almost wrecked, for it had been built around the protection of slavery. To secure a new constitution at a time when Democrats, Republicans, and granger partisans were engaged in a life and death struggle to secure political control was a difficult task."

According to the constitution you must have a majority of the "registered" voters voting yes. Beginning in 1873 such votes failed every two years until 1887. The call for the constitution came only after some purging of the registration lists.

"There were several negro jails, or pens, in Lexington. The old theater on Short street, opposite the residence of J. B. Wilgus, was converted into one. The building now used as the Statesman office, on Short, near Limestone street, was another, as was also the house on Main, between Limestone and Rose streets, now used as a barracks for federal soldiers."
GENERAL STATEMENT: TREATMENT OF SLAVES BY KENTUCKIANS (as observed by visitors)

pulszky, white, red, and black, II, 1853

p 14/ "All this is done with the help of slaves, who in this State, as in Virginia and Maryland, are generally better treated and fed than farther down in the South, on the cotton, rice and sugar plantations. The Kentuckian likes to be cheerful, and to be surrounded by sprightly countenances. Therefore he is kind to his slaves, and it is easy to deal with him."

DESCRIPTION OF BLACKS WORKING IN LOUISVILLE HOTEL (1853)

pulszky, white, red, black, ii, 1853

taken from Mrs. Pulszky diary, dated March 7, 1852

p 18/ "In the hotel we were waited upon by slaves of all colors. One of them was nearly black, yet his hair was glossy like that of an Indian, and I saw that he was proud of this distinction; he had braided it like a lady. Another was almost white, but his fiery red hair was woolly. To give him pleasure, I asked him whether he was an Irishman; but he replied proudly, 'I am an American.' The mistress of the house told me that they had seven slaves and four little ones, for her husband never separated families."
Slavery was a subject which inspired publication of numerous short-lived journals and newspapers. As early as 1822 the emancipationists embarked upon the stormy sea of antislavery journalism by establishing in Shelbyville the monthly Abolition Intelligencer and Missionary Magazine. Its promoters had been unreasonably optimistic, for financial support was not forthcoming to sustain their publication, and it suffered an early death.

Ten years later citizens of Danville were stirred to fever heat over the proposed publication of James G. Birney's *Philanthropist*. But since Birney's besetting sin was talking too much, his plan failed in the making. Before the *Philanthropist* could be established, the disturbed citizens of Boyle County and Danville prevailed upon the postmaster to refuse to accept the publication in the mails. They even bought the press and convincingly hinted to Birney that he would enjoy much better health in other and far removed parts. In 1835 this Kentuckian established the *Philanthropist* in Cincinnati, from which vantage point he supplied the abolitionists of Kentucky with much editorial encouragement. In their new home Birney and the *Philanthropist* became most influential in encouraging the antislavery crusade in the border sections of the Middle West. Birney's paper, however, was not rabid in nature; rather, it was the voice of the mildly
Most influential of all the protesting papers was Cassius M. Clay's *True American*, published at Lexington from June 3 to August 18, 1845, under the virtuous slogan of "God and Liberty." This paper was edited and published as a mouthpiece of emancipation sentiment in Kentucky, and editorially it was bitter in its denunciation of the existing slave system. Clay was a native son who had come in close contact with slavery, at his Madison County home, from birth to maturity. As a student at Yale College he was educated to the use of the pen and was persuaded of the belief that the institution of slavery was in direct violation of the rights of man.

Perhaps no journal in Kentucky ever created a more violent storm of protest than did the *True American*. Its editorial policy remained steadfast and fearless until the very end, when it was forcibly discontinued. Slavery in Kentucky never had a more serious threat than from this paper.

Coming as it did from the heart of one of Kentucky's largest slaveholding counties, and edited by a native son, it was from its beginning a most potent factor in the formation of public opinion.

**BLACK ENLISTMENTS: CAMPS FOR BLACKS IN KY**

**CLARK, hist ky, 1937**

Events of 1864 brought to the front another controversial issue in Kentucky's Civil War history. In that year, the Federal Government enlisted Negro troops—a thing which completely disgusted loyal Kentucky Unionists. Always, military service had been a Kentuckian's highest tribute to his state, for he considered it an honor to offer himself as a soldier to its cause, but no master relished the idea of having his "black Sam" in the army sharing in this Kentucky tradition. So bitter were protests from Kentucky, which had always filled its national quota with volunteers, that the War Department found itself in a quandary over the use of Negro troops. A dilatory policy was adopted in Kentucky, which had always filled its national quota with volunteers, that the War Department found itself in a quandary over the use of Negro troops. A dilatory policy was adopted in Kentucky, for Negroes were enlisted for a while, but soon enrollment was stopped. However, within a short time this embarrassing practice was revived. Finally enlistment of Negro troops degenerated into a scheme of concentrating all Kentucky Negroes in camps at or near Federal headquarters in Louisville. A curious thing about the Negro enlistments was the acceptance of men, women, and children. In July, 1865, three months after Lee's surrender at Appomattox, there were 28,000 Kentucky Negroes enlisted in the Federal concentration camps. General J. M. Palmer supervised these Negro divisions and opened the way for his charges to cross the Ohio River as promptly as possible. Thus Louisville became a veritable haven for both free and slave Negroes, for, once inside the concentration camp, they were safe, and here a benevolent "uncle" fed, clothed, and equipped them with "Palmer's passes."
National ratification of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution stirred anew the bipartisan issues which had existed in ante bellum Kentucky. Democrats declared "we are not sunk so low as to be governed by Negroes," but radicals hoped to equalize their opponents' advantage with the Negro vote.

The radicals were jubilant over their prospects of using Negro votes, and over ousting from office Democrats who were disqualified by the Fourteenth Amendment, but they feared the effects of the Negro vote upon white mountaineers. Braving a possible loss of eastern Kentucky support, the radicals attempted to oust several "illegally" elected state officials. Before any headway could be made in dismissing Democrats, however, Congress, in 1871, removed the disabilities of sixty of the cases in question.

To both political parties the Negro vote was a vital but minor factor. Democrats feared that the Negro would help to overcome white leadership, and radicals feared that Democrats would pull over a large block of colored support.

This fear prevailed throughout Kentucky, especially in the larger municipalities where the Negro population was concentrated. Here the issue had to be solved first, since municipal elections preceded state elections. City fathers in Democratic strongholds were thoroughly aroused, and the legislature was requested to permit changes of city charters to make "satisfactory adjustments" of municipal registration laws. Danville allowed white citizens of Boyle County to vote in its municipal elections, provided they owned property within the corporate limits. "Property rights," however, could not be loosely interpreted, said the Court of Appeals, to mean grave lots and bank stock. Undaunted by these restrictions, ninety-three "unterrified" Democrats purchased twenty-three front feet of a weed-covered vacant lot and divided it into four-inch democratic "bands of white supremacy and property rights."

Kentucky's congressional election was delayed on the flimsy excuse that the new census report was not available.
to come. If the congressional election were delayed until August, Kentucky would be without representation in Congress for a period of six months, for it was not until 1872 that all congressional elections (with the exception of Maine) were required to be held in November. Kentucky’s electorate soon realized that Negro suffrage was inevitable and wisely ignored the issue. With few exceptions, the election was quiet and well conducted. In some precincts white Democrats hindered timid Negro voters by asking them hundreds of irrelevant questions, with the result that the polls were closed before any considerable number of colored voters had cast their ballots. If the Democrats entertained doubts as to their party strength in the face of the Negro vote, these were dissipated when returns from the election gave them 88,000 votes to 57,000 for the Republicans. Doubtless the Democratic lead was increased by an addition of several thousand colored votes. Sensible Negroes, appreciating their economic position and the influence of their votes upon its future, supported their white neighbor’s party. After 1871 the radical wing of the Republican Party was rapidly dissolved, and the carpetbaggers and scalawags gave up control completely to native leadership. When this occurred, white Democrats ceased to fear the bugaboo of radical usurpation of leadership in state politics.

The year 1871 stands out in bold relief in Kentucky’s political history. No longer did consolidated white Democracy entertain real fear of radical and Negro votes. Favorable results at the polls were conclusive evidence that Democrats could indulge with safety in some internal warring over Kentucky’s domestic situation. Ante bellum and “war” laws cluttered the statute books; education sought public sanction and support; and Kentucky’s industry needed both legislative coaxing and prodding. All these demands were urgent, for, in defying radical opposition, loyal Democrats spent entirely too much time in legislative halls on Southern glory and sentimentality, to the neglect of Kentucky’s real needs. Josting with radicals had been so heated that Democrats were startled, in a moment of meditation, to learn, for the first time, that their party was cut in twain.
South." Believing radicalism forever banished from the state, young Henry Watterson admonished Democrats to accept Negro suffrage, to adjudge a candidate's fitness for public office by standards other than service in the Confederate Army, to accept the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, to develop the state's resources, and to subsidize railroads. This was a departure from historical Democratic philosophy, a "new departure" in fact. Since Watterson had willfully drawn the party rip cord, he was at once set upon by "loyalists" or "Bourbons," led by J. Stoddard Johnston's *Kentucky Yeoman* (Frankfort). Johnston's "Bourbon" editorials were echoed throughout Kentucky by his local and conservative editorial brethren who looked upon Henry Watterson's "new departure" program as shameless sacrilege. Undaunted by "Bourbon" heel-nibbling, Watterson was soon to leave his opponents groping hopelessly among the decayed ruins of a sentimental political past. Coming too late to figure in the election of 1871, "new departure" support was in time to give Preston H. Leslie a 39,000-vote majority over his able Republican rival, John M. Harlan. Since Harlan polled a large vote (89,000), it was clear that, with native support and leadership, Republicans could look forward hopefully to success. Despite the fact that Democrats rushed to Leslie's aid in 1871, Kentucky had gained a position which, with the exception of Tennessee, was unique in the South, for it had not only two factions of the Democratic Party, but also two parties.
p 52/ "The deficiency led to the widespread adoption of slave labor in the new factories, especially in hemp operations where the work was uncomplicated and special skills readily acquired. Though some operators owned enough Negroes to man their ropewalks, most of them were 'hired out' by other slaveowners on a monthly or yearly basis. Many factories were extensive, a cotton and a woolen one each employing over 150 hands."

taken from Michaux, "Travels" in Thwaites, ed., Western Travels, III, 200, 201; WAarden, Account, II, 341

p 88/ "On the other hand, Lexington and Louisville organized systems supported largely or wholly by public funds. These were the most advanced in the West. Their purpose, however, was less the security of the inhabitants and their property than the control of slaves, and instructions to captains and men on the beat continually emphasized that function. Indeed, it was this fear of Negroes that provided Kentucky communities with the incentive, lacking north of the Ohio, to establish effective police."

"As early as 1796 Lexington formed a modest watch, and four years later expanded it to cover nights and Sundays when citizens complained that 'large assemblages of Negroes' had 'become troublesome to the Citizens.' The trustees appointed two men to 'parade at least three nights in the week from nine Oclock until six Oclock in the morning.' A decade later an ordinance laid off the town into five districts, doubled the personnel and provided each policeman with a 'Rattle.' In 1813 two additional men joined the force, and the watch was put on a 24-hour basis. Louisville's progress, while less impressive, followed a similar pattern, though a part of the support came from private subscription."

taken from Lex, Trustees Book, July 7, 1800; sept 25, 1801; jan 4, 1812, feb 13, 1812; june 17, 1813, jan 20, 1814
p 125/ "In 1810 about half the heads of families in Fayette County possessed slaves, whereas in Lexington the figure was nearly 75 per cent. Some townsmen had extensive holdings. John Bard, for example, owned 71 blacks, Richard Higgins listed 55, and the Barr brothers accounted for 62 between them, while thirty-one others held more than 10. But generally the urban colored population was split up into small units, with a few Negroes living behind the master's house in a cabin facing an alley lined with the shacks of other slaves. The plantation system had no counterpart in town, and even larger owners did not have the space to isolate their blacks from the rest of the neighborhood."

p 125/ "Most slaves in urban Kentucky worked as domestics and general handymen. 'Almost all the labor is performed by slaves.' James McBride noted in Lexington; 'they are the only waiters, and very few of the white people can wait upon themselves in the smallest matter.' In Falls City they served as porters in the transshipment business and toiled on the dock and landings, loading and unloading river cargoes. In both towns, too, they built most of the streets, bridges, and canals, and put them in repair in the spring. As these places turned increasingly to manufacturing, factories utilized Negroes in unskilled chores or in jobs where simple techniques were easily learned. Melish found a number of black fellows busily employed in 'several ropewalks,' and McBride visited one concern which 'employed forty or fifty negro boys.' Success in using Negroes in hemp works led to a general confidence that they could be adapted to many industrial lines. In 1810, when Richard Steele and his brother planned to build an iron mill, they chose Louisville as the site because of 'the advantage we will have in working with slaves.'"
GROWTH OF BLACKS IN LOUISVILLE, LEXINGTON 1820-30

wade, urban frontier, 1959

p 221/ "In 1820 Louisville's colored population numbered 1,123, and a decade later it rose to 2,630; Lexington's figures in the same period were 1,764 and 2,267. This rise was proportionally greater than that of the whites in the Blue Grass capital, where the white population remained static."

BLACKS IN LOUISVILLE'S WARDS 1834

wade, urban frontier, 1959

p 221/ "In 1834 reveal that each of the five wards, except the fifth, was about half Negro. Furthermore, only twelve taxpayers had more than ten slaves apiece, the largest holder being a merchant with fifty-four. Housing was still wretched, living standards were low, and hope for improvement or freedom slight."

Assessment Book, 1834
HIRING OUT PRACTICES OF BLACKS IN LOUISVILLE (1820-25)

p 222/
"The case of Louisville is illustrative. Townspeople there continually complained of blacks hiring themselves out. In 1820 a grand jury warned of the 'pernicious effects' resulting from 'the privileges allowed by masters to their slaves of permission to hire their time, to the serious injury of society, and contrary to the laws of this state.' In the same year one observer counted 150 Negroes engaged in this practice and estimated that Kentucky could collect $5000 annually in fines if it enforced its own regulations. A half decade later another resident emphasized the danger. 'Those who hire their own time, not only act without restraint themselves, but their example induces others to believe that they can take the same liberties... that they can work or play as they please.' In 1827 twenty-nine prominent people gave public notice that 'from the first day of January next, they will rigidly, and without respect to persons' prosecute both slaves and masters involved in the system, which 'is much complained of, and generally admitted.'"

FREE BLACKS GRAVITATING TOWARD TOWNS (Louisville, 1829)

p 223/
"Freed Negroes gravitating toward the towns became troublesome for local authorities. One official in Louisville called them 'an unprofitable and dangerous part of the population,' and many ordinances linked them with hired-out slaves as a threat to racial order. Not less irritating were runaways, many of whom used Louisville as a springboard to freedom. Newspapers continually complained that Ohio and Indiana knowingly harbored fugitives, and the many advertisements for fleeing slaves were a constant reminder of the problem. Despite all this, however, no large movement for emancipation developed in these cities, the residents preferring slavery with all its handicaps to any proffered alternative."
p 310/ "In Kentucky use of rough tactics to compel the enlistment of Negroes became so notorious that it was called to the attention of President Lincoln. In February, 1865, he wrote to an officer at Henderson: 'Complaint is made to me that you are forcing Negroes into military service, and even torturing them--riding them on rails and the like to extort their consent. . . . The like must not be done. . . . Answer me on this.'"

See also OR, Ser. III, V, 662. on total black enlistments

BLACK WOMEN AND CHILDREN ENTERING LOUISVILLE (mar 1865)

Thomas James to Geo Whipple, Sec AMA Board, March 17, 1865, AMA, ARC, 44113

James writes Whipple that "...there are a good many Women & Children now here & more coming in every day. they need attention and the Children are being sent to School."
Gen PALMER REVERSES DENTENTION OF "SLAVE" IN LOUISVILLE, JUNE 1865

Collins, hist ky, I, 1966 (orig. pub 1874)

p 161/ taken from Annals of Ky section

"June 4--Judge G. W. Johnston, of the city court of Louisville, under a law of Ky. commits a negro slave, Jacob Hardin, to the work-house 'until his master should give bail that he would not be suffered to go at large and hire himself out as a free man;' /sic/ whereupon Gen. John M. Palmer, by military power, prohibits the enforcement of the law, and orders the release of the slave 'unless detained in custody for some other cause than the order of the city court of Louisville.'"

LEXINGTON UNIONIST SAYS $3,000,000 APPROPRIATED FOR SLAVES THAT ENLIST IN US ARMY

Collins, hist ky, I, 1966 (orig pub 1874)

p 144/

"Oct. 25--The Lexington Unionist newspaper says there are now $3,000,000 in the U. S. treasury awaiting distribution to those loyal masters whose slaves have enlisted in the U. S. army. The act of congress authorizing slaves to be recruited in the army, section 24, provided that 'the secretary of war shall appoint a commission, in each of the slave states represented in congress, charged to award to each loyal person to whom colored volunteers may owe, service a just compensation--not exceeding $300 for each such colored volunteer, payable out of the fund derived from commutations.'"
"Oct. 19--About 20 houses occupied by negroes, in the and near Lebanon, Marion Co., broken into, robbed, and greatly injured by a band called 'Skaag's men.'"

"Dec 24--Al. McRoberts, a negro, desperate and of bad character, resists and shoots a constable while arresting him, at Danville, and is himself shot. At 11 P. M., a mob takes him from the jail, and hangs him in the old graveyard."
INDICTMENT OF PALMER QUASHED (Dec 8 1865) FOR AIDING A SLAVE ESCAPE

"Dec. 8--In the circuit court at Louisville, Judge Geo. W. Johnston dismisses the indictment against Gen. John M. Palmer for aiding a slave to escape. The ground that, before the indictment, the requisite number of states had adopted the XIIIth amendment to the U. S. Constitution, abolishing slavery; therefore all criminal and penal laws of Ky. relating to slavery are of no effect."

COMMISSION ESTABLISHED TO PAY LOYAL MASTERS WHOSE SLAVES ENLISTED (November 27, 1867)

"Nov. 27--Col. Geo. D. Blakey and Dr. Noah S. Moore, of Ky., and Gen. A. McAlister, of Pa., appointed commissioners under the law of Congress to make awards to loyal owners of slaves enlisted into the Union army, open their sessions at Frankfort."
The valuation of slave property in 1865 is only $7,224,851; in 1864 it was $34,179,246.

Nov. 22, 24—Several regiments of negro soldiers, recently at Lexington and elsewhere in Ky., embark at Louisville for Arkansas, to be commanded by Brig. Gen. Jas. S. Brisbin. This leaves only one regiment of whites, and two of negroes, in Ky.
MANUMITTED SLAVES MUST LEAVE KY (March 1851 Law)
collins, hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)

p 61/ A March 24, 1851, law stated: "Slaves hereafter emancipated must leave the state; and any free negro returning or coming into the state, and remaining over 30 days, to be arrested for felony and punished by confinement in the penitentiary not longer than one year."

MANUMITTED SLAVES SENT TO LIBERIA (1833)
collins, hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)

p 37/ In March 1833 the "Kentucky colonization society sends from Louisville to Liberia 102 manumitted slaves, from Logan, Adair, Bourbon, Fayette, Mercer, and other counties; paying $2,300 for their passage in the brig Ajax from New Orleans, April 20."


On Feb 22, 1864; "Meeting at Louisville of a Border State 'Freedom' convention, Wm. P. Thomasson president; about 100 delegates from 4 states--Ky., Missouri, Tennessee, and Arkansas."

"Rev. John B. Mahan, a citizen of Ohio, indicted in Mason county, Ky., for kidnapping slaves, is delivered up by Gov. Vance, of Ohio, for trial in Ky., in compliance with a requisition of Gov. Clark. Nov. 19, (although it was proved that 15 slaves had passed through his hands on their way from Kentucky to Canada,) he is acquitted, on the ground that the offense occurred in Ohio, and the court had no jurisdiction except over crimes committed in Mason County."
1839 LAW: PROPERTY OF FREE NEGROES NOT TAXED FOR SCHOOL PURPOSES

collins, hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)

p 44/ "Common school law amended; one amendment exempts from taxation for common school purposes the property of free negroes."

VALUE OF SLAVES 1855

collins, hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)

p 74/ "Jan. 8--At several sales of slaves belonging to estates of persons recently deceased, in the counties of Bourbon, Fayette, Clark, and Franklin, negro men sell for $1,260, $1,175, $1,070, $1,378, $1,295, $1,015, and $1,505, to neighboring farmers who need their labor."
"Nov. 27--Gen. Boyle issues an order forbidding all officers and privates to interfere or intermeddle with slaves in any way; slaves are not to be allowed to enter the camps."

"Dec. 8--U. S. congressman Chas. A. Wickliffe, of Ky., in a card requests his constituents or other Kentuckians who have had slaves taken from them by the U. S. army, to send him a sworn statement of the facts. His object is to have some law passed by which such slaves thus wrongfully taken may be peaceably recovered or accounted for."

"Dec. 9--Col. John H. McHenry, of the 17th Ky. infantry, dismissed from U. S. service, 'for issuing an order returning slaves to their masters from his camp, in violation of additional article of war.'+

"Dec. 10--Fayette circuit court issues a writ for the restoration to their 'Union' owners, of slaves now detained or harbored by several regiments of soldiers near Lexington. The sheriff is prevented by armed force from executing the writ. 13--A public meeting in Lexington appoints a committee to enquire of Gen. Gordon Granger, commanding army of Ky., whether the forcible detention of the slaves and resistance were authorized, or will be sanctioned or permitted hereafter, etc. Gen. Granger's answer was satisfactory and encouraging, but that of Maj. Gen. H. G. Wright, commanding department of the Ohio, was frank, but not satisfactory; really increasing instead of allaying the public anxiety as to how far the military would be subordinate to the civil authority, and how far the escape of slaves would be encouraged."
SLAVE OWNERS, WHOSE SLAVES HAVE RUN OFF, CAN INDICATE A PREFERENCE THAT BLACKS ENTER KY REGIMENTS, July 1864

collins, hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)

p 137/1864

"July 24--The U. S. secretary of war issues 'order No. 25:' 1. If the owners of slaves who have left their service, and taken refuge in the camps, or resorted to the towns, desire them to become soldiers in the U. S. service, they have only to indicate this desire to the provost marshals, who will arrest the negroes and put them in the service [not return them to their owners]; 2. All Ky. negroes who have run off or have been persuaded off to adjoining States, to be enlisted for the sake of bounty of which they get only a small part or none, are 'requested' to be seized and enlisted in Ky. regiments."

"Negroes claiming freedom under or by virtue of the President's proclamation of Jan. 1, 1863, forbidden to migrate to or remain in this state."
"Oct. 25--Rev. Alex. M. Cowan, agent of the Kentucky colonization society, collects $5,000 to purchase a district of country 40 miles square in Africa, to be called 'Kentucky in Liberia,' as a home for colored colonists from Kentucky. The first colony for its settlement leaves Louisville, Jan. 7, 1846."

"Resolved, That we, the representatives of the people of Kentucky, are opposed to abolition or emancipation of slavery in any form or shape whatever, except as now provided for by the constitution and laws of the state."
KY LEGIS APPROPRIATES MORE MONEY FOR KY. IN LIBERIA

Collins, Hist Ky., I, 1966 (Orig pub 1874)

p 76/ "$5,000 appropriated, annually, to the Ky. state colonization society, to be applied to removing to Liberia in Africa Ky. negroes now free, or who may be born of such and be free."

See note 511

MOB ATTACKS BLACK CHURCH IN MAYSVILLE (1841)

Collins, Hist Ky., I, 1966 (Orig pub 1974)

p 46/ "Sept. 8--African church at Maysville pulled down by a mob."
SLAVE HIRING PRICES, JAN 1863 (Owensboro)

collins, hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)

p 118/
"Jan. 1--At Owensboro, negro farm hands hire for $2.00 to $250 per annum, and cooks for $25 to $125; prices were never higher."

BLACKS IMPRESSED TO BUILD RR--LEBANON TO DANVILLE (Aug 1863)

collins, hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)

p 128/
"Aug. 10--Gen. Boyle orders the impressment of 6,000 male negro laborers in 14 central counties, to work in extending the railroad from Lebanon towards Danville; owners failing to deliver them, as ordered, will have all their male negroes between 16 and 45 years taken."
"Jan 13--In a letter to Gen. Boyle upon the recent movement of an agent of the Federal government towards recruiting able-bodied negroes of Ky. into the '1st Michigan colored regiment' for the U. S. army, Gov. Bramlette says: 'No such recruiting will be tolerated here. Summary justice will be inflicted upon any who attempt such unlawful purpose.' In his letter of Dec. 14, to Capt. Cahill, he says Ky. will furnish white men to fill the call upon her for more troops; will not enlist colored men, nor 'permit any state which is unwilling to meet the measure of duty by contributing its quota from its own population, to shelter from duty behind the free negro population of Ky.'"
"June 6--Negro volunteering at Lexington brisk; 110 volunteer in two days."

"June 7--Col. Cunningham commanding negro troops at Paducah, makes a raid into Union co., and impresses a steamboat load of negroes into U. S. service. From John Cabell 8, John C. Atkinson 15, Hon. Archibald Dixon 13, Geo. Atkinson 25, D. R. Burbank 60, Mr. Givens of Paducah 10, various owners at Uniontown 27--total 158. He was accompanied by 2 gunboats--to help persuade the owners to consent to the raid."
BLACK ENLISTMENT IN KY DISCONTINUED (May 1865)
collins, hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)
p 159/
"May 8--Negro enlistments in Ky. discontinued by order of the U. S. war department."

PALMER INDICTED IN LOUISVILLE FOR ENTICING SLAVES TO LEAVE KY (Nov 1865)
collins, hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)
p 165/
"Nov. 21--The grand jury at Louisville indict Gen. Jno. M. Palmer for enticing slaves to leave the state. He was held in bail of $500, to answer."
Camp Nelson: Ky Negro Women Expelled (1864)

Collins, Hist Ky, I, 1866 (Orig Pub 1874)

P 139

"Aut. 23 -- Camp Nelson having been for several months a rendezvous for runaway negroes -- the men forced into the army, and the women fed on government rations and generally idle -- Gen. Speed Smith Fry issues order No. 19, expelling all Kentucky negro women (but not those from Tennessee and other states) from camp. "All officers having negro women in their employment will deliver them up to the patrol to be brought to these headquarters. Any one attempting to evade this order will be arrested and punished."

Negro Guard at Owensboro Attacked (Aug 27, 1864)

Collins, Hist Ky, I, 1966 (Orig Pub 1874)

P 139

"Aug 27 -- Capt. Jake Bennett, and 19 men, dash into Owensboro, attack the guard of negro soldiers at Ayres' wharfboat, kill 7, and burn the boat with a large amount of government stores, and then retreat before the Federal soldiers could attack them."
CORPORAL PUNISHMENT OF BLACK THIEF (feb 1871) (LEXINGTON)
collins, hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)
p 211/
"Feb. 16--A negro, convicted of theft, sentenced by Judge Thomas, in the circuit court at Lexington, to receive 18 stripes on his bare back."

TAXABLE PROPERTY OF BLACKS, Nov 1866
collins, hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)
p 174/
"Nov. --$976,956 of taxable property in Ky. owned by negroes, upon which the tax is $3,661."
"Aug. 7--After the close of the polls at the Market House precinct in Frankfort, without provocation, the negroes fire across the street upon the whites, killing Capt. Wm. D. Gilmore and Silas N. Bishop, and wounding two others, besides injuring several by throwing stones; one mulatto leader, Henry Washington, was shot and severely wounded. A military company was called out, and continued under arms." At Paris in Bourbon Co. "a difficulty occurred at the polls" and: "The crowd instantly scattered, but both whites and negroes returned in a few minutes well armed." The mayor managed to quiet the crowd. Also Aug 7: "Riot at Lexington, just after the close of the polls: firing begun by a negro, it is supposed accidentally, when shooting became general and indiscriminate; several persons wounded; two negroes, at a distance from the scene, mortally wounded; a company of State Guards and another of U. S. troops were soon upon the ground, but the disturbances was over."

"Aug. 8--At Frankfort, early this A. M., two negroes hung by a mob--Henry Washington, who shot Capt. Gilmore on yesterday, and Harry Johnson, who ravished a German woman."
"Nov. 23--Two negroes, George A. Griffiths and Nathaniel Harper, admitted to practice law in the courts at Louisville."
Feb. 6--A. W. Lawwill, superintendent of Freedmen's Bureau in Mason Co., addresses to Thos. Daulton, mayor of Maysville and also a justice of the peace, two communications 'proposing that he shall act as agent of said Bureau in the administration of justice, and in such case admit the testimony of colored men in his courts.' Daulton replies indignantly to some of Lawwill's suggestions, then adds: 'While not recognizing your right in the premises, it is respectful to say, that in all cases where the laws of Ky. allow negroes to testify, they are freely heard in my courts and never denied the privilege.'

Feb. 7--In the U. S. house of representatives, Mr. Stevens' proposition in reference to the Freedmen's Bureau—which involved giving of homesteads to the freedmen, from forfeited lands of the Southern white people—was voted down, ayes 37, nays 126. Of the Ky. delegation, Green Clay Smith, Wm. H. Randall, and Samuel McKee voted for it, and Lovell H. Rousseau, Burwell C. Ritter, Aaron Harding, Geo. S. Shanklin, Henry Grider, and Lawrence S. Trimble against it.
"Dec. 26--Assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, Brevet Maj. Gen. Clinton B. Fisk, by circular No. 10, extends the guardianship of that concern over the negroes of Ky., and announces the establishment of 'agencies of the bureau at points easy of access, to fairly adjust the labor question, and to see that contracts are equitable and enforce them.'"

"Sept. 5--A negro man, drunk and making fight, shot, on the agricultural fair grounds near Paris; he is arrested, and at night forcibly taken from the jail by Lynch law, and shot dead."
"July 9--Judge James P. Harbeson, of the Louisville city court, decides the civil rights bill incompatible with state laws in some of its provisions, and so far inoperative in Ky.; and refuses to admit negro testimony in the case of Ryan, charged with a deadly assault upon a negro; his is a Ky. court, and Ky. statutes must rule. He regrets that the Ky. legislature did not pass an act giving free negroes the right to testify in such cases, and leave the credibility of their statements to the judges and jurors."

"July 21--Riot at Columbus, Hickman co., caused by a railroad conductor attempting to cut some buttons off a negro's coat. Three or four negroes killed and several wounded; several whites missing, but whether killed or not, not ascertained."
"May 5--Public sale of 11 slaves at Richmond, Madison co., at prices ranging from $140 to $388--average $246."

"Dec. 30--Sale of slaves near Louisville: man aged 28 for $500, boy aged 11 $350, women aged 18 and 19 $430 and $380."
JUDGES FAVOR NEGRO TESTIMONY, Feb 1871

collins, hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)

p 212/ 1871

"Feb. 27--Judges Wm. S. Pryor, or the Frankfort circuit, Horatio W. Bruce, of the Louisville circuit, J. Cripps Wickliffe, of the Bardstown circuit, and other circuit judges, declare, on the bench, in favor of a law allowing negro testimony."

WHITE, ACCUSED OF KILLING BLACK, FREED BY MOB (March 1871)

collins, hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)

p 213/ 1871

"March 3--Thompson Scroggins, in jail at Frankfort on a charge of killing a colored man named Henry Trumbo, is released by an armed but undisguised force of about 75 strangers, who both came into and left the town by directions. The grand jury of Franklin co., for want of legal testimony (the only witnesses being negroes), had failed to indict him. The mob were determined that he should not be punished by the Federal court upon the testimony of negroes, and so rescued him."
"April 6--Judge Wm. H. Randall, of the Barboursville, Knox co., circuit, in his charge to the grand jury, announces his intention to admit negro testimony--as legal under the recent XIVth Amendment of the U. S. Constitution."

"May 12--Judge Martin H. Cofer, at Brandenburg, Meade co., charges the grand jury to hear the testimony of negroes in a case where a white man is accused of maliciously cutting and wounding a negro with intent to kill him. He argues the question very ably; and rules that, in view of the recent XIVth amendment to the U. S. constitution, the state law limiting the admissibility of negro testimony to cases in which they themselves are the only parties, is rendered unconstitutional and void. The decision of the Kentucky court of appeals, in Lowlin vs. The Commonwealth, 2 Bush, p. 5, was made before the adoption of the XIVth amendment, and cannot affect the question whether negroes are made competent witnesses by it."

March 12—The people of Columbus, Hickman co., ordered to build a levee in front of the town. The military superintend the job, and negro soldiers are the guard that stands over white citizens while they work.
"Oct. 9--As the sheriff of Montgomery co., Tenn., with two negroes charged with crime in his custody, was passing from Clarksville to Nashville, by the railroad which leads through Bowling Green, Ky., he was attacked by the negro soldiers at the latter place, his prisoners taken from him, and the most insolent threats made against the sheriff or any one attempting to interfere."

"Oct. 30--As he is sustained by the president and secretary of war, Gen. John M. Palmer gives renewed diligence to the work of forcing emancipation in Ky. At the provost marshal's office in Louisville, passes are issued to 150 to 300 negroes per day, and a constant guard is kept at the Jeffersonville ferry to compel their transportation over the Ohio river when they apply."
"Nov. 3--Granville Pearl, judge of the 12th circuit, appears in Lexington under arrest, by order of Gen. Brisbin--whose command here is a brigade of negro soldiers--because in the discharge of his duties as judge he had ordered the sale, in partition among some infants, of a negro woman--who, to avoid the sale, married or pretended to marry a negro soldier. A squad of negro soldiers was sent to arrest him; but an influential friend succeeded in turning them back, and saved him that humiliation--by his personal assurance that he would report as soon as cited, and which he did."

"Nov. 10--Gen. Brisbin notifies Garret Davis, Brutus J. Clay, and other prominent citizens of Bourbon and Fayette counties, that he will bring suit against them, before the Freedmen's Bureau, for wages alleged to be due for the labor of some of their own slaves, (whose husbands by various means had been gotten into the U. S. army as soldiers."
"Feb. 14--Legislature passes seven acts concerning negroes: conferring certain civil rights, relieving them from most of their legal disabilities as slaves, making them subject to the same punishments for crime and misconduct as whites (except for rape on white women), authorizing schools and appropriating to the education of their children all taxes collected from the colored race, except so much, not over one-half, as may be necessary to support their paupers; besides other provisions."

"April 7--A party of men visited the house of Geo. Elkin, a negro, in Clark co., to punish him in some way it is supposed. He suspected it, and was absent. They whipped his wife to make her tell his whereabouts, but she refused. The negroes swore out warrants against 6 or 7 white men, who were tried before a U. S. commissioner and cleared. The Ku Klux outrage was probably committed by other negroes, to whom Elkin had made himself obnoxious."
FRANKFORT POPULATION, Sept 1868

collins, hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)

p 192/ 1868

"Seat. 10--Population of Frankfort, by a census just taken, 4,478--whites 2,584, blacks 1,894."

FREEDMEN' BUREAU AGENTS REBUKED FOR ABUSE (Nov 1867)

collins, hist ky, 1966 (orig pub 1874)

p 182/ 1867

"Nov. 5--Freedmen's Bureau agents rebuked by the U. S. authorities at Louisville, for the abuse of power shown, frequently, in arresting citizens by the military, and dragging them off to the U. S. court at Louisville for tribal and petty offenses."
BLACK WOMAN GIVES BIRTH TO SIX CHILDREN (Sept 15, 1869)
collins, hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)
p 198/1869
  "Sept. 15--A colored woman in Calloway co. gives birth to six living children at one time."

NEGRO AGRICULTURAL FAIR IN LEXINGTON, Oct 6-8, 1869
collins, hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)
page 198/1869
  "Oct. 6,7,8--The negroes have an agricultural fair near Lexington."
TAXABLE PROPERTY OF BLACKS, Oct 1869


p 198/1849

"Oct. 10--Amount of taxable property in Ky. owned by negroes, $2,016,784--an increase of $342,197 in one year."

BLACK HANGED FLEMING CO, Aug 25, 1870

Collins, Hist Ky, I, 1966 (orig pub 1874)

p 206/1870

"Aug. 25--A negro, Frank Timberlake, in Fleming co., hung for a rape on a young lady."

"Dec. 31--George, a negro, taken from jail at Cynthiana, at 10 P. M., by about 50 disguised men, and hung, for attempted rape on Mrs. N. Martin."

"Jan. --A negro shoemaker, named Cupid, killed by 17 'Regulators' or KuKlux, near Stamping Ground, Scott co. A few miles off, near Watkinsville, they attacked some negroes and wounded 3, but the negroes were armed, killed one and wounded another of the attacking party, driving them off. A public meeting at Georgetown denounced the outrages, sympathized with the negroes, and called upon the state authorities to arrest and punish the perpetrators."
In the year 1781 or 2, near the Crab Orchard, in Lincoln county, a very singular adventure occurred at the house of a Mr. Woods. One morning he left his family, consisting of a wife, a daughter not yet grown, and a lame negro man, and rode off to the station near by, not expecting to return till night. Mrs. Woods being a short distance from her cabin, was alarmed by discovering several Indians advancing towards it. She instantly screamed loudly in order to give the alarm, and ran with her utmost speed, in the hope of reaching the house before them. In this she succeeded, but before she could close the door, the foremost Indian had forced his way into the house. He was instantly seized by the lame negro man, and after a short scuffle, they both fell with violence, the negro underneath. Mrs. Woods was too busily engaged in keeping the door closed against the party without, to attend to the combatants; but the lame negro, holding the Indian tightly in his arms, called to the young girl to take the axe from under the bed and dispatch him by a blow on the head. She immediately attempted it; but the first attempt was a failure. She repeated the blow and killed him. The other Indians were at the door, endeavoring to force it open with their tomahawks. The negro rose and proposed to Mrs. Woods to let in another, and they would soon dispose of the whole of them in the same way. The cabin was but a short distance from the station, the occupants of which having discovered the perilous situation of the family, fired on the Indians and killed another, when the remainder made their escape.

The Oldest Colored Person now living (April 16, 1873) who was born in Kentucky, so far as is known, is at Harrodsburg—Sukey Letcher, widow of George Letcher. She was born a slave, at the residence of Col. Leonard Thompson, at or near White Oak spring, on Shawnee run, in Mercer county, about the year 1781, and is now about 92 years old. She was among the very first children of African descent born in the state, but few of that class having at that date been brought thither by emigrants; a census of the inhabitants of Harrodsburg on Sept. 2, 1777, showed 12 slaves above 10 years of age and 7 younger; several families of slaves were brought about that date, or earlier, to Boonesborough and Logan’s stations.
After the old county of Kentucky had been divided, in November, 1781, into three counties—Jefferson, Fayette and Lincoln—Jefferson included all the part of the old county lying south of the Kentucky river, north of Greene river, and west of Big Benson, and Hammond's creek. The county court of each county was composed of the most respectable citizens of such county, and appointed its own clerk. The limits of its authority were rather undefined. The county court of Jefferson sat also as a court of oyer and terminer. In regard to capital offences, it acted merely as an examining court when white persons were concerned, but tried and condemned slaves to death. "At a called court held for Jefferson county on the 10th day of August, 1783, for the examination of negro Peter, the property of Francis Vigo, committed to the jail of this county on suspicion of stealing, present, James F. Moore, William Oldham, Richard Taylor and David Meriwether, gent."—Peter was found guilty, valued at eighty pounds, current money, and condemned to be executed on the 21st day of that month. On the 21st day of October, 1786, "negro Tom, a slave, the property of Robert Dan. J.," was condemned to death for stealing "two and three-fourths yards of cambric, and some ribbon and thread, the property of James Pattent." The following appears on the early records of the court:

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**1849 SLAVE ESCAPE, MASON, FAYETTE, BOURBON COS**

Aug. 5, Saturday night—12 slaves in a gang escape to Ohio, from the neighborhood one mile north of Lewisburg, in Mason county; and 42 slaves in a gang from Fayette and Bourbon counties, attempt to escape, but after proceeding 38 miles, to the neighborhood of Chavsville, Harrison county, or of Waller's mill a few miles north, in Bracken county, an effort to capture them brought on a battle, in which a negro shot and dangerously wounded a white man, Chas. H. Fowler. The negroes scattered, but were all captured and secured, 20 at Chavsville, 19 in jail at Brooksville. The ringleader, a white abolitionist named Patrick or E. J. Doyle, (who had bargained to take each slave to a place of security for $70 each, which he received from some, a stolen gold watch from another, etc.,) was taken to Lexington for trial, and, Oct. 19, sentenced to hard labor in the penitentiary for 20 years, on the charge of enticing away slaves. In Bracken county, the grand jury found a true bill against 7 of the negroes for conspiracy, insurrection and rebellion, and another for shooting with intent to kill. On the first charge, 3 were found guilty and 4 not guilty. The negroes belonged 2 to Eli Currant of Bourbon county, the others in Fayette county, 1 each to Cassius M. Clay, Starke Taylor, Sam'l R. Bullock as executor of Satterwhite, Richard Pinckney, Thos. Christian, Alex. Prew-
March 10—Col. Frank Wolford, upon being presented by citizens of Fayette co. with a splendid sword, sash, pistols and spurs, at Lexington, makes a political speech—in which he denounces the order for enrollment of negroes in Ky. as “unconstitutional, unjust, another of a series of startling usurpations;” “it is the duty of the people of Ky. to resist it as a violation of their guaranteed rights;” “the people of Ky. did not want to keep step to the ‘music of the Union,’ alongside of negro soldiers—it was an insult and a degradation for which their free and manly spirits were not prepared; while it involved an infraction of the rights of the state, which it was the duty of the governor—under his oath to support the constitution and see the laws faithfully executed—to resist with all the constitutional power of the Commonwealth.” [The speech excites quite a sensation, at home and abroad, and leads to Col. Wolford’s arrest, upon the charge of speaking disrespectfully of the President; he is subsequently released, and ordered to report in person at Nashville to Gen. Grant, but at his request President Lincoln restores him to his command.

March 4—Brig. Gen. Stephen G. Burbridge, commander of the department of Ky. since Feb. 15, orders all impressed negroes to be released from their work and sent home to their owners.
March 18—Gov. Bramlette, by proclamation, recommends the people to submit quietly to the negro enrollment, and "trust the American people to do us the justice which the present congress may not do."

March 21—Col. Cunningham's negro soldiers at Paducah "conscript" some negro hands on the steamer Carrie Jacobs; the boat officers and crew resist, and appeal to white soldiers for help; a bloody fight ensues between the latter and the negro soldiers, and several are badly wounded on each side.
BRISBIN ACCUSED OF FORCING EMANCIPATION ON KY BY WHITES

collins, hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)

April 20, 22—Singular correspondence between James S. Brisbin, "brevet brigadier general," and S. O. U. S. troops," and Gov. Bramlette. The former's letter shows how emancipation is being forced on Ky., notwithstanding the U. S. secretary of war has announced that "recruiting and drafting for the U. S. army is discontinued for the present." Gen. Brisbin seems to be at the head of the negro recruiting business in Ky., informs the governor that he is engaged in recruiting 17 additional regiments in the state, that "negro enlistment has bankrupted slavery in Ky.," over 22,000 of the most valuable slaves having already gone into service, while the few thousands left are being rapidly gathered up by the recruiting officers and put into the army. Even old men and boys are found to be fit for duty in invalid regiments, and are taken. From 70 to 100 enlist daily, freeing, under the law of congress of March 3, 1865, an average of 5 women and children per man. Thus from 300 to 500 black people are daily made free through the instrumentality of the army."

GEN BURBRIDGE HONORED BY BLACK TROOPS AT CAMP NELSON

collins hist ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)

April 24—Maj. Gen. Burbridge presented, at Camp Nelson, with a $1,000 sword, belt and spurs, by the colored cavalry in brigades 3rd and 6th, U. S. C. C. of Ky. Gen. Brisbin made the presentation speech, in which he spoke of Gen. Burbridge as "the pioneer of freedom to the slaves of Ky." Gen. Burbridge said "the war is over with the rebels, and he expected and hoped soon to see our colored troops sent into Mexico."
Feb. 18—The Freedmen's Bureau proves itself a dangerous machine. In Louis-
ville, about two years ago, Dr. Keller was annoyed by a little mulatto boy living near
by, who persisted in ringing the doctor's
door-bell; until Dr. K. caught him at it,
and switched his legs for it. The mother
came up and abused the doctor with the
vilest of epithets, which he resented by
striking her several times with a whip. For
this he was first arraigned before the police
court, where the case was dismissed. He
was then brought before a military court
and sentenced to 30 days' imprisonment,
but was let off before the expiration of the
term. Next he was sued for $5,000 dam-
ages, which case is still pending. And
now the Freedmen's Bureau arraigns and
fines him $50. What the end will be, un-
der the military tyranny of the day, is
yet to be developed!
LONGTIME BLACK EMPLOYEE AT GOV'S MANSION, HONORED BY LEGIS. (Feb 1872) 570

Feb. 28—Legislature passes a resolution in relation to the death, Feb. 17, of Daniel Clark, of color, known as the "Ancient Governor"—who came to Frankfort with Gov. Clark in 1836 as his body-servant, and has thus remained attached to the governor's mansion and executive office ever since, now nearly 36 years—commending him as "a notable example to all men, white and black, of industry, sobriety, courtesy according to his station, and integrity in office." Jan. 27—The senate, by 32 for and 2 against, passed a bill giving him a pension of $125 1/2 per month for life—he being "a very old and infirm man, not able to work or perform the full duties of said office any longer, and as an evidence of the appreciation in which Ky. holds his faithfulness and honesty, and of her unwillingness that he shall want for a support;" but his health was failing fast, and before the house acted upon it, he had gone to the land where all good governors go. He was a native African, and distinctly remembered his passage in the slave ship from the African coast to Charleston, S. C.

BLACK RESPECTABLE PREACHER ATTACKED, BASED ON RUMORS, Aug 1868 571

Aug. 3—A negro preacher, Francis Frederick, attacked by a mob of negroes, in Frankfort, who bruised, beat, choked, and would have killed him. The police rescued him, and lodged him in jail for protection. He is an intelligent and earnest missionary, well accredited, on his way to preach in Tennessee, and had preached very acceptably in Frankfort until a report, with no other foundation than that he did not preach politics, was spread that he was a "rebel."
FREED BUREAU DESCRIBED, Act. 1868: TEACHERS, SCHOOLS, SCHOLARS, COSTS, FINANCES, ETC

Collins, Hist Ky, i, 1966 (orig pub 1874)

Oct. 5—The Freedmen's Bureau in Ky., it is stated, employs 17 agents, 8 acting assistant surgeons, and 17 clerks, at a cost of $41,820 in salaries alone. The annual report of Gen. Burbridge, commissioner for Ky., gives as the No. of schools now being taught in the state 136, white teachers 21, colored teachers 144, scholars 6,022; school houses erected by the Bureau 13, cost $21,048; school houses erected by the freed-

men and their friends 31, cost $12,685; No. of "contracts approved" by the Bureau, within a year past, 500; average wages per month to males $17.49, to females $8.74, including "quarters and rations" or board; No. patients treated by the surgeons 16,424; total amount expended by and for the Bureau $110,000.

KY LAW PROHIBITING UNAUTHORIZED SLAVES ON STAGE COACHES (1838)

Coleman, Stage-coach Days, 1935

Slave owners of central Kentucky were experiencing considerable trouble, for their slaves availed themselves of the facilities offered by the stage-coaches to escape from their masters. The "rapidity with which they were carried" by those conveyances as well as the mode of traveling enabled them to elude pursuit and detection. The practice was growing as stage lines were increasing and improvements advancing. Public attention was directed to the growing evil, which resulted in the passage of this act:3

"That it shall be unlawful for the owner and proprietor of any mail stage or other stage-coach to suffer or permit any slave or slaves to go as passengers therein, without a written request of their owners, under the penalty of one hundred dollars for each slave taken contrary thereto, and also being liable to the owners for the full value of all
On the morning of May 3, 1841, as William S. Bryant opened up his harness and saddle shop on Main Street, Paris, he noticed his slave, Peter, was absent. Upon inquiry, it was found that he had the evening before made some repairs to the harness of Edward P. Johnson and Company's stage, shortly after it had discharged some mail and passengers at the old Bourbon House. Further inquiry proved that it was about nine o'clock when the stage started, and Peter got aboard and rode beside the driver all through the night, reaching Maysville sometime during the early morning. Here at the end of the run, the slave quietly climbed down off the stage-coach and slipped off into the darkness, toward the Ohio River.

Bryant promptly entered suit against the stage-coach proprietors for the loss of his slave, Peter, who was described as being "about six feet high, proportional, active, intelligent, and a harness maker by trade, and of the value of twelve to fourteen hundred dollars." Notices of the runaway slave were posted in the barrooms along the road from the Bourbon House to the Goddard House in Maysville, offering the customary reward of ten dollars if taken in Bourbon County, twenty dollars in another county, and in the state of Ohio one hundred dollars; but Peter undoubtedly by that time was well within the interior of Ohio and assured of his liberty.

Charles T. Garrard, foreman of the jury, brought in a verdict in favor of Bryant in the sum of $1,332.25, which allowed two hundred dollars for the lost slave and one hundred thirty-two dollars and twenty-five cents for expenses and advertising paid in searching for the slave, who was never recovered.

"The first negroes in Scott county was / sic / Henry, the slave of Toliver Craig, and Hanna, the slave of John Rodgers, who were, by order of the Scott county court at its first session in 1792, were exempted from all county levies and taxation, on account of their extreme old age and impertinences. The old negroes were brought here from Virginia and were no doubt the offsprings of those brought to Virginia in 1620 in the Dutch ship."
J. W. Ballard, a friend of B. Q. Gaines, while in Indianapolis, visited a former slave, and brought back this account, told to him by the slave, of his movements after 1862: "Said he belonged to your grandfather Gaines and worked in his livery stable. Said he left Georgetown in the spring of 1862 and went to Camp Nelson, Kentucky, joined the Union army and was mustered into Col. Sedgewicks / sic / regiment and served as a soldier until the close of the war, and was mustered out in 1865. He then came to Indianapolis. After being here a number of years he says he was sent to the Soldiers / sic / Home, near Marion, Indiana. After being there two years his daughter, Harriette, came and took him to her home, where he now lives with her and her daughter and her grandchildren. He is 108 years old, a bright looking old man with a copper color and resembles the picture you have of him. He talks well and his mental faculties are yet very clear and distinct, . . ."

"July 16th, after considerable trouble concerning the enlistment of colored men in Kentucky for the United States army, two regiments of negroes are organized in Louisville, and several more are organizing at Camp Nelson, in Jessamine county. It is estimated that by this time twelve thousand negroes have been induced to leave the State and enlist elsewhere."
"August 16th the police of the city seize all the male negroes attending a colored fair and carry them off to the military prison. Some of them, according to Mr. Collins, are afterwards compelled to enlist; other are put at work upon the fortifications, and still others are discharged."

"On the 14th of July a large convention of colored men, representing nearly every county in Kentucky, was held in Louisville, to take into consideration the educational interests of their race."
"The Colored Central or High School was dedicated October 5th, at the corner of Kentucky and Sixth streets."

September 22 of the same year, Colonel John D. Pope, Chairman of the Committee on Colored Schools in the Board of Education, reported an accumulation of the fund for such schools in or due the treasury of the Board, to the amount of $4,828.85. The opening of three schools for colored children was therefore recommended—one in the African Methodist church on Center street, another in the Colored Baptist church on Fifth, and a third when a proper place could be found for it. The measure was adopted, and schools were opened accordingly, with Susie Adams, E. C. Greene, and Ada Miller, teachers on Fifth street; and Sallie Adams, M. A. Morton, and John Arthur on Center. All were colored people, and received, the principals $40 a month, first assistants $30, and second assistants $25. Buildings have since been erected for similar schools at Sixth and Kentucky, Breck-ridge and Jackson, on Magazine, between Fif-teenth and Sixteenth, Lyle and Twenty-eighth, and Pocahontas and Elm streets.

On the 5th of October, 1873, the Colored High School at the corner of Kentucky and Sixth streets was dedicated—the first building of the kind in the State. Many of the most prominent citizens of Louisville were present on the occasion. The building is of brick, in the American renaissance style; three stories, with basement; eleven commodious school-rooms, with six hundred sittings, and a chapel, 32 by 51 feet. Its cost was $25,000. The teachers and official visitors are generally selected from the colored population. There were now three other public colored schools in the city, with about one thousand pupils.
LOUISVILLE CHARTER REQUIRING SEGREGATED SCHOOLS, 1870

ford, hist ohio falls cities, i, 1882

THE COLORED SCHOOLS

The third and last charter adopted for the city of Louisville in 1870 contains the following section:

Neither the General Council of the city of Louisville nor Board of Trustees of said schools shall suffer children of the African race to become pupils of said schools with white children, and the 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 the African race residing within said city or who pay a school tax in said city, and such fund to be used alone for the educational benefit of the children of said African race.

STATISTICS, FACTS ON BLACK SCHOOLS, LOUISVILLE, 1870s

ford, hist ohio falls cities, i, 1882

Our authority adds the following statistics and other facts:

The attendance of colored children in these schools the first year after they were inaugurated was 497; the second, 1,392; the third, 1,934; the fourth, 1,487; and so on, gradually increasing until they now number 4,077. They are under the immediate control of the Committee of the Trustees on Colored Schools, who each year appoint seven colored visitors to assist them in looking into the interests of the schools. The principal of the Central School, corner of Sixth and Kentucky streets, gets a salary of $1,060; of the Eastern, corner of Breckinridge and Jackson, $900; of the Western, on Magazine, between Fifteenth and Sixteenth, $300. Teachers of the first grade get $400, second class assistants $450, third class $400, and fourth class $310. During the last year J. M. Maxwell was Principal of the Central School, J. M. Ferguson of the Eastern, W. T. Pryor of the Western, E. E. Wood of the Lytle-street, and Mrs. J. Arthur of the Pythagoras-street school, all of them colored teachers. The houses which have been erected for these schools are in every respect equal to those built for the white schools, and they are given as good teachers of their own race and as ample facilities for acquiring an education as can be afforded. While the amount raised by taxation from colored people in the State was only $5,449.69 at the last report, the amount expended by the Trustees for colored schools in the city was $17,183.30 for the payment of their teachers only.
"In 1751, when Christopher Gist came into the Kentucky country in search of lands for the Ohio Company, his only attendant was a Negro servant. Fifteen years later a mulatto slave was one of a party of five exploring this region. A few of the pioneers from Virginia brought their slaves when they migrated to the West, but as a rule the earliest settlers did not own slaves, since they were poor and slave property was a luxury. Such slaves as were brought into the Kentucky country in the early days were usually affectionately attached to the household through long years of service. In accounts of Indian raids slaves are reported as loyal and daring. One of them, Monk, owned by Colonel William Estill, was an expert in making gunpowder and a preacher of ability, listened to by both Negroes and whites."

"In reality the slave system was not ended by legislation but by enlistment. Negroes deserted from the fields, or were forcibly taken, to serve in the Union Army. The historian, E. Merton Coulter, states that '10,000 slaves left the State during the year 1863; slaves enlisted at the rate of a hundred a day, and after the war, were freed at the rate of 500 a day.' The 1860 census showed 236,167 Negroes in the State, of whom 10,684 were free; the census of 1870 showed 222,210 Negroes."
the most substantial and influential and upright colored persons in the county. Only a few years ago they tore down the old frame, and in 1880 completed one of the most substantial and commodious brick churches in the city, which we hear is all paid for; they also have a parsonage. The church is called Freeman’s Chapel, being named for Peter Freeman, one of the old reliable members, and a Class Leader in the church.

Among the old preachers of this church were Kit Humphreys, Stewart Newton, Ned Newton, David Ratcliffe, Ned Jones, George McLain, and James Allen. Of these preachers none rose to the prominence or had the ability of Ned Jones. He was bright, and set free by the church in slavery times and educational facilities furnished him. When in his prime he was regarded as a most excellent preacher. He frequently preached to large congregations of whites; he died in 1865. All the old preachers are now dead except Dave Ratcliffe, who is extremely old and feeble. Amongst the prominent laymen have been Benjamin Phelps, Mat Phelps, Nelson Cross, James and Orange Warfield, Phil Bell, Kit Banks and Peter Postell. "Uncle Kit," as he is familiarly called, was for many years prior to January 1, 1884, the faithful Sexton for the Methodist Episcopal Church South, but owing to feeble health resigned at that time. Since the separate organization of the church, Revs. Walker, Cowen, Hubbard, James Bell and Dr. Matthews have served the church. The church at present numbers about 315 members, and the officers are Nelson Cross, Phil Bell, Columbus Lynch, Ned Turner, John Moore, Marshall Williams, J. R. Hawkins and Miner Thomas.

The Colored Methodist Church.—The history of this church was written by Judge McCarroll, and is as follows: The colored Methodist people of Hopkinsville have had preachers and preaching ever since about the year 1830, possibly a little later than that. They had no church building or property of course until after their emancipation, but met in the church owned by the whites, and there had the Gospel preached to them. Since 1848 they met in the Sunday-school room of the present (white) Methodist Church on Clay and Nashville Streets, until they built a church of their own. Soon after the war they purchased a good lot on the corner of Liberty and Hickory Streets which had an old frame building on it, to which they made an addition, and thus had a very comfortable and roomy church. This was about the time of the organization of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America by the Southern Methodist Church. They had their society incorporated by the Legislature, and took a solid stand at once among the churches of the city. Some difficulty was at first experienced in paying for their church, but through the activity of Nelson Cross, one of the oldest members, and with the good example of his liberality, and the assistance of the whites, it was fully paid for. We find from records of the Christian Circuit, that the Quarterly Conference was licensing their preachers as far back as 1888; Thom-
The Colored Baptist Church is located on Virginia Street, and is a large and substantial brick edifice. It is lighted with gas, and well furnished and comfortably seated. It has a large membership, some 500 or 600, as we were informed, and is in a very flourishing condition. Rev. E. Richer is the Pastor. We were unable to obtain the facts of its early history and organization. A large and flourishing Sunday-school is maintained in connection with the church.

The following sketch of the Colored Public Schools is written by Judge G. A. Champlin, County Commissioner of Schools: The first common schools for colored children were taught in the year 1875, the Legislature having in the winter of 1874—75 passed an act known as the Colored School Law. This law gave the colored schools the benefit of certain fines, and the principal part of all taxes paid by the colored people, but was very inadequate, and only provided a fund that paid the small sum of about 50 cents for each child of pupil age, which by the law included all between the ages of six and sixteen years. On account of the meager fund, the colored people and the friends of their education were very much discouraged. It was said by many that it was useless to make any attempt toward education with such a small per capita. There was a great want to be supplied in the way of teachers, only about four or five competent persons being found in the county who were ready and willing to engage in teaching. Only five districts were formed the first year, and only about 500 children were embraced in the census for that year. Schools were taught in these districts during the school year ending June 30, 1876, and the colored people were convinced that much good could be done, even with the small sum applied to their education.
The next year the districts were increased to sixteen, and the census to nearly 1,500, and in about three years the whole county was districted, and the census ran up to nearly 5,000 children. The colored people evinced a great desire to improve, and took much interest in everything pertaining to education. The act of the Legislature giving additional aid to colored schools enabled the colored people of the county to have common schools taught in nearly all the districts, now forty-four in number. The teachers are much better than formerly; indeed, compare very favorably in qualifications with the teachers in the white schools.

The colored people of the city of Hopkinsville have by assistance of the whites erected a commodious and very good and substantial building, costing, including furniture, grounds, etc., between $2,500 and $3,000, and, with a Principal and a competent corps of teachers, maintain one of the best schools in the State, during eight to ten months in the year.

The colored people manifest as much if not more interest in common schools than the white people of the county, and everything considered they have made remarkable improvement. They certainly deserve much credit for what they have done in this way. It is now conceded by all that the colored people ought to be educated in order that they may understand our laws, and thus become better citizens.

J. J. POLK TELLS OF SPIRITUAL AID FROM BLACK CHRISTIAN

In telling of his young spiritual development in very general terms, Polk said: "I also derived spiritual comfort from conversations with a pious slave, Aaron Keiser, a man whom I found to be a better divine than many who could boast a whiter skin."
BLACK EXCOMMUNICATED FROM WHITE CHURCH, 1847

Drew Harrington, A History of Barren River Baptist Church, 1977 (np,npub) typescript

1847

p 5/ "August 7th saw the church deal with two members for the sin of intemperance. Brother Clabourn Twiddle and Nat, possibly a slave, were excluded from the church for that sin. The appearance of Nat's name reminds one that there were church members who had slaves which shared church membership with them."

SLAVES IN BARDSTOWN TO BE PUNISHED IF TRAVELING WITHOUT A PASS

May 30, 1806

"Any person who shall suffer their negro or negroes to come into town on Sabbath without a written pass from his or her master, the slave shall receive ten lashes on his or her bare back to any constable of the county of Nelson."

minutes of the bardstown trustees, reprinted in Scrap Book of Ella Kourvenbergh, reprinted in The Kentucky Standard, 1936
The colored Baptist Church of Eminence, designated 'First,' was organized in 1865 in a small building on Needmore Street. The present building was erected in 1872."

Says this church has ordained six ministers: W. B. Hall (age 96) currently of New Liberty, Ky, J. L. Robertson, Charles V. Bruant, A. I. Owens, J. L. Smith, W. F. Fisher.

"The first pastor, in 1865, was Rev. S. Samuell of Frankfort."

"The New Castle colored school was organized and dedicated in the year 1885. Rev. John William Hall was its first teacher."
There was originally a strong Baptist church for colored people on Scott's Fork. The land was obtained from Mike Ray and the trustees were Doctor Phelps (alias Prather), Ephraim Leavell, Thomas Kennedy and Martin Reynolds. Some years later it was abandoned and used as a schoolhouse for colored children and a new church was built on the Scott's Fork Road one-fourth mile west of Buckeye. This is still a strong church.

To this first church on Scott's Fork belonged Ambrose, Sherrod, James Folém and Charles Ray. Other members were Ephraim Leavell, Sr., former slave of Lewis Leavell, who lived at the J. H. Posey home just south of McCreary. Ephraim, Sr., and Ephraim, Jr., were able and honorable men. Thomas Kennedy, a great friend of the author, was also a member. Others were Martin Reynolds, Jerry Anderson, Les Doty, Cleaver Tevis, William Adams, George Beaumont (called "Polka Dot"), Toddy Beaumont, Buss Leavell, Charley Broadus, and many other families.

Following the Civil War many negro churches were established under leaders of their own. Very few of the names of these are preserved. Willis Kemper and Gabriel Burdette were given authority by the Forks of Dick's River Baptist Church in 1851 to preach to their people, although there was close supervision by the white deacons. These two were those who probably established the Colored Baptist Church on White Oak Creek. Jerry Bradshaw, Naylor and Burnside established a church on Sugar Creek near Three Forks, called New Hope after the Civil War. Henry Mosee or Mausey, a free colored man, preached to his people at Gilbert's Creek from 1820 to 30.
A group of petitioners asked the Lancaster Baptist Church in 1866 to allow them, under the leadership of Washington Lusk, to organize a church of their own. The petition was recognized and the present Colored Baptist Church is the result of this permission. The petitioners were Wash and Edmund Lusk, Alfred Simpson, Jess Barlow, Milton Brown, Jerry Gill, Isaac Gates and Louisa Barlow.
ACCT OF BLACK MINISTER, WHITE HIPOCRACY, ANTE BELLUM PERIOD

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HISTORY OF CHURCHES

OLD CAPTAIN, FIRST NEGRO PREACHER

This first negro minister came to Kentucky as the slave of Joseph Craig. He was born in 1733 in Caroline County, Virginia, the slave of Captain Durrett and received the name "Old Captain" from his first master. He was converted at the age of twenty-five and belonged, with his later master, Joseph Craig, to Upper Spotsylvania Church in Virginia and went with him to Abingdon, Virginia, in 1781 where a great revival was held, at which there was a mighty stirring of negroes. This old man was named Peter and after coming to Gilbert's Creek he continued to minister to his brethren.

While on the way to Kentucky the group was attacked by Indians twice and one of the pickets was killed and scalped. It was discovered that among the whites there was one man of desperate character who was a traitor in the encounter with the Indians. Tradition has it that Old Captain labored and prayed with this wicked traitor and murderer until finally, through persistence, he was saved.

After removing to the north side of the Kentucky River in Fayette County, he purchased his time and that of his wife from his master and moved to Lexington where he formed a friendship with Mr. Maxwell, for whom Maxwell Street of that city is named and who owned the land on which the University of Kentucky is now located. Here he established the first African Church in the state, to which he ministered until his death in 1823, being then a little over ninety years of age.

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HISTORY OF CHURCHES

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Brother Willis Kemper, a colored man, in 1851 was given authority to preach to colored brethren.

Colored preachers who were given authority to hold services among their brethren were Gabriel Burdette and Willis Kemper.

The church was occupied by sick Union soldiers in 1861.

Brother Gabriel Burdette was given the privilege of using the church on Sunday afternoons for his people of color in 1857.

Jane Anderson, colored, who had been excluded for fornication in 1836 came forward through a committee composed of Sisters Jemima Burdette, Cynthia Tarrant, America Price, and Lucy Kemper and made confession and was restored in 1849.

Brother Gabriel, colored, was brought before the church and reprimanded strongly for intemperate language used toward the church (doubtless on account of his desire for freedom for himself and others of his race.) This was in 1862. He was finally excluded in 1869 for non-attendance.
It was in 1851 that Bob Irvine, colored was appointed pastor of the colored folk. Although they were refused a constitution, he was given permission to baptize colored people.

The question was what to do with the colored members. They asked to form their own church and to be constituted under Washington Lusk. The petitioners were Wash and Edmund Lusk, Alfred Simpson, Jess Barlow, Milton Brown, Jerry Gill, Isaac Gates, and Louisa Barlow. They did withdraw and formed their own church in 1866.
BLACK BAPTIST CHURCH, TODD COUNTY

williams, story todd co, 1972

p 288/ says the white baptists gave their old building to the black baptists in 1873. /p 293/ "The Negro Baptists had no church building, until 1874. Prior to that year, some worshipped with the white people, while others worshipped in an old factory building across from the railroad station. Neither building remains. During that year members of the Baptist Church gave the Negroes the frame church building which stood on the site of the present brick church. The two groups agreed that the structure would be used for worship only; otherwise, the property would revert to the former owner. The facility was used until 1903."

BLACK CHURCHES IN WAYNE CO (1868)

edwards, glimpses of wayne co, 1970

p 73/  "The first church for Negroes in Wayne County was built on Turkey Ridge near Shearer Valley about 1868. The church also served as a school with William Simpson, a white man, serving as teacher.+

"Major Nelson, a Negro Methodist Minister, organized the first Negro Methodist Church in the county which was also used as a school. It was known as the Little Flock Church and School.+

"About 1870, Jones Owslwy (?), a Negro Baptist Minister, helped organize the Pleasant View Church which is still active."

/p 74/

"The St. John's A. M. E. Church in Monticello was organized by Major Nelson. The congregation is still active."
"Following the Civil War and during Reconstruction days, Negro schools were organized at Shearer Valley, Dogwood, Duncan Valley, Monticello, Mill Springs, Strawberry, Pleasant View and Meadow Creek."

Camp Nelson has become quite an important village in the last few years. It is at the mouth of Hickman creek, near the wooden bridge, that spans the Kentucky river, on the line of the Lexington and Danville turnpike. It was established in 1863, and was the principal point for the concentration of Federal forces and munitions of war on the line of the Cumberland river. It was named in honor of Gen. William Nelson, who was born in Mason county, was a distinguished soldier, and was killed in Louisville by Gen. Jefferson C. Davis, whom he had grossly insulted.

It remained a military camp until the close of the war, and had a fortified circumference of about ten miles formed, in large part, by the high hills and cliffs of the Kentucky river, and partly by breastworks thrown up, that yet remain. On the land has been established a United States military cemetery, in which are interred over 5,000 Federal soldiers. The population of the village is, at this time, about 200, mostly colored people, who have settled on the cliffs and hills near the Kentucky river.

Ariel College is located at Camp Nelson. This is an institution for the education of colored men and women. It is officered by white teachers, and has been the source of great good and help to the colored people.

Dr. John G. Beale was the first native Kentuckian who
young and duncan, hist jessamine co, 1898

p 191/ Says that among the outstandingly large number of ministers ordained by this church was Rev. James Priest "... who was a slave of Mrs. Meaux, and who, after his emigration to Liberia, was vice-president of that republic, having gone there as a missionary."

Can I check a bit of history on this?

see Wiley, Slaves No More (1980), p. 325, Note 1

Look at letter 125 in Wiley

all 605-A
SLAVES NO MORE
Letters from Liberia 1833–1869

Edited by
Bell I. Wiley

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS OF KENTUCKY
To Joanna Wiley
my beautiful & beloved granddaughter

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
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   Bibliography: p.
   Includes index.
1. Freedmen in Liberia—Correspondence. 2. Afro-Americans—Colonization—Liberia. 3. Liberia—History—To 1847—Sources. 4. Liberia—History—1847-1944—Sources. I. Wiley, Bell

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Letters of the McDonogh

3. McDonogh in his list

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McDonogh and Washington

As of the passengers

in Repository 20 (1844):

42 was about twenty-five

years of age, an Excellent char-

acter, a man in whom

is acquainted with

Letter 39, note 1. 2. Mc-

Carpenter and a man of all

Letter 118 (McDonogh Papers)

Letter 119 (McDonogh Papers)

Letter 120 (African Repository 23 [1847]: 264-65)

1. The only Nancy appearing on McDonogh's list is described thus: "Nancy, a Talented woman, capable of teaching a Common School and of Excellent moral character, twenty-

two years." She may have been the sister of Gallaway Smith.

Letter 121 (McDonogh Papers)

1. A Liberian physician, Dr. J. W. Loganbeel, in an article, "Native Africans in Liberia—

Their Customs and Superstitions," published in African Repository 27 (1852): 311, stated:

"It sometimes happens ..., that no particular person is accused; in which case it is incumbent

on the grey-gre man, or [witch] doctor ..., to point out the culprit. The accused per-

son is required to undergo the infallible ordeal of 'drinking sassa-wood.' ... This drinking

of sassa-wood, which is a universal test of witchcraft, consists in swallowing large quan-
tities of the infusion of the bark of the sassa-wood tree, gulping it down until the distended

stomach will not receive any more. If the person rejects from his stomach this poisonous in-

fusion and lives, his innocence is established; but if he retains it, and consequently dies, his

cruel tormenters are satisfied of his guilt."

Letter 122 (McDonogh Papers)

1. A notation on the back of this manuscript states: "This is a copy. The original was given
to the Reverent Robert S. Finley, at his request, to publish."

Letter 123 (McDonogh Papers)

Letter 124 (McDonogh Papers)

1. John Alken apparently was the person described thus in the McDonogh list, 'Jack,

Intelligent, honest; a Carter and somewhat of a sugar maker, a faithful man, aged ninety-

years.

Letter 125 (African Repository 23 [1847]: 175-76)

1. James M. Priest was for twenty-seven years the pastor of the Presbyterian Church in

Siom. He was vice-president of Liberia and president of the senate, 1864-1868, and at the

time of his death, May 16, 1883, he was associate justice of the Liberian supreme court. Af-

rican Repository 47 (1872): 37; 40 (1864): 13; and 60 (1884): 119.

Letter 126 (African Repository 23 [1847]: 176-77)

Letter 127 (African Repository 23 [1847]: 263)

1. Not on McDonogh list.

Letter 128 (McDonogh Papers)

Letter 129 (African Repository 23 [1847]: 265-66)

Letter 130 (McDonogh Papers)

Letter 131 (McDonogh Papers)

Letter 132 (McDonogh Papers)

1. Julia Smith may have been the person appearing on McDonogh's list as "Julia, wife of

Augustine Lombard, aged 17 years" or she may have been "Judy, an excellent woman, a

first rate midwife, a Spinner of Cotton and wool, &c. &c, aged about 50 years.

Letter 133 (McDonogh Papers)

Letter 134 (McDonogh Papers)

1. This is probably the person whom McDonogh lists thus: "Simon, a Sugar Maker, a ship

Sawyer, a Carter and plowman, also a Brickmaker and understanding in the work of a

Plantation generally, aged about twenty-two."

Letter 135 (McDonogh Papers)

Notes 325
JUNE 1864 REQUEST TO TAKE SLAVE IN JAIL AND PLACE IN ARMY

Nicholasville, Ky., June 9, 1864.

Gen. S. G. Burbridge, Commander, Department of Kentucky:

Sir—There is a slave in the county jail here, confined for no civil crime, but because his master feared he would run off. The boy has told me he wishes to volunteer as a soldier. Have I the right to take him from the county jail and let him come into the army in the state? Most respectfully,

J. C. Randolph.

Deputy Marshal and Superintendent of Colored Enlistment at Camp Nelson.

HIST AFRICAN METH EPIS CHURCH, JESSAMINE CO

This church is situated on East street in Nicholasville, and was organized September 15, 1845, by Rev. Samuel Miller, who then erected the first house of worship that this congregation ever had. The present beautiful structure was built through the labors of Rev. James Turner. This church has a very active membership and a large, successful Sunday-school, which exerts a fine influence throughout the members of the church. The minutes show that it is one of the most liberal of the colored churches, and that in thirty years it has contributed to benevolent objects about $18,000. Its membership includes a very large list of names. Its present pastor is Rev. P. A. Nicholas, a native of Harrison county, Ky.
Colored Christian Church.

One of the handsomest colored churches in the county or state, is the Colored Christian Church, Nicholasville, which was erected in 1843 and for several years used as a house of worship, being then known as the Union Church, where all the colored people from time to time held their services. It was not until the year 1867 that the officers of the church bought the Union Church and became a separate organization. The present pastor, the Rev. W. H. Dickinson, came to the congregation on the first of September, 1896. He is a native of Virginia. The church building now in use was erected in 1890. It has a large membership and is one of the most prosperous of the colored churches in Central Kentucky.

Colored Baptist Church.

The first colored Baptist church in Nicholasville was organized in 1846. Few of its records have been preserved. Rev. Robert Irvin was the first pastor, who remained in the church four years. The present membership is 356. It has been prosperous and particularly so under the ministrations of its present pastor, Rev. John William Clark.
My Uncle Robert, who owned a very likely man named Humphrey, had a brother-in-law named John Hugueley. Mr. Hugueley owned a fine Negro by the name of Matthew. Uncle Robert wanted Matthew as a foreman and had often tried to get him from Mr. Hugueley, but had never succeeded. Matthew was under size and a little beyond the age for military service. To the surprise of my uncle, Mr. Hugueley came one day and offered to exchange Matthew for Humphrey. The trade was soon arranged and after the exchange had been legally closed Mr. Hugueley informed my uncle that he had been drafted, had passed the medical examination, and had to go to the army or furnish a substitute. He stated further that he had made the exchange for the purpose of using Humphrey as his substitute.

The exchange and its object were soon known throughout the entire community. There was much indignation among the Negroes. One could hear them on all sides complaining that the white folks had not permitted them to go earlier with their young masters to fight the Yankees and now they were going to force them to join the Yankees and shoot their young masters. It looked as if there would be open revolt. The colored people were never the same after this episode. Humphrey was the first of their race to become a Union soldier from Old Cane Springs. He was a son of Alfred and Jennie, who were owned by Cabell Chenault, and a grandson of Aunt Creech Sally. There was much complaint in the quarters when he went away to take the place of his master in the service. Many reasons were given why he should not have been forced to go, but the objections were of no avail. Mr. Hugueley declared that he could not afford to go and that his man must substitute for him.

Other drafted men throughout the county furnished Negro substitutes and the whole colored population of the county became aroused. These substitutions at first influenced the Negroes to object to joining the Federal army, notwithstanding the fact that the Union soldiers treated them with the greatest consideration. While none of them could write, letters came promptly every week to their parents. The Negroes seemed pleased with their new surroundings. They usually sent their monthly pay to their folks at home, and they always closed their letters with an appeal to their relatives to visit them in camp. This permission was finally given by the masters, and the greatest kindnesses and favors were shown these visitors.
By January, 1864, sentiment among the Negroes toward joining the Union army had entirely changed, a condition which those who had been the first to be forced into the service helped to bring about. It might be said, therefore, of the many white Southern sympathizers who had remained at home and who had been drafted into the Union army, that they, by their substitutions, contributed to the influences which caused the Negroes to enlist in the Federal service. On one occasion Alfred returned from visiting Humphrey and notified his master that he could not bear to be away from his son, whom he had promised to visit again in a week. In fact, he stated that he expected to join the army, and he did, making another Negro from Old Cane Springs to enlist. He told his master that there was likely to be a second draft and that he might become a substitute, and if he did, he would not fare as well, so he had been told in camp, as he would as a volunteer. This information must have been given generally to the Negroes, judging from the fact that the younger men began disappearing from every plantation. By early spring all of the able-bodied Negroes of proper age had joined the Union army. Gloomy indeed was the outlook for farming in 1864.

BLACK MEMBERSHIP IN NO CREEK, OHIO CO, CHURCH, 1865-69

TINSLEY, NO CREEK, OHIO CO, 1953

p 82/ The author is quoting from the Minutes of the Kentucky Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which was held at Winchester, Ky., Aug. 30, 1939, which had a historical sketch of no creek.

p 83/ Quoting the minutes it says:

"White Methodists had cared for the spiritual life of the Negroes from the first. They were members of the same church. Though deprived of some of the honors in the church, the colored people shared the means of grace, listening to the ministry of white men or unordained colored ministers subject to the white pastor. When they were freed in 1865, a large number reunited, while others joined the Methodist Episcopal Church for the first time. In 1866 the Kentucky Conference admitted five colored preachers who were formed into the "Colored Mission Board," with R. G. Gardiner, a white Presiding Elder. Gardiner developed preachers, erected churches and established day schools. The work progressed inextent and thoroughness. Twenty colored preachers attended the 1867 Conference. By 1869, there were 3,526 members of churches. At their own request the preachers of color, with Bishop Scott's assistance, organized the Lexington Conference at Harrodsburg."


p 91/ When talking about the "First (Sinking Creek) Baptist Church the author says:

"The colored Baptist Church grew out of this church. The following motion is found in one of the old record books dated July 1867: 'On motion and second our colored brothers and sisters in good and regular standing will be granted letters for constitution upon application.'"

p 94/ Blacks were members of the white church until 1867. "At that time they organized a church separate from the white church and named it 'The First Baptist Church, Colored, Somerset, Kentucky.' It is reported that the Reverend John Southerland and the Reverend Henry Curd, first pastor of the new church, were the organizers." lists some pastors as John Coggin, A. W. Puller, J. W. Lackey, P. H. Clark, W. H. Williams, A. F. Martin, R. L. Childs, E. B. Johnson, and W. B. Wood.

"If all reports are true, this church was organized and the first services were held in an old cow shed on Elm Street between North Main and Maple Streets. After a few months, the church members bought a lot fronting on Maple Street--sixty feet, running north from Elm, and back to Main Street. Here they built a house of worship which they soon outgrew. They remodeled it and worshiped in it until a storm wrecked their building, in March, 1913, and they were forced to build a new house of worship."
DAVIS CHAPEL A. M. E. CHURCH (COLORED)

Davis Chapel A. M. E. Church (colored) was organized in the late sixties, and a schoolhouse near Allen's Branch served as a meeting place. In 1868, Galen Gibson, a schoolteacher, leased the old Masonic Hall, located on the north side of the Fountain Square, and it was used until June 22, 1875. On that date, Major Nelson, John Gaines, and Galen Gibson purchased the site on which the church now stands, at the foot of Harvey Hill, Main Street. This lot was purchased from Jane Stephenson for the sum of $300.00.

The first known minister was Major Nelson, who was followed by the Reverend David Armstrong. The Reverend Robert Davis was the next pastor, and under his supervision was erected the present church, which still bears his name.

POST CIVIL WAR BLACK SCHOOLS, HANCOCK CO

c a clinton, hist hancock co, np, nd

p 72/ Hancock Co. apparently had four black school districts in the post-Civil War period. "These four colored districts followed pre-Civil War slavery distribution closely; one district was in Lewisport, a second at Robert Costain Beauchamp's plantation, a third in Hawesville, and the fourth in Scuffletown. Local tradition has it that Scuffletown was settled by ex-slaves from Breckenridge County." this was apparently taken from Commissioner Duncan's 1875 report; see Henderson 1875: 199.

p 11/ Author mentions that Robert Costain Beauchamp had an extensive bottom land farm of 5,000 acres, worked by 90 slaves before the Civil War.
p 9 / Fee was born in Bracken Co, Ky, Sept 9, 1816. His father was John Fee, of Scotch and English descent. His father owned 13 slaves during John G.'s youth. /p 10/ As a lad Fee says he thought nothing about the "inherent sinfulness of slavery." /p 12/ Called to the ministry, Fee entered Augusta College in Bracken Co, at Autusta. After 2 1/2 years he transferred to Miami University at Oxford, Ohio, where he finished his

p 13/ in classical study, except for the last term which he took at Augusta College, before entering Lane Theological Seminary in 1842. /p 14/ at Lane Fee, convinced of the evil of slavery prayed, "Lord, if needs be, make me an Abolitionist." /p 17/ Upon learning that young John G. Fee had decided to work for the freedom of slaves in Kentucky, his father wrote saying, "Bundle up you books and come home; I have spent the last dollar I mean to spend on you in a free State." Fee went home at the end of his 2r year at Lane. /p 20/ John G.'s father procured numerous books that back up slavery as religiously correct, and attempted to answer all of John G.'s arguments. /p 24/ married, goes to Lewis Co preach /p 25/ accepts Lewis Co church, and applied to American Home missionary Society for financial aid. Returned to Bracken Co and preached a sermon on slavery at the Court House. People were upset. "Threats of violence were made...." /p 49/ Expelled from the Presbyterian, New School, church in 1845, Fee started what seems to have been independent churches call "Church of Christ at____ as designating the local church." /p 56/ In 1848 Fee was given a commission by the American Missionary Association. /p 136/ Fee and others met at Fee's house to________ draw up a constitution for Berea College, 1858.

p 25/ Fee returned from Lewis Co, where he had been "called" to a church to Bracken Co, where he had scheduled a speech at the court house on slavery. /p 26/ "Threats of violence were made, and with these came entreaties from relatives and friends to withdraw the appointment." Fee told them that when he makes an appointment, he goes to it.

"I went to the appointment,--my wife with me. James Hawkins, then the nominal slave of my father-in-law, went also, but 'followed afar off.' He went not to be seen as a hearer, but to guard the horses and saddles of myself and wife, and this of his own devising;--not known to us. We found in the court house a small audience of men. I delivered my lecture and we came quietly home.+  

"My father was so incensed that he said, 'Enter not my door again.' After some two weeks I preached a sermon in Sharon church house. My father was present. After sermon he invited me and Matilda, my wife, to go home with him. Though he opened, for a time, the door of his house, he never opened the door of his heart to the sentiments of freedom to the slave, or to the doctrine of doing /p 27/ unto men as he would they should do unto him."
WORSHIPED IN WHITE CHURCHES

FEE DESCRIBES HOW BLACKS WORSHIPPED IN WHITE CHURCHES

FEE, Autobiography, 1891

p 60/ Fee describes a situation of black worship in a church part of his family (father) attended: 

"Here, slaves, though members with their masters, were not allowed to sit in the same part of the church house nor at the same time partake of the Lord's Supper with their white fellow Christians. The slaves at this time sat in a gallery at the end of the church house, and when white Christians had been served, one of the elders would say: 'Now you black ones, if you wish to commune, come down.' This they did by an outside, uncovered rough stairway, and then around outside the house came on to the doors of entrance, and facing the congregation came to the seats /begin

p 61/ vacated for them, and thus ate the Lord's Supper. Thus did slaves indeed 'strive to enter into the kingdom of heaven.'"

Intelligence came to me that my brother had advised my father to sell the woman referred to, for the reason that there were more women in the family than were needed.

I said to my wife: "I cannot redeem all slaves, nor even all in my father's family, but the labors of Julett and her husband contributed in part to the purchase of the land I yet own in Indiana, and to sell those lands and redeem her will be in some measure returning to her and her husband what they have toiled for." My wife said: "Do what you think is right." I took my horse, rode twenty-five miles to my father's house and spent the night. In the morning of the next day I sought an opportunity when my father was alone, and having learned that he would sell, asked what he would take for Julett. He fixed his price. I said: "Will you sell her to me if I bring to you the money?" He said yes. I immediately rode to Germantown and borrowed the money without delay my father could sign it, before he even returned from the field at noon. I tendered to him the money and the bill of sale. He signed the bill of sale, and took the money. I immediately went to "Add," the husband of Julett, and told him I had bought Julett and should immediately secure by law her freedom. I said to him: "I would gladly redeem you but I have not the means." He replied: "I am glad you can free her; I can take care of myself better than she can." I went to the house, wrote a perpetual pass for the woman, gave it to her, and said, "You are a free woman; be in bondage to no man." Tears of gratitude ran down her sable cheeks. I then told her that at the first county-court day I would take her to the clerk's office, where her height could be taken and she be otherwise described, and a record of her freedom made. This was just before the amendment to the State Constitution that forbade...
father came in and told my mother of the transaction. My mother was displeased, did not want to spare the woman from certain work for which she was fitted. My father came to me and requested that I cancel the contract and give up the bill of sale. I said to him, “Here is my horse, and I have a house and lot in Lewis County; I will give them to you if you so desire; but to sell a human being I may not.” He became very angry and went to the freed woman and said to her, “When you leave this house never put your foot on my farm again, for I do not intend to have a free nigger on my farm.” The woman, the wife and mother, came to me and said, “Master says if I leave here I shall never come back again; I cannot leave my children; I would rather go back into slavery.” I said, I have done what I regarded as my duty. To now put you back into slavery, I cannot. We must simply abide the consequences. The woman was in deep distress and helpless as a child. Although I had my horse and was ready to ride, I felt I could not leave the helpless one until a way of relief should open. After a time Julett came to me and said, “As long as mistress shall live I can stand it; I would rather stay.” I said, “You are a free woman and must make your own decision. If my father will furnish to you a home, and clothe and feed you, and you shall choose as a free woman to stay, all well; but to sell you back into slavery, I cannot.” To this proposition to furnish a home to the freed woman my father agreed. There was now a home for the freed woman, and this with her husband and children and grand-children.

That day of agony was over and eventide had come. I spent the night. The next morning just as I was about starting back to my home, my father said to me, “Julett is here on my premises, and I will sell her before sundown if I can.” I turned to him and said, “Father, I am now that woman’s only guardian. Her husband cannot protect her, I only can. I must do as I would be done by; and though it is hard for me to now say to you what I intended to say, yet if you sell that woman, I will prosecute you for so doing, as sure as you are a man.” I saw the peril of the defenseless woman. I would gladly have cast from me the cup of a further contest, but I saw that to leave her, though now a free woman, was not the end of obligation. I felt forcibly the applicability of the words, “Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord negligently, and cursed be he that keepeth back the sword from blood.” Jer. 48: 10. I mounted my horse and rode twelve miles where I could get legal counsel, counsel on which I could rely. I found that if I left the woman on my father’s premises without any public record of her having been sold, the fact was his property and that he could sell her. I also found that in as much as he had sold her to me, I could, by law, compel him to do that which was just and right, make a record of the fact of sale. I rode back twelve miles, told my father what was his legal obligation, and asked him to conform to it. He said he would not. I then said to him, “It will be a hard trial for me to arraign my father in a civil court, for neglect of justice to a helpless woman, and also for a plain violation of law; but I will do so, as sure as you are a man, if you do not make the required record of sale.” After hesitation and delay he made the record. These were hours of distress to me, to my father, to my mother, and to the ransomed woman; but the only way to ultimate peace, was to hold on rigidly to the right; though in so doing I had, in the Gospel sense, to leave father, mother, brother, sisters, houses, lands, and all. This I did.
The legal process ended, the woman was then secure, and in a home, for the time being, with her husband and children. Not long after this my mother died. The services of the freed woman were the more needed where she then was. To her were born, into freedom, three more children. About this time her husband, through a friend, found the record of the time of his bond service. He, by legal process, secured his freedom and recovered several hundred dollars, as compensation for services rendered beyond the time he should have enjoyed his liberty.

After a time the freed woman decided to take her three free children and go to Ohio, where she could have better opportunities for herself and her little ones. The war of 1861-5 was approaching. Information came to her that my brother, whose home was in New Orleans, La., would, on his return from New York, take all the slave children South. This mother determined to try to save her children from such a fate, and get them, if possible, into freedom. She came to Kentucky to the old home. In the night season she gathered together two sons, three daughters and four grand-children. (Another son had previously been sold, another slave had gone "to parts unknown".) One of these daughters and three grand-children had to be gathered from an adjoining county. Monday morning the mother, with five children and three grand-children, appeared on the banks of the Ohio river. The sun had already risen and the friends on the other side had gone. The mother, her children and grand-children were captured and put into jail for safe keeping. My father immediately sold all but the freed woman to a slave trader, who shipped all of them to the South. From these we have never heard even a trace.

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SLAVE WOMAN ARRESTED FOR ATTEMPTING TO FREE CHILDREN

fee, autobiography, 1891

p 67/ Fee was away in the East /Massachusetts/ when Julett attempted to rescue her children. On the way home he met Levi Coffin in Cincinnati who told him of the occurrence. Fee went to his father who answered that he had sold all those involved in Julett's attempted rescue. Fee attempted to get John D. Gregg / begin p 66/ to provide bail for Julett. While arranging bail with their guarantee that Julett would appear at her trial, "a young attorney came up and served a writ on the woman for stealing slaves (her own child and three grand-children) from another county. The woman was immediately remanded to prison." Fee's wife went to the prison and attempted to see Julett. The Jailer's wife allowed Mrs. Fee to talk to Julett, though they could not see each other. "My wife approached and called. Julett knew her voice and cried out, 'Oh, Mis' Tilda; where is Master Gregg?' (Gregg is my middle name; I was known by that name in boyhood days.) My wife said, 'H is eastward,---in Massachusetts.' Then she cried /begin p 69/ out, 'Oh, Mis' Tilda, what will they do with me?' My wife replied, 'They can do no more than send you to the penitentiary; don't be distressed. You have committed no crime; for what mother would not try to get her children out of slavery?' My wife said she could then hear the young mothers and their children crying and sobbing below. My wife again said to Julett, 'They can only send you to Frankfort' (the place of the State's prison). 'We will come to see you there.' The woman was tried and sentenced to the State prison.
FEE BUILT CHURCH 1848 WHICH ALLOWED BLACKS WORSHIP AS WHITES

FEE, autobiography, 1891

p 57/ Fee had been preaching in a school house, but it became apparent they needed a bigger church. When they decided to build, Fee asked:"Shall the seats be free?" meaning /p 58/ could "a colored man, free or slave" attend? John D. Gregg said yes, others said no. Some took part of their subscription back over this issue, but finally others increased theirs. The church was built.

FEE VISITS FREE BLACK WOMAN IN FRANKFORT JAIL (imprisoned for attempting to free children—see note 621)

FEE, autobiography, 1891

I decided that on my way to Worcester, Mass., I would take my family to visit Julett Miles, the imprisoned mother, yet in the State's prison at Frankfort, Ky., as narrated in chapter third.

We arrived at Frankfort on Saturday afternoon. We went to the prison and saw the keeper, Mr. South. We inquired for "Julett," the colored woman sent there from Bracken County for attempting to get her children into freedom. "Yes," said he, "she is at my house. I took her out of prison to help my daughter. I thought she looked like a Christian woman." The reader will note the fact that men and women were deemed valuable in proportion as they had Christ in them,—in proportion as they were temples of the Holy Spirit,—they were the more trustworthy. The keeper of the prison having assured us that night, leaving my wife with the three smaller children at the hotel, I took Laura, my daughter, then fourteen years old, and went to the colored Baptist church, and listened to a very effective sermon delivered by a portly, fine-looking colored man, whose name was Monroe. I was present in the early part of the services. I heard the earnest prayers, the familiar songs, the low plaintive symphonies of the women,—of mothers whose bosoms had been the seats of sorrows. I had heard these low wailings before; but a series of experiences, and my situation at that time, all conspired to bring me more fully into sympathy with the sorrowing. I sat and quietly wept—wept with continuous weeping. I was in deep sympathy with burdened
We then inquired of the keeper for Calvin Fairbanks, a white man, who was then in the prison under sentence for aiding away slaves. We were told that he was in his cell,—"not well." My wife heard the whisper from some one of the employes that he had been whipped and kept in his cell for not completing his task of work the day before. Fairbanks, who usually led the worship in the chapel, not being present, I was requested to conduct the worship. I did so, and preached to the assembled convicts. I had this observation whilst there: that Fairbanks was the leader of worship, and Julett Miles the house maid. The Negro stealers were, by the keeper himself, adjudged as having the highest measure of piety, and therefore given the posts of trust.

The next morning we were privileged to see Fairbanks for a short time. Calvin Fairbanks was a native of the State of New York. He had been sentenced to twenty years imprisonment for aiding slaves to escape. He remained in prison twelve years. During the war, in the absence of the Governor, he was pardoned by the Lieutenant-Governor. He is now living in his native State, honored and loved.
The thing indicated to me was this: Until the work on the battlefield shall be first settled, there will be no permanency, or marked progress in your work here, either in school or church:—go do your part. That part, as I then believed, was moral, religious; rather than physical,—the actual bearing of arms. I had hitherto no confidence that the government would succeed, until it began to “break every yoke and let the oppressed go free”; until it began to enlist men as men,—and not merely as white men. I also knew that just at that time colored men were being enlisted in Kentucky. I believed I knew more about the movements of the government and the feelings of the people North, than these colored men did, and that there were reasons why I could instruct, comfort and encourage them,—reasons why they would hear me, and also reasons why loyal white men would hear me.

Without counsel from, or commission from any board, I immediately prepared to go; took my eldest son, my dear Burritt, then living, and on the next Saturday started for Camp Nelson, thirty-five miles distant.

I found there two regiments of colored men, forming,—not complete. The next day, Lord’s day, I mingled freely with these colored soldiers and their officers; and at night preached to a large assemblage of them. This was to me, and to many of these men, a melting occasion. We saw then, in its first unfolding, what we had long and anxiously prayed for,—“the beginning of the end”—the freedom of men, white and colored; freedom in such manner as would give prestige to the latter, and sympathy from the former.

On Monday morning I went to the office of the Quartermaster, then in Camp Nelson, Ky., to secure, if possible, a place for religious service and regular preaching. I found the Quartermaster at his post,—a live man. I told him who I was, and what I wanted. He immediately replied, “I know you,—all about you, and have for years. My home is Holden, Mass. I will give you every facility I can. But,” said he, “we want teaching for these colored men as well as preaching. They, especially the non-commissioned officers, need to be taught to write,—sign their names to their reports.” I said, “Furnish me a house and desks, and I will secure teachers,—do the work.” He agreed to do so. I then went to the commandant of the camp, Gen. S. S. Fry, whose home was then in Danville, Ky. He was and is a Christian gentleman. He gave to the proposed work his hearty endorsement; and within eight days Capt. T. E. Hall, who

thirty feet wide and a hundred feet long, furnished with writing tables. Teachers were secured, and the colored soldiers instructed.

At my request Edward Harwood, of Cincinnati, forwarded a large bell,—the bell that now hangs in the belfry of Howard Hall, Berea. This was speedily mounted on a derrick, and at stated hours called soldiers to class, and, at other hours, the people to worship.

I secured instructors for these men. They were intensely eager to learn how to make reports and write their names. Gen. Fry was interested in this help to his soldiery, and occasionally by his personal presence and words of exhortation encouraged the men to efforts of perseverance. There was now no fear that these men would write passports for freedom. Time was going on, and most of the
Nor should any one be surprised if, from associations of the past, I should be greatly attached to that beautiful spot, Camp Nelson; the cradle of liberty to central Kentucky. There the thousands, men, women and children, received their passports from government officials, into that freedom which naturally is the heritage of all men. May that place, as well as Berea, be a fountain of good to the State, and ever free from Rum, Caste, Sect and Secretism. I wish some one, by his or her means, would lift the school and church there into yet higher efficiency.

There was another phase of the work at Camp Nelson, then of interest to me, and connected by principle and effect with the work at Berea. The enlistment of colored men at Camp Nelson was soon followed by the coming of their wives and children. These were at first driven out of the camp at the point of the bayonet. Thus sent back, they were exposed to the cruelty of their former masters. I saw indignation rising in the hearts and showing itself in the actions of the colored soldiers. I went to the officials and said to them, "This driving back of wives and children will breed mutiny in your camp unless you desist." The reply was, "What will you do?—will you leave the women and children with the soldiers? That will never do." I said, "No; I would draw a picket line and put the women in the west end of the camp, which is abundantly large and encircled by Kentucky river and cliffs four hundred feet high. Such a natural fortification, high, beautiful, and well-watered, was not anywhere else found in the State." "But," said the Quartermaster, "I can do nothing in the way of shelter without an order from the Secretary of War." I replied, "I know Secretary Chase personally. I will prepare a paper to be sent to his care." "Do so," said the Quartermaster, "and I will sign it."

The paper was forwarded. Quickly an order came from Stanton, the Secretary of War, for the construction of buildings; and in a short time the Quartermaster had ninety-two cottages erected as homes for families, two larger buildings as hospitals for sick women and children, and other buildings as school-rooms and offices, boarding hall, and dormitory for teachers, steward and family.
Spending, as I did, a Sabbath in a neighboring city, I saw in the congregation (colored) a young woman of light complexion, whose manner, as she came to the altar to partake of the Lord's Supper, favorably impressed me. I inquired of the pastor who she was. He told me she was a member of that church, with fair education and good parentage. Immediately it occurred to me that she was the woman with whom to test the caste question among the teachers at Camp Nelson, and set the precedent of giving positions to colored persons as fast as prepared for such. Monday morning I called on her parents and told them my wish and plan. I suggested to them and the daughter what might be the opposition; but such, I said, would be un-Christian-like, and the sooner met the better, and that perhaps the daughter was "raised up for a time like this." They consented to the arrangement, and on Wednesday the young lady was at the office of the school-building. Immediately I assigned to her a room in the dormitory, and put her in charge of a class of pupils. At the dinner hour I gave to her in the common dining-hall a chair and place at the table at which I presided. The presence of this young lady at one of the several tables in the common dining-hall, produced a sensation. A chaplain to one of the regiments, whose home was down in Maine, together with some officers also boarding at the hall, protested against this young woman's eating in the common dining-hall. All the lady teachers (white) sent there by the American Missionary Association and the Freedman's Aid Society, refused, with two exceptions, to come to the first tables whilst the young woman was eating. She was, in person, tidy, modest, comely. It is just to say that the secretaries of the American Missionary Association would not have endorsed the action of those teachers, who thus refused to eat at the common table with such a teacher as the one referred to.

A major, whose home was in Illinois, and the steward, whose home was in the same State, came to me and suggested that I remove the young woman. I saw the moment for decision had come, and in a quiet manner said, "I will suffer my right arm torn from my body before I will remove the young woman." And that they might see that I was not arbitrary in my decision, I said, "The young woman is fitted for her position; she is modest and discreet; she is a Christian, and as such, Christ's representative. What I do to her I do to him." Both of these men were professing Christians, and one of them a local preacher, at home.

The steward said his wife would not give the young woman a plate. I replied, "Then she shall have mine, and I will have another"; for the control had been given to me, and I meant to keep it, and use it.

That one, who was then a young woman, is now the wife of one of the trustees of Berea College. Events like summer clouds often
During the latter part of the war, for some fifteen months, I gave most of my time and labor to the work in Camp Nelson, Ky. Whilst there I organized a school and gathered together believers into a church, delivered from rum, secretism and sect. The church and school remain free from rum, sect and secretism up to the present time. I saw

then, as now, the importance of such a church and school in that central part of the State; in the midst of an immense colored population, and in a region fertile and beautiful. I tried to induce others to buy lands there, parcel out and give facilities for a self-sustaining community. No one would do so. My own patrimony was spent. By my wife selling what land she had in a free State (where there was progress) and myself borrowing five hundred dollars, we could then secure there for the purpose suggested, 130 acres of land. Knowing that the investment must be relatively and largely a sinking fund, we secured the land, and divided it into lots and small tracts. Forty-two families have now their own homes there, and thus give home patronage to school and church. The Academy has 107 acres of land, and two good buildings. A charter has been secured from the State Legislature for the village and the Academy. Some man or woman could now do a good work there by building up a good industrial department.

The family at home, /Castleman/ is a pretty respectable church among themselves; they have many black people, a number of them have been lately baptized. Two of their black men, Marlock and James, can not only read, but have been preacher's for a number of years.
Trial of John B. Mahan for helping a Ky slave escape (1838)

Jos b Reid & Henry R Reeder, Reporters, Trial of Rev John B. Mahan

P 23/ the defense lawyer, J. C. Vaughan, defined the charges that Mahan had helped a slave of William Greathouse, one John, to escape from Ky. in June 1838. P 16/ Mahan was accused by the prosecution of being part of a "... connecting chain of friends, from Kentucky, running all the way to Canada,..." P 33/ defense continued that Mahan must be tried in the Sate where the offense is committed; that he committed no offense in Ky.

Pp 3-88/ the evidence in the case is heard. The trial took place in Mason Circuit Court of Ky, Nov 13-19, 1838. P 79/ There was apparently great interest in the case, the court room crowded.

P 87/ In a letter to a friend dated "Sardinia, Brown County, Ohio, Nov. 29, 1838" Mahan told Brother L. Sunderland, that he was not part of a chain running through Ohio and on to Canada which aided escaped slaves. P 88/ in letter stated that not more than 4 fugitive slaves passed through his residence in Sardinia and that he had never seen more than 7 or 8 persons whom he suspected to be runaways.

P 85/ Mahan was found not guilty, apparently because the court lacked jurisdiction, which was the argument of the defense.

UNDERWOOD'S PLANS AS TO WHOM SHOULD BE COLONIZED (1835)

Underwood, Address to Col Soc of Ky, 1835.

P 10/ "In a system of colonization, which shall have for its object the extermination of slavery, it is unwise to colonize children and old people. They cannot work. They require nursing, and consequently the adult colonists would be withdrawn from their labors, in erecting houses, opening plantations, and the thousand other necessary pursuits, to watch over the feebleness of infancy and the decrepitude of old age. Such a burden would materially retard the prosperity of any colony. It has been injuriously felt in Liberia. To avoid such drawbacks, the female colonists should be in their sixteenth or seventeenth year, and the males from twenty to twenty-five. Thus selected, they should be sent to Africa, there to form matrimonial connexions. Under such a plan, there would be but few, comparatively speaking, fit for colonization; and much less money would be required than most persons imagine." Earlier in the paragraph Underwood estimated a total cost for state's slaves to be sent at $5,782,455. goes on on pages 10-11 to make a statistical study to show that the age groups he has chosen would soon greatly diminish the number of blacks in KY P 11/ that is, 1/2 born below age 17 die, thus wait until age 17 to send them, thus saving money. etc. P 14/ "By removing two thousand female slaves annually, sixteen or seventeen years of age, we should get clear of the stock before we were burdened with the increase, and when the last of that age were sent, there would remain behind but a few superannuated slaves, who, whatever we might owe them. ... If the people of Kentucky could only be induced to adopt this plan, ... in fifty years from the time it shall be put into operation, it will be rid of its blacks, and be as free of it as any white country in the world."
UNDERWOOD CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY BLACKS DON'T WANT TO GO TO LIBERIA  1832
underwood, address col soc in BG, 1832

p 8/
*I cannot refrain putting the question to the free negroes, why will you remain among us subject to all the disadvantages under which you labor in this country, when by your emigration to Africa you might obtain the level of true freedom? Why will you not seek scope for enterprise in the land of your fathers, and there rise in the scale of being, and become instruments in the hand of God, to carry blessings to your brethren? If wealth, and honor, and comfort are desirable, Africa is the field where you may find them.*
Goes on to say he is looking toward the gradual extinction of blacks in America through colonization.

CLAY TELLS KY COL SOC OF SUPERIORITY OF WHITE RACE

h clay, address to col soc of ky, 1830  speech 1829

p 4/ Clays says that blending the white and colored and/or Indian races tends to diminish the white portion. Clearly believes in the superiority of white race. Clay is apparently talking to people who believe the same thing.
p 7/ Clay convinced slavery has retarded prosperity of Ky. / p 18/ talks about the evils and degradations that befall free blacks everywhere.
"I was born in Lexington, Ky. The man who stole me as soon as I was born, recorded the births of all the infants which he claimed to be born his property, in a book which he kept for that purpose. My mother's name was Elizabeth. She had seven children, viz.: Solomon, Leander, Benjamin, Joseph, Millford, Elizabeth, and myself. No two of us were children of the same father. My father's name, as I learned from my mother, was George Higgins. He was a white man, a relative of my master, and connected with some of the first families in Kentucky." Brown says that his owner had 40 slaves, and moved to Missouri while Brown was still young. "quite young"
ACCOUNT OF LIFE OF DELIA A. WEBSTER (who helped slaves escape) 637

d a webster, ky jurisprudence, his of trial of webster, 1845.

p 5/ Says early in 1843 she visited Ky with a friends and was asked to start a school in Lexington, by Rev N H. Hall, pastor of the 1st Presby. church. /p 6/ She remained at the small school until her arrest. "About the 1st of September, 1844, Mr. Fairbank, a Methodist preacher, from the State of New York, took boarding at the same house with misel, and on one or two occasions preached on the Sabbath." Fairbank made frequent excursions into the countryside, he said to take letters, etc., and he invited Miss Webster to attend. She could not because of the school. One time Fairbank asked her to go on a trip for the week-end, and upon reflection, she agreed. /pp 6-16/ Miss Webster tells difficulties of the trip, horse getting sick, delays, etc. return to Paris. /pp 10-11/ Fairbank accused of killing the horse that got sick by a Mr. Craig. /p 12/ "They then seized hold of him and took him into the bar-room." Miss Webster was taken to the "Megowan Hotel" where she began to feel herself a captive. The next morning Webster went to the window and saw a crowd around Fairbank, some shouting "Abolitionist" and "threatening his life. Some proposed to hang him." /p 17/ Miss Webster spoke to Fairbank from an upstairs window. Mrs. Megowan entered the room and told her to desist. "I then requested to see Mr. Clay, as I was quite inconsistent for me to spare so much time. She abruptly answered 'You have already had business enough with Mr. Clay, in stealing negroes. He ought to be in jail himself.' When she heard Fairbank in pain she looked out the window and he being put in irons and injured by the pouding.

ACCOUNT OF LIFE OF DELIA A WEBSTER (who helped slaves escape) 637-A

d a webster, ky jurisprudence, his of trial of webster, 1845

p 19/ She heard more shouting outside, but was fearful to look out the window. She saw a helpless prisoner. /p 20/ She saw "Poor Israel, (the hackman,) was kneeling on the pavement, pleading for his life. He was an old man, a true and faithful servant, a humble Christian,..." He was whipped. /p 21/ Mr. Thos. B. Megowan entered her room, with her trunks and asked her to open them. She refused, but eventually opened them. They were apparently looking for letters. /p 22/ Webster told that Israel had told them all. /page 23/ That day Webster placed under 4 indictments, and $5,000 bond. /p 24/ The next day she awoke annoyed by the clanking of iron in a nearby courtyard, "and looked out to see what was the matter. The prisoners were let into the yard to take their breakfast. Mr. Fairbank, and two negroes condemned to be executed, were trying to move about in their irons. O, what a sight! They could scarcely move their feet at all. Mr. F. fell several times, and appeared low spirited and disconsolate." She spoke to him but he did not reply vocally. /p 2/ She was told she would be put in irons and placed in the dungeon "already crowded with black women, where the naked floor was to be my only bed." She finally got counsel and was not sent to the dungeon.
WEBSTER DENIES ENTICING SLAVES TO LEAVE KY (in letter to Richard Buckner, judge of Fayette Circuit Ct)

(webster, ky jurisprudence, 1845)  
(written from Lexington Jail, 11-23-1844)

p 31/ "I have wronged no one. I have injured no one. I have never in any way, shape or manner seduced or endeavored to seduce any servant whatsoever to leave his or her master or mistress. Nothing could be farther from my heart." written from Lexington jail, Nov 23, 1844.

/p 33/ When sent to the "Megowan Hotel" Webster thought she was in a hotel, not the jail.  
/p 56/ Megowan Hotel = a hotel.

EVIDENCE IN "FRATER" LETTER OF FAIRBANK INVOLVING MISS WEBSTER

(webster, kentucky jurisprudence, 1845)

p 50/ A letter dated Lexington, Sept. 24, 1844, was found on Fairbank when he was arrested.  
/p 52/ "Seven, yea, five days, and I shall know, and you, as soon as these reach you. Miss W. will not come away, but will come across the river with us; then I shall have to put these on the daily or underground line and send them on, till I go back with Miss W.+

"I must go back with her, because the people will suppose us to have gone riding, or rather to spend the Sabbath in another place, and it would create suspicion if I were not to return with her." /p 54/ goes on to say: "I am taking up my board with the same family with whom Miss W. boards, and in whose house she teaches; no such apprehensions have as yet been entertained of me or her." XXXX the letter is signed "Frater"  
/p 55/ Miss Webster found guilty.  
/p 56/ Apprantly the Megowan Hotel was a hotel with about 100 guests!  
/p 59/ Though claiming not to be guilty, Miss Webster asked Governor William Owsley for a pardon. He refused.  
/p 60/ Miss Webster moved for a new trial.  
/p 68/ In a sworn affidavit of Dec. 23, 1844, after her trial, Calvin Fairbank denied that Miss Webster had anything to do with the escape of "Lewis, wife and child." This was to try to help her get a new trial.  
/p 79/ A few days after Miss Webster arrived at the penitentiary, it was proposed that she accept a pardon and then leave the state forever.  
/p 80/ Miss Webster was reluctant to accept the proposition as long as there were indictments pending against her, and she preferred not having to promise never to return.  
/p 82/ On Feb. 24, 1845, she was awarded a "Free and Full Pardon."
REV. S. E. SMITH, D. D.

Among the most enterprising, progressive and loyal men of the race will be found the subject of our sketch, who first saw the light of day in Barren County, Kentucky, in 1839. When a mere lad, through the death of his father, he was thrown out on the world to eke out a living for himself and widowed mother. Through close application to work and study he, early in life, mastered the common school branches and turned his attention to higher studies. In 1874 he professed a hope in Christ and became a member of the Baptist Church. In 1881 he entered the State University at Louisville, Ky., from which he afterwards graduated with honors. When quite young he became identified with every move effected for the elevation and advancement of his race in the State. He was the founder of the “Young Men’s Progressive Band,” of Louisville, now known as the Atheneum. But few colored men of the South have been more active in political matters than Rev. Smith. In 1884 he was a member of the National Republican Convention of Chicago, which nominated Blaine and Logan. Afterwards, in the same year, he was made Chairman of a mass meeting in that city which organized the Waiters’ Union. He was among the first to organize the societies which now constitute the “Baptist Women’s Educational Convention” at that time being closely associated with Dr. W. J. Simmons. In 1886 he was a member of a committee which appeared before the Senate in Frankfort, in behalf of just laws for the colored people of the State, at which he distinguished himself by delivering an able, scholarly and earnest address in behalf of his race. In 1886 he was ordained to preach the Gospel, and has since made for himself a valuable reputation as a pulpit orator and a successful pastor, and occupies a prominent position among the foremost Baptist clergymen of the country. He is a trustee of the State University and takes an active part in educational matters, as well as everything else that pertains to the elevation and advancement of his people in the State. But few men in the State enjoy the social prominence that Rev. S. E. Smith does. As a political organizer he is known to have but few equals. He enjoys the distinction of having been a delegate to every National Republican Convention for the past twelve years. He is the present pastor of the Fourth Street Baptist Church of Owensboro, Ky., at which place he is erecting a magnificent $20,000 brick church edifice. He has been very active in the field of benevolence.
BIOGRAPHY OF J. M. TURNER (rev)
smith, ed, anti-separate coach

In 1851 Rev. J. M. Turner, the subject of this sketch, was born in Lexington, Ky., of slave parents and remained there until 1858 or 1859, when he was taken to Arkansas, where he remained until 1865. Here, he spent his early life in pursuits common to the average slave child. On returning to Lexington, he entered the Freedman's Aid School, where he first learned the rudiments of English. On leaving school he entered, as an apprentice, to learn the bricklayer's trade.

In 1874 he joined the A. M. E. Conference and was given his first field of labor by the Rt. Rev. Daniel A. Payne and for twenty years has devoted his life to the upbuilding of the cause of Christ and the advancement of the A. M. E. Church. As a laborer in the vineyard his work speaks for itself. For sixteen years he has been a member of the General Conference, and as a law-maker has made for himself a valuable reputation. He has also been a member of the financial board of the A. M. E. Church for eight years. The following work stands, for Rev. Turner, a living monument and will speak for him long after he has gone. Possibly no divine has been more active in the state than he, or has accomplished more since entering the ministry. He has been successful in erecting the leading churches in the state. At Versailles he erected an edifice in 1877 at a cost of $6,500; at Danville, 1881, at a cost of $8,000; at

Frankfort in 1893 $9,000. He is now presiding elder of the Lexington District of the A. M. E. Church, and is chairman of the State Executive Committee of the anti-separate coach movement. As a worker he has been conscientious and indefatigable; as an officer, proficient and impartial, and as a citizen he stands high, demanding the respect of all who know him. As a race advocate he has no superiors in the state. He has been closely identified with the elevation and advancement of his race in this state for the past two decades. In 1884 he was elected a member of the General Sunday School Board of the A. M. E. S. S. Union in Baltimore, and was one among those to select and purchase the present property owned in Nashville by the Union. By economy and business management Rev. Turner has been successful in accumulating good property, owning two houses and lots in Danville, Ky. In 1869 he was married to a young lady of Lexington by the name of Miss Nettie Spencer, and is the father of a happy family. In Rev. Turner's life there is inspiration and hope for emulation by the worthy young men of the race who are struggling against odds to enroll their names among our successful men.
As a leader, a race worker and a thinker, the subject of our sketch stands without a superior in the state of Kentucky. He has been a leading figure in the movement against the "Separate School Law" from its earliest incipiency, and as secretary of the Executive Committee, has had more to do than any one man connected with the "movement." The able and proficient way in which he has discharged the important duties imposed upon him by the citizens of Kentucky has satisfied all that mistake was made in selecting him as their leader in this great fight for human rights. Edward Ellsworth Underwood was born in Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, in 1864. At an early age he was entered upon a course of study under the instruction of Prof. J. L. Champ and under his proficient tutorage—being himself of a studious temperament—he soon completed the prescribed course and was regularly promoted to the high school (being the first of his race to enter it) from which three years later he graduated with honors, being third in a class noted for the exceptional brilliancy of its members. On leaving school he engaged in teaching, accepting a position in the public school of Emerson, Ohio, where he remained with marked success seven years. It was while thus engaged—a natural sequence to the early influence of devoted Christian parents—that he was licensed to preach in the A. M. E. Church. In this field he made for himself a valuable reputation as a pulpit orator, a forcible and able debater and a deep thinker. With a penchant for politics—of the kind, however, that rises above demagoguery or mere personal aggrandizement—he turned his attention to questions of governmental policy, believing that the best interest of his race could be promoted in that way, and was, in the spring of 1887, elected without opposition a member of the Jefferson County Republican Central Committee, and a year later, over four white competitors, a member of the Mt. Pleasant town council, which positions he filled with entire satisfaction to his constituents.

In the fall of 1888, he resigned his seat in the council to enter upon a course of medicine in the Western Reserve University of Cleveland, Ohio, from which he graduated early in 1891, and removed to Frankfort, Ky., his present home. He has since taken a leading part in every thing pertaining to the best interest of his people of that section and throughout the state. On account of activity in politics and high business standing he has been made a member of the County Republican Committee of Frankfort. As a writer he enjoys a reputable position, his work being composed with that brilliant, vigorous style which places him in the foremost rank. As an orator, he speaks fluenty and has won eminence and distinction through his sermons, addresses and one of the most popular in
George W. Gentry, of Stanford, Ky., is a lawyer at the Stanford bar, where he is held in high esteem. Mr. Gentry when a mere lad enlisted in the Fifth Col. U. S. Cavalry and served till the close of the war, when he entered Berea College, where he secured a classical education. For several years after leaving college he taught school in Central Kentucky, but always took an active interest in politics, and in the promotion and advancement of the colored race, and was president of the Equal Rights Convention held in the city of Louisville in 1879, and also president of the convention for equal taxation and a division of the school fund, and to the last cause he devoted much time and energy, until equal taxation and a division of the school fund was made in 1880. He was made district elector for the Eighth Congressional District of Kentucky and made a spirited and active canvass. He has been a delegate to every State convention held in Kentucky since 1879, and has been a prominent candidate in two State conventions for delegate to the National Republican Convention from the State at large and was defeated each time by a small majority and by being from the central part of the State. He has also been a member of the Republican State Executive Committee, and as such took an active part in the great race of Bradley against Buckner in 1887. He held an important position under Collector Burnam and also under Gen. Landrum when he was collector. In both of these places he acquitted himself with great credit. Mr. Gentry is a splendid organizer and speaker, and is noted for his high character and integrity and has the entire confidence of all who enjoy his acquaintance.
Was born in the town of Brandenburg, Meade County, Ky., July 26, 1847, but since his childhood days he has been a resident of Louisville, Ky. He attended school taught by Rev. Adams, Wm. H. Gibson and R. T. W. James. Having led his classes when in school, he thus early acquired a title which he has ever since worn with dignity and honor. Few men outside of the ministry or politics can so truthfully lay claim to the title of leader as can Mr. Steward, both in the race and in the denomination. He has filled with credit to himself and satisfaction to his employers the office of teacher, messenger for the L. & N. Railroad, letter carrier and Sunday School District Secretary of the American Baptist Publication Society. The last office he is now filling, traveling thousands of miles each year and scattering innumerable pages of Sunday School literature. He was one of the first teachers in the public schools for colored people in the city of Louisville. For several years he was chairman of the Board of Visitors for the colored schools of the city. He joined the Masonic fraternity in 1881 and has made rapid progress in that order, having been worshipful master of Unity Lodge, No. 12, high priest of Enterprise Chapter No. 4, eminent commander of Cyrene Commandery No. 1, and twice elected worshipful master of the Grand Lodge of Kentucky. At the present he is filling the position of chairman of the Committee on Foreign Correspondence. Through the
BIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM H. STEWARD .(cant'd)
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BIOGRAPHY OF J. ALLEN ROSS
smith, ed, anti-separate coach

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Convention at Louisville in 1883, presided over by Frederick Douglas. In 1873 he left the Republican party because of the position of that party on the force bill, and because he was opposed to a protective tariff. Being an uncompromising believer in the doctrine of free trade, he at once went to the front, and ranks among the greatest Negro Democrats of the county. He was a delegate from Kentucky to the National Negro Democratic Conference at Indianapolis, Ind., in 1888, and served four years as secretary of the National Negro Democratic Executive Committee. He is at present State organizer for the Democratic party of Kentucky. For seventeen years he was an itinerate minister in the Methodist Church, and became famous as an earnest pulpit orator. The profession being crowded, he left it to enter more largely into politics. He has been prominently identified with the anti-separate coach movement almost from its incipiency, being a member of the local committee at Frankfort which took the initial steps against it. When the delegation of colored men went to the Senate and House, Senator Mulligan, the chairman, invited Mr. Ross to make an address. This address, for excellence of diction, depth of pathos, and matchless eloquence was a masterpiece and held the vast audience spell-bound throughout its entire delivery. Mr. Ross was also a delegate to the Lexington convention, and was elected by that body as one of the members of the State Executive Committee, which position he has creditably filled ever since. No member of the committee has been more tireless in his efforts against the obnoxious law, he having made a canvass of the entire State, using his personal efforts and making public speeches against the law. Mr. Ross takes high rank as an orator, and in this field has won his greatest distinction.

E. E. UNDERWOOD, M. D.
Jordan C. Jackson, the subject of this sketch, was born in Fayette County, Kentucky, February 25, 1848. He is a remarkable example of what pluck and energy can do for a man without scholastic training. Mr. Jackson has been a prominent figure in the state for twenty years, and has attended every Republican convention held in the state within that time. He was alternate delegate to the late Hon. W. C. Goodloe to the National Republican Convention, which met in Cincinnati in 1876, and delegate at large to the Republican National Convention which met in Minneapolis to nominate Benjamin Harrison the second time as president of the United States, an honor which only one other man of the race has had conferred upon him from Kentucky. Mr. Jackson was twice elected lay trustee of Wilberforce University, and is now and has been for the past twelve years a trustee of Berea College, the most unique institution on the American continent. He stands ready with might and means to do his part in any and all movements for the advancement of his race. Mr. Jackson has been United States storekeeper and gauger for a number of years, and has always taken rank as a first-class officer.

Mr. Jackson is now a member of the undertaking firm of Porter & Jackson, and has won for the firm and himself a place...
in the confidence of the people that can be had only by fair business transactions and personal integrity. He was a most valued contributor to the Standard for a year and was known to its many readers as "Observer," a title that befits him well, as all who have read his able articles will readily attest. Owing to his many business cares he has for a time retired from the literary field and in losing him the Standard has lost one of its most highly prized writers. Writing under the nom de plume of Uncle Eph, he also furnished a number of most valuable articles for the American Citizen.

He combines qualities that every man is not possessed of—literary talent and business qualification. Mr. Jackson is one of the most enthusiastic workers against the enactment of the separate-coach law of Kentucky, and was one of the first men appointed to wait on Governor Brown for the purpose of preventing the passage of the now obnoxious law. He is a member of the State Central Committee, and there is no man on the entire committee who is more in the struggle that we are now undergoing. He believes that if sufficient money is collected to test the constitutionality of the law that it will be wiped from the statute book of the Commonwealth. Mr. Jackson was elected temporary chairman of the separate-coach convention held in Lexington, Ky., June 22nd, 1892.
BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN H. FRANK (Rev.)

The subject of this sketch, John Henry Frank, was born in Jefferson County, near Louisville, Ky., October 22, 1859.

Imbued with a desire from earliest boyhood to secure an education, he lost no opportunity toward the cultivation of his brain that presented itself and it was with an impatient spirit indeed, that he awaited an opportunity to enter the public schools and secure an education. This opportunity, though long delayed, came at the conclusion of the civil war, when he entered the public schools of Louisville, Ky. Here Rev. Frank displayed those qualities of perseverance that have marked his career since his advent upon a public life. Ambitious and studious he was not long in forging to the fore and in impressing those with whom he was associated with a very high opinion of their classmate. He was regarded as a sincere, earnest and zealous student who would some time, by reason of the cultivation of those splendid qualities, possessed by him, rank among the foremost workers for good of his race. His career since entering upon life's journey has proven the wisdom of those forecasts. After leaving the school room he labored in various capacities creditably and acceptably to his employers, until, in 1886, he was installed as pastor of the Fifth Street Baptist Church of Louisville, Ky., at a salary of $1,200 per annum. This is one of the leading churches of the Baptist faith in the country, and it is the verdict of his parishioners that Rev. Frank is doing all in his power to keep the church up to the splendid status at which he found it.

Active and progressive, never contented unless in the van, he is always present and a power for good in all associations, state and national, with which his church is connected. As a public-spirited citizen he has won the respect and confidence of all who know him. With the young he is deservedly popular, for the young people find in him a friend, whose advice is freely and anxiously given. Ever ready to lend what assistance he may possess toward the elevation of the young and in so unselfish a manner is it done that he has surrounded himself with a class of young people who can be mentioned as friends with pride by anyone. A conservative leader, deep-thinker and progressive man, is what Dr. Frank is called by those who know him best.

At the organization of the new South Publishing Company of Louisville, Ky., it was necessary to find some one of progressive ideas to place at the head of the company. To prevent failure it was necessary to find some one of splendid executive ability to guide the bark recently launched upon the sea of journalism to a safe harbor. Such a man was found in the person of Rev. Frank.
BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN H. FRANK (Rev) Cont'd

still occupies a prominent part as a member of the state executive committee of the anti-separate coach movement he has been active and earnest in doing whatever he could.

BIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS S. PETTIT (Hon) WHITE

Of Owensboro, Ky., was born in Frankfort, Ky., December 21, 1843; learned the art of printing, and before his majority became editor of the "Owensboro Monitor," a Democratic newspaper of large influence. Was assistant clerk of State Legislature, private secretary to Governor of State, reading clerk of National Congress for ten years, delegate to Constitutional Convention of Kentucky in 1891 and a member of the General Assembly which succeeded it. He was grand master of Free Masons in 1879-80, and is a thirty-third degree Mason. He has had large business interests, and is always foremost in the advancement of public improvements, educational and religious development. A strong characteristic of Mr. Pettit is his sound judgment and independence in thought and action. He is a fine parliamentarian, fine judge of human nature, strong and pleasing speaker, and a leader always and everywhere.
John Feland, the senior counsel in the separate-coach suit, born in Barren County, Kentucky, on the 23d day of December, 1837. In 1848 he came with his parents to Hopkinsville, Christian County, Kentucky, where he was educated and at which place he entered upon the practice of law, remaining until 1851 when, in response to his country's call, he entered the Federal army, having been commissioned first lieutenant and regimental quartermaster of the Third Kentucky Cavalry. He remained in the army until his health failed, when he returned home and resumed the practice of law. He afterward became a member of the Kentucky legislature, serving in that capacity for three consecutive terms. On his return he was honored by his constituents with an election to the state senate.

At the organization of the New South Publishing Company that when he again entered the walks of private life, he did it with the praises of all who knew him. No act was placed upon the statute books through any aid of his that was not broad and liberal, as well as progressive and thoroughly in keep-

ing with the needs of the times in which he was an active participant. In 1889 he was appointed collector of internal revenue for the Second District of Kentucky, with headquarters at Owensboro. Here he again proved himself a friend of the race by appointing a number of young men to service under him.

After the expiration of his term of office, he resumed the practice of law at Owensboro, Ky., where he still resides. As senior counsel of the separate-coach suit he has been ever watchful and vigilant in his care of the case. Mr. Feland came to the case with years of experience and with a heart filled with love for an oppressed and down-trodden race. Broad, liberal, learned and experienced in the law, John Feland may be depended upon to do all in his power to further the interests of the important case now in his charge.
BIOGRAPHY OF E. W. CHENAULT

smith, ed, anti-separate coach movement, nd

Of Lexington, was born June 10, 1884, at Mt. Sterling, Ky.; joined Fifth U. S. C. C. in 1864; mustered out of the service at Helena, Ark., with his regiment; has made his home in Lexington since 1866; married Miss Anna Williams, daughter of Mr. Abraham Williams, June 22, 1871; the father of four children, three of whom are now alive, to wit: Mrs. Laura A. Taylor, St. Louis, Mo.; Adam A. Chenault, of Lexington, and Nanny C. Chenault, at present a student at the Kentucky State University at Louisville. Mr. Chenault is an influential and respected citizen of Lexington, white and colored alike cheerfully paying tribute to his manliness and worth. Mr. Chenault is an influential member of the A. F. & A. M., a past G. S. W., at present the G. J. W. of the Grand Lodge, and has been for three terms; received the largest vote received by any one for same office in the history of the Grand Lodge; has been past grand lecturer of the Grand Lodge of U. B. F. for Kentucky; also past grand pilot, and is at present a member of the Committee on Widows' and Orphans' Home and a member of the National Grand Lodge, U. B. S., and at present one of the trustees of U. B. S., No. 2, of Lexington, and also their present treasurer. Mr. Chenault is serving his second term as president of the Colored A. and M. Fair Association. This is the largest colored association in the United States, and stands as an eloquent tribute to Negro energy and financial management. Mr. Chenault has also

served as a deputy U. S. marshal for the Southern District of Ohio. He is a member of both the Central and Executive Committees of the anti-separate coach movement. A member of the Republican County Committee of Fayette County; connected with all movements looking to the advancement of the Negro; is treasurer of No. 6, U. B. F., strongest lodge in Kentucky. It was he who first called for a convention of the colored men of the South, being joined by such gallant spirits as George and William Spears and Elijah Hathaway. He has letters from such men as Gen. John A. Logan and James G. Blaine endorsing the movement and regretting their inability to be present. Mr. Chenault has long been an active and conspicuous member of the Republican party. He did more than all others to carry the Seventh District for J. C. Jackson and thus placed Mr. Jackson in a position to be elected a delegate-at-large to the National Republican Convention. He has given freely of his means, time and influence to the advancement of the cause of his party and the honoring of his friends, but has asked nothing for himself, his only wish being that the party he loved, the friends he deemed deserving and the cause to which he devoted his life might be advanced. Party fealty with Mr. Chenault is
is impatient with it or the semblance of it in others. With all this he is generous to those who differ with him and numbers among his closest friends members of opposing parties. Examined from every point of view Mr. Chenault presents a fine specimen of the faithful, frank, devoted partisan, yet the just, generous and considerate opponent. In his social life he shows the nobler and truer qualities of the gentleman. No condition of circumstances could make him less than a gentleman or force from his a word that stung, or an act that harmed. Courageous to recklessness, he is as tender in heart as a woman and as refined. With this broad, liberal, tender, yet intense nature, all mankind finds a place in his heart. Wishing that all shall have their rights and enjoy them under the law, he insists that he and his race shall have no legal enactments put into their pathway toward American citizenship.

On November 8, 1862, was born, at Harrodsburg, Ky., the subject of our sketch, J. M. Peters, M. D.

In 1865 he removed to Louisville, Ky., with his parents, attending the public schools of Kentucky's metropolis from 1868 to 1880, when he graduated with high honors. From Louisville he went to New Haven, Ky., where he taught one session of school during the session of 1881. His desire for a higher education becoming so great that it would not down, he went to Nashville, Tenn., entering Central Tennessee College. Here, despite the disadvantages by which he was surrounded, he succeeded in keeping up with his class and making an excellent record as a hardworking student. Gifted with an excellent voice it was not long before that quality was discovered in him, and he was induced to join the Famous Central Tennessee College of singers, a troop which has made a world-wide reputation, under the leadership of Prof. L. N. D. Pickett.

In 1885 he returned to Kentucky and lectured throughout the state during the fall of '85 and '86, where he gained a reputation as a platform and pulpit orator of no mean ability.
As a local preacher he has done excellent work for God and humanity. He was admitted into the Lexington Conference in 1888 at Cincinnati, filling charges on the Auburn and Franklin Circuit, where he made a reputation as an active worker. From these charges he came to Owensboro, Ky., where, in connection with his church work, he entered upon the practice of medicine and applied himself with such zeal that today he has a splendid practice which is fast becoming one of the best practices enjoyed by any colored doctor in Kentucky. As a delegate from Owensboro in 1891 to go before Governor John Y. Brown on behalf of the Negro citizens of Kentucky, praying his disapproval of the passage of the separate-coach law, Dr. Peters proved himself to be fully up to the standard of the other distinguished men of that committee.

In Frankfort, Ky., in 1850 was born Martin E. Boyd, the subject of this sketch.

In his boyhood he worked with his father as a gardener until at the age of eighteen. His father died, and he engaged as a laborer in a brickyard, where he remained several years.

When about 23 years of age he entered as an apprentice to the boot and shoe making trade with Oscar Miller, a brother-in-law, with whom he remained about three years, afterward opening a shop for himself, employing a first-class workman, he completed his trade under him. Since then he has conducted a profitable business for himself, having spent about twenty years in business, during which time he has been successful in accumulating a good amount of valuable property, which speaks for his competency and reliability. In 1877 he was married to a young lady of Frankfort, Ky., Miss Buena Vista Moten, who died after two short years of wedded bliss. In 1884 he again married, this time to a young lady of Frankfort, Miss Mary Trumble. To this union two children have
As a citizen he stands high, holding the confidence and esteem of all who know him.

He is one of the stable and substantial citizens of Frankfort, and his influence in the fight against the Separate Coach Law by the committee of which he is an active member has been felt. Mr. Boyd's life has been an open book to the community in which he has always resided. Sincere and earnest, with a nature open and frank, he has the confidence and esteem of all classes of the citizens of his native city.

There is much in him that is worthy of emulation, and it is due to the efforts and lives of such men as Martin E. Boyd that has given the far-famed blue grass region the proud and honored distinction of being the homes of as noble specimens of manhood as find their homes within the confines of the United States.

The subject of this sketch, a member of the local committee at Frankfort, Ky., which originated the fight against the separate coach law in Kentucky, was born June 11, 1894, in Owensboro, Ky., and at the age of 1 year was taken by his parents to Ripley, Ohio, and there received the rudiments of an English education in the common schools. In the year 1878 his parents took up their residence in Cincinnati, Ohio, and the city public school, under Prof. Peter H. Clark, was attended by him for seven years, and in June 17, 1881, he graduated in a class of eleven with first honors from Gaines' High School. After the completion of his school life he accepted the position of general book-keeper for the Lincoln Club, of Cincinnati, which position he held until January 3, 1882, when he accepted the position he now holds as the first principal of the city colored schools of Frankfort. He undertook his new work with pride and interest in the welfare of his race, and has not only built up a reputation for himself as a scholar, a first-class educator and disciplinarian, but has also trained his people and
in the foremost rank with the leading and most progressive schools in Kentucky, having obtained an award of merit upon school work from the Department of Liberal Arts at the World's Columbian Fair at Chicago, 1893. Among some of the prominent positions he has held may be mentioned chairman of the convention of prominent colored citizens headed by the deceased Rev. Wm. J. Simmons, which memorialized the Kentucky Legislature in behalf of a State normal school, and presided over said convention in the hall of the House of Representatives of Kentucky, in 1885; was president of the Kentucky Colored Teachers' Association for two consecutive terms; was grand master of the State Grand Lodge of Odd Fellows of Kentucky for two consecutive terms, and editor of the Union Advocate.

Among the members of the local committee who have taken the initial steps against the separate coach bill was Mr. B. T. Harvey, who was born in Franklin County, Ky., near Frankfort, in 1862. His early life was spent in hard labor, as his father was a carpenter and depended much upon the assistance of his son. He acquired most of his education by attending night school. He is widely known as a steady, honest and energetic young man, one having the interest of his race at heart. He has been earnest in his efforts against the separate coach bill, and can be depended upon to do what he can in the future to defeat the iniquitous measure.
Among the scholarly men of the race is Rev. W. H. Anderson, D. D., pastor of McFarland Chapel, Evansville, Indiana, who was born in Vigo County, Indiana, in 1843, where he spent his early life until 1871.

On arriving at a proper age he attended a district school taught by his sister.

From his entrance in the school young Anderson was looked on as an earnest student.

He was converted when a young man and turned his attention to ministerial work, entering the Missionary Baptist Connection.

In 1864 he enlisted in the U. S. Army with Company C, 13 U. S. Colored troops, and served until the close of the war, receiving his discharge at Nashville, Tenn.

In 1866 he was united in marriage to Miss Sarah J. Stewart, of Lost Creek, Indiana, who has proven a valuable helpmeet to him, thoroughly in sympathy with all of his movements.

He has always occupied a very prominent place in the political world, having been honored many times by being selected as a delegate to city, county, state and national conventions of his party, and always regarded by them as a safe counsellor and advisor.

In religious conferences he has always taken high rank, and by force of sheer ability has taken a place among the leaders of the Negro ministry. There is scarcely a convention without his presence, and his voice is always heard in their deliberations.

A committee of colored men was appointed in 1891 to wait upon the president in behalf of the members of his race in the Southern States. Rev. Anderson was one of them, and was also one among the most active of the delegation.

On attending the National Convention of Colored Men at Cincinnati he was appointed one of a committee whose duty it is to memorialize congress in behalf of the condition of affairs in the South.

His prominence was recognized by the Kentuckians in
BIOGRAPHY OF W. H. ANDERSON (cont'd)

Smith, ed, anti-separate coach movement, nd

the present suit and his influence has been of great benefit. His connection with any movement is a valuable endorsement of it, for he is conservative as well as enthusiastic in reforms and the enforcement of laws intended to benefit his race. No minister in Indiana stands higher with all citizens of the state, irrespective of race, color, party or church, than Dr. Anderson.

He enjoys the distinction of being the first colored Indiana minister to have conferred on him a degree from a Kentucky institution. He received the title of D. D. from the State University.

Dr. Anderson is active in every work designed to be beneficial to the race. At present he is at the head of the Ministers' Association (colored) recently organized in Evansville, his home city.

BIOGRAPHY OF EDWARD LANE

Smith, ed, anti-separate coach movement, nd

The subject of our sketch was born in Frankfort, Ky., in 1869, and is the son of Mrs. Alice Lane, one of the first school teachers in the colored schools at Frankfort. He has spent much of his time and money in doing good for his race and country. During his youthful days, having had the care of two orphan sisters and a brother, he was compelled to deny himself of many offered opportunities to secure a good education that he might educate them. Nothing has taken from him an inborn spirit and ambition to ascend the ladder of true greatness. Mr. Lane, by natural tact and acquired ability has made himself known throughout the State as a polished orator, a shrewd politician, etc. In politics he is an acknowledged leader of the colored Republicans in Franklin County, being at the present a member of the county and city committees, the president of the Jno. R. Lynch and Madison Johnson Republican Clubs of Frankfort. The influence of these two organizations has on several occasions been felt in the city affairs. He is held in the highest regard by the business men of this city for his sterling worth and fair dealings with all persons. He has held many positions of honor and trust among his people.
front with his money and voice to contribute all in his power towards its defeat. He served as a delegate to the Anti-Separate Coach Convention held in Lexington, and was afterwards selected to serve upon the State, Central and Executive Committees. He has been for the past five years a ready writer and a rapid thinker, devoting much of his time and journalistic talent in circulating among the prominent journals of the State the facts and injustice of the separate coach law. Mr. Lane has done a great deal in the literary field, having been connected with several prominent journals for years. His influence is felt by those who come within his reach, and one may justly be glad to meet him upon visiting the capital city of Kentucky.

Mr. Lane has been very active as a member of the State Executive Committee in intelligently placing before the thinkers of the country the position of our colored citizens on this unjust and dehumanizing separate coach bill, his manly utterances having been published in many of the leading daily papers of the country. While in Chicago last year he very ably expressed himself to the Chicago Tribune, which has certainly resulted highly beneficial in moulding public sentiment and public opinion in favor of a repeal of this obnoxious law.

Among the active workers against the separate coach law of Kentucky has been Mr. Robert Lander, who was honored at the Lexington convention by being elected chairman of possibly the largest and most important body of colored men ever assembling in the State. He was born in Christian County, Ky., in 1838, and until about eleven years of age spent his early life on a farm, at which time he moved to the city of Hopkinsville, entered the common schools, afterwards entered Roger Williams University, of Nashville, Tenn., from which he graduated in 1873. On returning to Hopkinsville he engaged in teaching, which he followed for several years. Afterwards he entered the law office of Hon. John Feland, then of that city, and began the study of law, from which he graduated and was admitted to the bar in 1887, and has since been pursuing his practice in that city. He was married in 1883 to a young lady
of Hopkinsville by the name of Miss Fannie Oldham. Mr. Lander for several years has been very active in politics and stands high as a politician, and at one time was a very active and likely candidate for the position of city court judge of his city. He was also a very prominent candidate for the Liberian mission to succeed Hon. Alexander Clark. As a race worker Mr. Lander has but few superiors in the State. He has taken a deep interest in the fight against the separate coach law and can be depended upon in his district to do much valuable work in the future against the disgraceful measure. As an orator he has made for himself a valuable reputation, and as a citizen he stands high and has the respect of all who know him.

At New Orleans in 1843 was born the subject of our sketch, Richard Varian, who is to-day one of the wealthiest and most influential colored citizens of Western Kentucky. Born of poor but honest parents, the lessons taught him by them did much in forming the habits and shaping the character that has given to him his excellent standing as a citizen in Owensboro, his adopted city. Coming to Owensboro in 1852, ere the shackles had been struck from the limbs of the slave, it was his lot to suffer the bitter experiences of that period. When the emancipation came and the fetters had been removed, Richard Varian began the struggle that has given to him a competency. In 1880 he was appointed United States storekeeper for the district in which Owensboro is situated. This situation he filled with honor to himself and with credit to the powers by whom he was appointed. He served in this capacity seven years. As a politician, Richard Varian is a man whom the republican party loves to honor, as his actions in politics are in keeping with the nature of the man—high-handed and honorable.

The church finds in him an active, earnest worker, whose time and means are freely given. As a citizen he is known and respected by all who know him and is of vast benefit to his race.
BIOGRAPHY OF RICHARD VARIAN  (cont'd)

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service. In this worthy subject there is much for emulation, and Owensboro is to be congratulated for having within her midst such a worthy citizen. In the separate-coach suit he has done excellent work and is active and earnest in the fight that is now being waged.

BIOGRAPHY OF W. R. HARDING

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Born in Russellville, Ky., December 12, 1860; completed the course of study in the common schools of Owensboro, Ky., graduated from the normal department of Roger Williams University, Nashville, Tenn., in 1881; was a student afterwards in the college department, secretary of the Western Kentucky Anti-Separate Coach Committee at present, and a successful and ardent worker against the separate coach law. As a citizen he stands high and as a race worker has but few superiors.

W. R. Harding stands today as one of the most progressive men in Western Kentucky. This section of the state has produced but few men who have outstripped W. R. Harding in the race for honors that properly belong to him who unselfishly devotes his life to the betterment of the condition of his race. Neither is his reputation confined to this particular portion of the state, for, as secretary of the Western Kentucky Anti-Separate Coach Committee, he has made a record that has won for him commendations from all over the state.
The junior member of the law firm of The Feland, was born in Hopkinsville, Ky., 1866, attended the common schools of that city, graduating from the high school of Hopkinsville in 1883, and received his legal education in the Vanderbilt University of Nashville, Tenn., in the class of '84-86. Was admitted to the bar of Kentucky shortly thereafter by special act of the Kentucky legislature, removing his disability on account of age. He became the junior member of the law firm of Feland, Stipes & Feland, and continued therein until the spring of 1890, when he became the republican candidate for County Attorney for Christian County. By reason of the enactment of the special registration law for Christian County, especially prepared with a view of depriving the colored people of their suffrage,

Mr. Feland was defeated forty-seven votes in a total of nearly nine thousand. Shortly after his defeat he removed from Hopkinsville and became a special agent for Kentucky in the eleventh census of the United States. After completing this work he entered the revenue service and was stationed in the Fifth District of Kentucky at Louisville, where he remained until the advent of the present administration, when he resigned and re-entered upon the practice of his profession at Owensboro, Ky. Mr. Feland from his youth up has always taken an active interest in politics and his face and voice are familiar to every republican convention in Kentucky. He was elected a delegate from the state at large from Kentucky to the National Convention of the Republican League Clubs, which met in Louisville in the fall of 1893.
BIOGRAPHY OF BYRON GUNNER (rev.)

smith, ed, anti-separate coach movement, nd

Born in Marion, Ala., July 4, 1858, he obtained his early training in the A. M. E. School at his home, after which he attended the State Normal; then completed the college, preparatory and theological courses in Talledega, Ala. He was the valedictorian of Howe Institute at New Iberia, entered the ministry at the age of 12 years, pastored a church in Louisiana five years, taught school in Paris, Texas, three years and is now filling a position of usefulness. Rev. Gunner has been very active against the separate coach law in making speeches throughout the State and raising funds. He is also a noted lecturer, and his lectures entitled the "Devil on Wheels" and "How to Smash the Devil" are both interesting and instructive.

BIOGRAPHY OF EDWARD LOWRY GILLIAM

smith, ed, anti-separate coach movement, nd

Born in Toronto, Canada, December 1, 1847. Attended the free schools of that city and was the first colored boy to receive a scholarship, as the result of a competitive examination in Canada. Completed the Collegiate Academy of his native city, and was in the third year senior class when he left his home for the Southern States. He located first in Crystal Springs, Miss., and later made his home in Edwards and Jackson, in the same State. He was principal of the public schools in each of those towns. He served as trustee of Rust University at Hill Springs and of Alcorn University near Rodney, Miss.; deputy chancery clerk in Copiah County; deputy assessor and deputy sheriff in Hines County, Miss. He filled the positions of postal clerk and post-office inspector. He removed to Kentucky in 1886, and is at present engaged in the ministry of the A. M. E. Church. While in Mississippi he edited and published several newspapers. Mr. Gillman was a delegate to the Anti-Separate Coach Convention in Lexington in 1892. He is at present president of the Louisville Anti-Separate Coach League.
BIOGRAPHY OF NED TURNER

Smith, ed, anti-separate coach movement, nd

One of the most indefatigable workers against the separate coach law in the State has been Mr. Ned Turner, of Hopkinsville, Ky. He was born in Christian County, Ky., in 1859, received his first training in a subscription school of that city until about the age of 15, at which time he found employment in a grocery store and has since spent his time in the grocery business. He is at present manager of the J. R. Hawkins grocery firm, which position he has held for the past thirteen years. Mr. Turner has distinguished himself as a man possessing unusual business ability. As a race worker he has but few equals in the State in which he lives, and as a citizen he enjoys the confidence and esteem of all who know him. He is the secretary of the U. B. F. Society of Hopkinsville, and was instrumental in having his lodge donate $27.50 to the anti-separate coach fund. He is also chairman of the financial committee of that city, and has been very active in collecting money for the general fund.

BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN E. HUNTER (Dr.)

Smith, ed, anti-separate coach movement, nd

A cultured and public-spirited gentleman is what Dr. Hunter is conceded to be by all who enjoy an acquaintance with him. As a student in the Western Reserve College of Cleveland, Ohio, he was distinguished for his close application to his studies. On finishing his college course the doctor went immediately to Lexington, Ky., his present home, where he has succeeded in building a large and lucrative practice. As a business man he displays rare good judgment and ranks among the
BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN E. HUNTER (Dr.) (cont'd)

smith, ed, anti-separate coach movement, nd

best men of affairs in the race. At his home the doctor has become possessed of some very valuable property and has the reputation of being fair and honest in all of his dealings. He has placed himself in the very front rank of colored physicians and his advice and counsel is freely sought by his brother physicians in his home city.

An ardent lover of his race, he can be depended on for assistance to every worthy race enterprise. He has an elegant home, presided over by a wife, who is ever alert to be of assistance to her worthy helper. Here, surrounded by what he holds dear, engaged in his chosen profession, Dr. John E. Hunter, the ardent race advocate and brilliant student, finds inspiration to act as a defender of his race. As a worker in the anti-separate coach movement he used every means at his command for ultimate success and is unflinching in the fulfillment of whatever duty falls to his lot. Such lives as his are monuments to the power of unflinching devotion to principle and duty.

BIOGRAPHY OF E. P. MARRS (Rev.)

smith, ed, anti-separate coach movement, nd

Born January, 1840, in Shelby County, Ky.; converted in 1851; taught school at Simpsonville in 1866, Lagrange 1867, New Castle 1870, ordained August 22, 1875; was a student at Roger Williams University, then known as an institute in 1881; has written a history of his life; also devoted much space to the actions of the colored troops in the late war, all of which shows him to be a deep thinker and a profound writer. Is a prominent member of the State Central Committee of the Anti-Separate Coach movement; is pastor of the Beargrass Colored Baptist Church at Crescent Hill, Ky.

That Rev. E. P. Marrs is a deep thinker and a profound writer is evidenced by the character of the book of which he is the author; although it is written as a history of his life, much unwritten and hitherto unknown history of the colored troops is recorded. The depth of thought displayed and the versatility of his writings gained for the book a wide circulation and for the author a place among the writers of his race.

As a member of the State Central Committee of the anti-separate coach movement, he has proven the wisdom of the powers that conferred the honor and responsibility upon him. Enthusiastic and sincere, much has been accomplished by him in
BIOGRAPHY OF NOAH W. MAGOWAN

NOAH W. MAGOWAN.

Noah W. Magowan was born October 26, 1868, in Mt. Sterling, Ky., Montgomery County. He is the son of John W. and Amanda Magowan. His father being a carpenter, the early part of his life was spent in hard labor. He entered school at his home when about 8 years of age. After having finished the common school course he entered school at Berea College, and being quite a genial student advanced rapidly. In 1887 he began teaching. During the past seven years he has been more than successful as a teacher. Not only has he been a successful teacher, but on every occasion, at home and abroad, with word and with pen, he has expressed his love for the race. In 1892, at the convention held in Lexington, Ky., to devise plans to defeat the separate coach bill, he was elected as a member of the State Central Committee. Since then he has been known at home as the modern "Hercules."

BIOGRAPHY OF JAMES H. GARNETT (A. B., B. D)

Born in Gordon County, Georgia, in 1852; a graduate from Oberlin College, Ohio, receiving the degree of A. B.; afterwards completed a three years' course at the Baptist Union Theological Seminary, Morgan Park, Chicago, Ill.; elected to the degree of B. D.; elected president of the Arkansas Baptist College, Little Rock, Ark.; was president four years of Gaudalupe Baptist College of Texas; principal two years of the public schools of Seguin, Texas; is now president of the State University of Louisville, Ky., successor to the late Dr. Wm. J. Simmons.

Dr. Garnett was called to the presidency of the State University, owing to his fitness for the position, coupled with his Christian integrity. As a student in the Theological Seminary at Morgan Park he won the respect and confidence of his professors and classmates by the earnestness displayed as a student. Honors came to him thick and fast on the completion of his course. On assuming the presidency of the Arkansas Baptist College, he began his life's work, and so successfully did he conduct the institution that he attracted the attention of other and older institutions, whose trustees spent every effort to secure for their own schools this brilliant young man, whose name had now become known throughout the land. He...
BIOGRAPHY OF JAMES W. WOOLFOLK

Born in Frankfort, Ky., in 1853; educated from the Hoffman schools; a barber by trade; was assistant librarian at the State University from 1869 to 1872; was W. G. M. of the Grand Lodge of U. B. of F. of Kentucky from 1865 to 1869; among the prime movers against the separate coach movement and was chairman of the first committee taking action toward appealing the measure; was a candidate for city marshal in 1880, and was conceded to have been elected, but was counted out.

It was as one of the prime movers in the separate-coach movement that James W. Woolfolk showed his love for his people and his readiness to sacrifice time, money and business in defense of his people. Those who know him best are loud in their praises of the man knowing full well the material of which he is composed. Extremely popular in his state, he enjoys even more popularity in the immediate vicinity in which he lives. As W. G. M. of the U. B. F's of his native state, he so successfully discharged his duties that he was entrusted with the mastership of this large and influential order for two successive terms and no man in the state stands higher to-day in the councils of the order than James W. Woolfolk, who enjoys a prominence won by hard and continuous exertion.

BIOGRAPHY OF P. H. KENNEDY (Rev)

Elizabethtown, Ky., is the birthplace of the honored subject of this sketch, Rev. P. H. Kennedy. Here he was born in 1848, and remained until he was fifteen years of age. Born in slavery, his early childhood was spent in pursuits common to children of that period.

He was studious and apt from early childhood, and in 1877 he entered Roger Williams University, where his record shows him to have been a close student bent upon securing an education so as to be of service to his race, for he had already chosen his life's work, having been ordained a minister in 1873.

On finishing school he was appointed general missionary for the State of Kentucky, and has been so successful in this field that each successive year finds the church of his chosen faith growing stronger and stronger in his state.
He is an untiring, zealous worker, whose work is bearing fruit in the establishment of Baptist Churches in Kentucky.

Rev. Kennedy occupies high standing among the people of Kentucky, and a man whose advice and counsel are highly prized. In associations and educational gatherings, and all other conferences in which the advancement of the race is the prime object he may be always found, and his voice is always heard in commendation of the good and condemnation of the bad or unwise legislation of these deliberative bodies. As an ardent race lover he early enlisted on the side of the opposers of the separate coach law, and he has fought and worked against it with an unconquerable will. When a lad of 15 years he enlisted in the 109th U. S. Colored Infantry at Louisville, Ky., and was discharged in 1866 with an honorable record.

Born December 4, 1851; received his early training in the common schools of Cynthia, Ky.; was a student at Berea College in 1873, but on account of ill health had to relinquish his studies; taught school at Crab Orchard, Versailles, Sadleyville and Cynthia, Ky.; in 1887 entered into the grocery business in Cynthia and had a lucrative trade until September, 1893, at which time his entire stock was destroyed by fire. He is a member of the Republican Executive Committee of Harrison County, a member of the School Board of Cynthia; also a member of the Anti-Separate Coach State Central Committee from the Ninth Congressional District of Kentucky.

Mr. Lillie has had a large and varied experience and it can be said to his credit that he has discharged every trust imposed upon him with credit. Whether as a student at Berea, a teacher at Crab Orchard, a grocer at Cynthia or a member of the Republican Executive Committee, he has been faithful in them all.

No man in his section of the state is held in higher esteem by the republican party, who recognize in John James Lillie a man of true worth and character. In his capacity as a member of the Anti-Separate-Coach State Central Committee, he has labored with a zeal born of love of his race. Would that we
The subject of this sketch was born in Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky, April 18, 1859. He was sent to school by his parents soon after emancipation. At the age of twelve he joined the Baptist Church and was soon after elected church clerk on account of especial fitness. From that day to this he has been an active church worker. Given but few chances in his boyhood for improvement, his success has been marvelous, for success comes to one surrounded as he was in youth after a determination, resolute and lasting has been made to succeed.

In 1880 he entered the State University, graduating in May, 1886, at the head of his class with the title of A. B. The faculty was not slow in appreciating his splendid abilities, for he was immediately secured to teach Greek in the institution, which position he filled successfully for four years.

Before the committee on legislation at Frankfort he delivered the leading address on behalf of the Colored Normal School. As a republican he takes first rank in his party, having been honored by being selected as a delegate to republican conventions for the past nine years. At present he is a member of the executive committee of Jefferson County.

As an orator he is widely and favorably known, having delivered an address at the World's Fair by especial invitation.

The Baptist denomination, of which he is a member, recognizes the sterling worth, manly integrity and ability of the man and honor him frequently by conferring upon him positions of honor and trust. He is at present vice president of the American National Baptist Convention and also of the American Educational Convention. In the educational field he ranks high, occupying, as he does, the presidency of the Eckstein-Norton University, one of the most progressive institutions of learning in the west. As an educator and Christian minister he has but few equals. In his efforts to have the separate-coach law defeated, he has been untiring. He is now pastor of Calvary Baptist Church in Louisville, one of the leading Baptist Churches in the state. Kentucky is proud of such a man, and it is fortunate that she can claim as a citizen a man of such highly prized and varied talents.
The subject of this sketch was born in Mitchellsburg, Boyle County, Kentucky, in 1833, and received his education in the schools of his native state.

In 1876 he entered the ministry at Standfort, Ky., and has been eminently successful.

His work in the interest of his race has often taken him beyond the confines of his church. Ever ready to resent an affront to the race, he soon took leading rank as one of the races's ablest defenders and was not long in impressing upon those with whom he was associated the belief that he was a man, open and fearless, whose love for race was second only to his love for God.

Recognizing the need of an educated Christian ministry he entered the State Normal School at Frankfort, Ky., while in charge of the Independent Baptist Church, graduating therefrom with honors in 1890. He came directly to Henderson, Ky., as pastor of the First Baptist Church in that city. This is one of the oldest and most progressive church congregations in Western Kentucky, and in Dr. Mitchell the church and its friends found the very man for whom they had been seeking. The congregation love him for his interest in them; ever watchful of the young, constantly warning them of snares and pitfalls in their pathway, he has, by his fatherly care, endeared them to him in a bond of union of the strongest kind. The education of the young people needed some attention from the ministry was his thought and to think with him is to act. With an almost incredible short space of time he founded and placed upon a successful basis the Baptist Normal Institute. As president of the institution he in two years increased its members from sixteen to two hundred and eighteen—a remarkable showing considering the obstacles placed in the way; yet he surmounted all these and to-day the Baptist Normal Institute stands as a monument to the indomitable energy and will power of the citizens of Henderson in general and Rev. R. H. C. Mitchell, the active, energetic pastor of the First Baptist Church of Henderson in particular.
In Charleston, South Carolina, on May 17, 1858, James H. Lott, the subject of our sketch, first saw the light of day. From Charleston he removed to Douglas County, Illinois, September 15, 1865. Here he resided until the fall of 1874, when he removed to Terre Haute, Indiana, where he remained until 1878.

While in Terre Haute he read law in the office of Davis & Davis, proving himself an apt and earnest student and winning from his instructors praise and commendations for his zeal and perseverance in the prosecution of his legal studies. In 1881 he removed to Ford County, Illinois, where he entered the office of Judge Alfred Sample, remaining with him two years and completing his student course in the law. The Supreme Court of Illinois admitted him to the bar in 1883.

Mr. Lott came to the bar amply fitted for the prosecution of his chosen profession. A deep thinker, a logical reasoner, splendidly equipped with forensic ability, he was soon able to take high rank among the leading members of the Ford County bar. Neither were his abilities overlooked by the people among whom he had settled. His clientage comprised some of the wealthiest and most highly respected white citizens of that county, and it was fortunate indeed for him that he had applied himself so closely to his studies, for here he had to enter into a sharp competition with his brother lawyers for a share of the patronage of their own race, since but few, indeed, were the colored citizens of Ford County.

In 1887 the Republican House of Representatives recognized the worth of this brilliant disciple of the law by electing him engrossing clerk of their body. After the session of the house had closed he returned to Ford County and was again honored in his home city by being elected city attorney, a trust filled by him to the entire satisfaction of his constituency. In 1888 he attended the National Republican Convention at Chicago as alternate delegate at large an honor seldom conferred on one of his race. The Wabash Railroad Company selected him as their attorney for Ford County in 1887, which position he held until 1890, when he resigned his position to remove to Evansville, Ind., to engage in the practice of law.

In Evansville Mr. Lott has a lucrative and growing practice and occupies a position at the bar in this, his adopted city, that would be flattering indeed to one much older in the practice of law than himself. As one of the attorneys in the anti-separate-coach movement, Mr. Lott has been active and energetic, and by his gentlemanly and dignified bearing has won the respect and confidence of all with whom he has come in contact.
MISS MARY ELIZABETH GREEN.

Born in Danville, Boyle County, in 1857; received her early education there; began teaching at Lancaster in 1875, this being the first school for colored children after the adoption of the public school system. After having taught in Danville, Lancaster, Parksville, Lincoln, Boyle, Jessamine and Garrard, she entered and graduated from the State Normal University with high honors and is at present engaged in teaching. She was one of the committee of ladies who addressed the Railroad Committee against the separate coach bill. Miss Green is noted for her literary powers, which were a marked feature in her early childhood.

BIOGRAPHY OF D. H. FOSTEN (Prof)

Born in Davis County, Ky., 1864; attended the common schools of that city; entered the State University, Louisville, Ky., in 1884; graduated from the normal department in 1888; afterwards graduated from the classical department in 1892; after which he was employed by the faculty to travel in the interest of the school; in 1893 accepted a position in the Normal Institute of Henderson as principal; ordained for the ministry February, 1894, at Owensboro.

As an ordained minister, D. H. Fosten may be considered now as having entered upon his life's work. Gentlemanly and polished by reason of inherited traits and scholastic training, Rev. Fosten is a valued addition to the ranks of the Negro ministry.

The Normal Institute at Henderson is young, but is determined to have as instructors the best that can be secured, with such an idea in mind Prof. Fosten, then a recent graduate from the Normal department of the State University at Louisville, Ky., was chosen as principal. Much of the success that came to the school in '83 was due to his efforts.

With the proud record already made by him, it is safe to
BIOGRAPHY OF PERRY D. ROBINSON

Born in Philadelphia, Pa., February 4, 1861; a graduate of the High School of that city in 1880; accepted a position as teacher the same year in New Jersey; afterwards held positions as assistant principal; then principal of a school in Baltimore, Md.; entered the medical department of Howard University, Washington, D. C., in 1885; graduated in 1889. Began the practice of medicine in Lexington soon afterwards; has since built up a large and lucrative practice; stands high as a physician and is esteemed by all as a citizen. But few men possess more genuine race love than does Dr. P. D. Robinson.

As a student in the High School of Philadelphia, Perry D. Robinson was known as a sincere and studious young man.

From the school room, as a pupil, he re-entered on his graduation as a tutor, and by his own example inspired in those under his control a love of learning and noble manhood that has stood them well in their contact with the world.

Entering the medical department of Howard University in 1885, he applied himself so zealously to the study of his chosen profession, that he graduated in 1889 and immediately began the practice of medicine in Lexington and drew to him self a large and lucrative practice. As a physician he stands high wherever known; as a loyal Negro, who unselfishly labors to benefit his race, Dr. Robinson has no superior. It is indeed gratifying to all lovers of the race to know that we have among us a man of such sterling qualities.

BIOGRAPHY OF (MRS) L. B. SNEED (A.B., A.M)

BORN NEAR NEW ORLEANS, LA., MAY 15, 1867; REARED IN LOUISVILLE, KY.; UNITED WITH THE FIFTH STREET BAPTIST CHURCH AT THE AGE OF 12 YEARS; GRADUATED WITH FIRST HONORS FROM THE COLLEGE DEPARTMENT OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY, MAY, 1887; SINCE THAT TIME SHE HAS BEEN EMPLOYED AS A TEACHER IN THE NORMAL DEPARTMENT OF THAT UNIVERSITY. AS THE GENERAL MISSIONARY OF THE BAPTIST WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE STATE, HER VOICE HAS BEEN HEARD IN EVERY TOWN AND HAMLET. SHE HAS TRAVELED EXTENSIVELY IN THE INTEREST OF EDUCATION AND HAS WON FOR HERSELF THE RESPECT AND CONFIDENCE OF ALL WITH WHOM SHE HAS COME IN CONTACT.

In Mrs. Sneed the women of the race find a representative in whom they take a just pride. Every ready to raise her voice in their defense, she has earned the reputation of being a vigilant and earnest worker for the elevation of her people. Richly endowed with those qualities that inspire respect and admiration, she was not long in finding a place among the leading women of the race. Fully appreciating the vices and temptations that ensnare and ruin, it has been hers to warn and advise. As a student in the college department of the State University, she applied herself closely to her studies and was the
Smith, ed, anti-separate coach movement, nd

As general missionary of the Baptist Women's Educational Convention, Mrs. Sneed entered a field for which her splendid qualities fitted her. Traveling throughout the state in her chosen work she has done much to stir the fire of duty and ambition within the breasts of the women of her own race, and it must be gratifying indeed to see such immediate results of her labors as she has seen; for from every hamlet and city to which she has gone have come to the university women, anxious to secure an education and to enroll themselves among the workers of the race for the elevation of our moral and educational status.

Endowed with a sympathetic nature, fully appreciating the conditions by which the women of her race are surrounded and working with a zeal born of the devotion to her work, Mrs. Sneed has accomplished a work seldom equalled by anyone in so short a space of time.

BIOGRAPHY OF J. H. JACKSON

Smith, ed, anti-separate coach movement, nd

BORN at Lexington, Ky., October 31, 1850; graduated at Berea College, Ky., June, 1874; first colored man to graduate in Kentucky; was elected as delegate-at-large to the Republican National Convention of 1880, being the first colored man so elected from Kentucky; was one of the "306" who cast 36 votes for U. S. Grant at Chicago; moved to Kansas in 1881; became principal of Lincoln High School, Kansas City, Mo.; also clerk of the Jury Commission, and also clerk of the Police Board of Kansas City, Kan., receiving both appointments from the Governor; was a member of the Board of Examiners for Kansas City, Kan., being the first colored man in Kansas to be so honored; was prominently mentioned for Auditor of State to succeed Hon. E. P. McCabe; returned to Kentucky in 1887 and took charge as president of the State Normal School for Colored Persons at Frankfort, which position he still holds; was the first man to raise his voice against the separate coach bill at a public gathering at the Corinthian Baptist Church in the city of Frankfort; was the master of ceremonies who introduced the speakers to the Governor; was the first one to speak before the Railroad Committee, urging the passage of a law based upon condition rather than upon color; has devoted his life to edu-
BIOGRAPHY OF NATHANIEL R. HARPER

Was born in the city of Indianapolis, Ind., February 17, 1846, reared in the city of Detroit, Mich., and educated in the public school of that city as afforded from 1852 to 1866. Began the study of law in the office of Hon. P. H. Penniman, of Detroit, but came to Louisville in 1870 and concluded law studies under the tuition of Hon. James Speed Lincoln, Attorney General and Gen. C. Humphrey Marshall. Being admitted to practice law in the State of Kentucky on the 21st day of November, 1871, and was the first colored man to appear before the courts of Kentucky as an attorney-at-law. Has the respect and well wishes of both the bench and bar and has been the only colored man in the State to sit as special judge of any court in Kentucky. Has handled important cases, both civil and criminal, and won the fight for mixed juries before the Jefferson Circuit Court in the case of the Commonwealth vs. Paul King, in 1886. Is the attorney of several companies and corporations among the colored people, the most important being the Industrial Home and Law Association. Although connected with a number of important criminal cases before the courts, notably as a senior counsel for Patterson for the killing of Jennie Bowman in 1887, yet it is in the civil practice of the law where his best efforts have been put forth.

BIOGRAPHY OF R. H. HIGDON

Among the most progressive and enterprising citizens of Frankfort, Ky., will be found the subject of this sketch. He was an active member of the local committee in Frankfort, and has won much in assisting to defeat the separate coach law. Mr. Higdon was born near Owensboro, Ky., in 1837. Since becoming a man he has distinguished himself for pluck, energy and manly courage. In 1880 he was a prominent candidate for city councilman of Frankfort, and by withdrawing from the race was successful in getting $5,000 appropriated to build the present colored school of that city. For many years he was a leading figure in State Industrial Fairs and a large owner of fine blooded horses. In 1889 he distinguished himself as a man of undaunted courage by facing the hot-headed rebels in demanding fair and just treatment for his people. This he did by bringing suits in the Federal Courts of Louisville against the offenders. By business ability he has accumulated good property, and stands high in his community as a citizen.
MISS MARY E. BRITTON.

Born at Lexington, Ky.; received her early education in the first school of the city to which colored youths were admitted, which was organized soon after the emancipation of slavery by the American Missionary Association. In 1869 she left Lexington for Berea College and pursued her studies until 1874. Miss Britton is distinguished for her conscientious convictions of right and wrong. Her courage is equal to any call or emergency, and with this knowledge of her character it is not difficult to understand how she could take such an invincible position against the separate coach law. Returning to Lexington in 1874, she accepted a position as teacher in the public schools, which position she is now holding creditably.

PROF. W. D. JOHNSON.

A bold and fearless man who loves his race dearly is a splendid description of W. D. Johnson, the editor of The Standard. Upright and honest, he commands respect, and his words of advice or warning are attentively listened to.

The columns of The Standard are always open to use by race lovers and advocates and Editor Johnson writes with a fearless pen when scouring persecutors of the race. He advocates a purer, nobler standard for the negro, and demands fair treatment also for his people.

He is a bitter enemy to class legislation and prejudice-inspired laws. The journalistic world has a valuable acquisition in the The Standard and its editor, W. D. Johnson, and he is building for himself a record among liberty-loving citizens that will redeem to his credit long after the race-hating measures of the present shall have been wiped from the statute book and forgotten.
BIOGRAPHY OF MARY V. COOK

(A.B., M. M)

Is a native of Kentucky, having been educated in the State University, Louisville, Ky. After here faithfully pursuing studies and doing her duty as pupil, she was given a position as teacher. She was a conscientious, successful teacher and seemed to exert a magic power over her pupils; she has the happy faculty which most teachers lack, that of always being pleasant, yet at the same time commanding and ruling without trouble. She is especially fond of Latin, biography and the sciences.

She loves the race dearly and is interested in everything that tends to its elevation. She has often been called upon to address public bodies, which she did with much credit. She has also been correspondent for several papers. In 1889 she visited the New England States as a representative of our women South and the State University, by invitation of the Board of the American Baptist Woman's Home Mission Society, Boston. By request of the same Board she represented their work at the Baptist Anniversaries (white), which met in Chicago, 1890. The best accommodations of that city were hers at her expense. She is now Lady Principal in Eckstein Norton University, Cane Springs, Ky. As general solicitor for the school, she has been able to visit many Southern States and has learned a great deal about her race by observation and personal con-
lating property and elbowing our way to the front. She, with three other ladies, was called to Frankfort, the Capital, April 15, 1892, to address the Railroad Committee, protesting against the enactment of the Separate Coach Law. Having gone from Kentucky to New Orleans in such a coach she well knew that it meant humiliation, insult from train men and contact with the worst element of both races, was able to speak from experience. She spoke of the morality of our people, how they are exposed to every temptation, how the deeds of every miscreant are published and the doer held up as an example of the race. How the whites use public means to throw strong arms of protection around their women and children in rearing houses of

refuge, homes of the innocent and of fallen women. She said: "You say we steal. I will answer that in the words of Francis D. Long, who said: "The "nigger" steals a hen, the white man steals a goose; the "nigger" steals a ham, the white man steals a hog; the "nigger" steals a dollar, the white man steals a bank; the "nigger" steals a railroad tie, the white man steals the railroad; the "nigger" steals a constable's office, the white man steals the President's office of the United States.""

She spoke of the backward step of such a law and showed how had it come with emancipation, it would not have seemed so outrageous, but coming now in this enlightened progressive age, to us who have had educational advantages and who are making our way to the topmost round, was an evidence of prejudice to our elevation and showed, decidedly, a spirit to keep us down. She described her trip in the separate car and asked how many of those gentlemen would suffer their wives and daughters to submit to such, etc.

Miss Cook has done and is still doing all she can for the race. Being widely known, she has a great field in which to work.
BIOGRAPHY OF C. C. MONROE (Prof)

The son of slave parents, Thomas and Maria Monroe, Chapman G., the subject of this notice, was born Oct. 16, 1859, near Georgetown, Scott County, Ky. The days of his early life were uneventful, being characterized by nothing out of common with the lives of thousands of boys similarly situated.

After emancipation, and when opportunity afforded his parents sent him to the village school at Great Crossing, near his home, where he was taught the fundamental principles of the three R's. Here, notwithstanding the meager facilities for learning, the boy gave promise of the man by the unusual aptness displayed by one of his years. In order to give their children a better education than that afforded by the district schools at that time, his parents, in 1870, removed to Lexington, Ky., where the subject of this sketch entered upon a course of study in the old Corral School, then, as now, under the auspices of the American Missionary Society. In this school he made rapid progress and is remembered by teacher and pupils as one of the brightest pupils of

the school. In 1874 he finished the course with the honors of his class, with special reference being made to his proficiency in mathematics.

It now became necessary for him to abandon, for awhile, at least, all thoughts of continuing longer in school. He knew that many sacrifices had been made for his benefit, and felt that something was owing from him in return for them. He therefore quit school and entered service in the family of the late Dr. L. P. Tarleton, where he continued for three years. During this time, however, he did not give up his studies, but with the kindly aid of members of the family, he being naturally of a studious disposition, made considerable advancement in the higher departments of mathematics and literature. In 1879 he entered the profession in which he has since distinguished himself, teaching successfully for two consecutive terms a district school in Fayette County. From here he was called to the principalship of the Church Street Public School, Lexington, Ky., Mr. Geo. H. Baily, resigned. Under the superintendencies of the late Judge Jas. O. Harrison and Col. Jno. O. Hodges, he taught in this school for six years with signal success. In 1887, when the State Normal School at Frankfort was established, he was called to the principalship of this institution, of which office he has since been in possession, his labors adding much to the dignity and increased reputation of the institution.}

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Went as delegate to the National Baptist convention at St. Louis; was Chairman of both of the conventions that met at Frankfort, President State Teachers' Association for two consecutive terms. Received the degree of A. M. from State University. Was removed from the Normal School on account of his fight against the separate coach law. Edited the "Standard." Organized the Polytechnic Institute. Was the first to move against the Jim Crow coaches.
3. This, as is well understood, is a school for all races of men, without distinction. We are aware that this feature of the school fails to meet the approbation of many of our fellow citizens, and many deny themselves its advantages, who, but for this, would gladly enjoy them. It is possible, perhaps probable, that our school would now be larger than it is, if we would receive only white students. But our course has not been adopted without long and prayerful consideration, and it is not likely ever to be changed; and we do not doubt that in the end this characteristic of the school will be most highly approved and popular.

We are often told that the question of the co-education of the races is a mere matter of taste, involving no principle whatever. If we could be convinced of this, it would give us great pleasure to conform to the taste of the majority, and thus avoid much friction and unfriendly feeling.

If it were desirable that negroes should be slaves and serfs, it would then be important that they should be trained from childhood to regard themselves as an inferior race, and that our white children should be taught to regard them as fit only for servitude and servile positions. But we assume that negroes are to have, and ought to have, the same civil and political rights as white men, and the sooner and more thoroughly both classes adapt themselves to this idea, the better for all. How soon will the people be prepared to give equal rights and protection to colored people, if from childhood they are taught that colored children are not fit to be near them as equals, but as inferiors may be all about them? If as children they are not allowed to meet in the same schools and Sabbath-schools, how, as men, will they be able to meet at the polls, sit on juries, attend political meetings, practice at the bar, and testify in all cases on an equal footing with them? But all these things are implied in equal rights and protection.
Another consideration in favor of the co-education of the races is, that they can never be educated separately. There are not inhabitants enough in the rural districts, and never will be, to maintain two sets of schools. In the cities this difficulty is not felt. But in all farming districts, even of our most densely populated States, there are barely children enough within practicable distances to maintain single schools. If they were obliged on account of prejudice or caste, to maintain two sets of schools, it would seriously cripple, if not fatally destroy, the whole system of universal education. There is, therefore, but one alternative, co-education or no education for a large number of both white and colored. I do not say that to maintain two sets of schools in the rural districts is impossible, but it is so impracticable that it will never be accomplished. It is, therefore, not a mere matter of taste, but a matter which affects the vital interests of both races.

It is often predicted that our efforts in this direction will fail; that the prejudices of race will be found too powerful to be overcome. It may be so. But a very good beginning has been made. We have had nearly two hundred students at a time, about half white and half colored, and some neither, and no collisions have occurred. Having mingled with them freely every day for three months, I have yet to see the first exhibition of antipathy of race. I have seen the same principle carried out in a very large school, more than thirty years, without disturbance. In all northern cities, and some southern, colored people ride in street cars, and in many States in railroad cars, stages and omnibuses, without distinction, and without embarrassment; and the extent of the practice is constantly increasing. Which party will eventually prevail is not a matter of great solicitude with us. The tendency is strongly toward universal freedom and equality, and the progress is so rapid as to be truly bewildering to its warmest friends.
The text contains statements about the social relations between the races at Berea College and the work ethic among students.

4. This is a school for the poor. The rich are welcome of course, and any arrangement as to expenses, which will favor the poor, will favor them. All possible pains will be taken to make expenses low, and to furnish the means of self-support. The college can furnish labor for a considerable number, others can find it among the inhabitants. Almost all who can show themselves competent and reliable can find all the work they can do. Boys who have never been able to earn their living at home should not be expected to earn it here, by working three hours a day. But to any young man of the mountains, or the plains, who longs for an education, and can bring two strong hands and a brave heart, we say, earn $25, and come on. Seek work anywhere, of any kind, at any price, and do it faithfully and thoroughly, and the way will open up before you. It is a great undertaking to work one's way through college; but hundreds have done it, and have become very useful men; and hundreds can do it again; but not without great energy, economy, and perseverance. If you earnestly desire an education, let not poverty prevent you. Seek counsel of those who have had experience; but depend, under God, upon your own hands. Expenses here are $1 a month for tuition, and $7 for board. Other expenses are
In 1833 Mrs. Stowe first had the subject of slavery brought to her personal notice by taking a trip across the river from Cincinnati into Kentucky in company with Miss Dutton, one of the associate teachers in the Western Institute. They visited an estate that afterwards figured as that of Colonel Shelby in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and here the young authoress first came into personal contact with the negro slaves of the South. In speaking, many years afterwards, of this visit, Miss Dutton said: "Harriet did not seem to notice anything in particular that happened, but sat much of the time as though abstracted in thought. When the negroes did funny things and cut up capers, she did not seem to pay the slightest attention to them.

Afterwards, however, in reading 'Uncle Tom,' I recognized scene after scene of that visit portrayed with the most minute fidelity, and knew at once where the material for that portion of the story had been gathered."

In 1839 Mrs. Stowe received into her family as a servant a colored girl from Kentucky. By the laws of Ohio she was free, having been brought into the State and left there by her mistress. In spite of this, Professor Stowe received word, after she had lived with them some months, that the girl's master was in the city looking for her, and that if she were not careful she would be seized and conveyed back into slavery. Finding that this could be accomplished by boldness, perjury, and the connivance of some unscrupulous justice, Professor Stowe determined to remove the girl to some place of security where she might remain until the search for her should be given up. Accordingly he and his brother-in-law, Henry Ward Beecher, both armed, drove the fugitive, in a covered wagon, at night, by unfrequented roads, twelve miles back into the country, and left her in safety with the family of old John Van Zandt, the fugitive's friend.

It is from this incident of real life and personal experience that Mrs. Stowe conceived the thrilling episode.
It was in the month of February after these words were written that Mrs. Stowe was seated at communion service in the college church at Brunswick. Suddenly, like the unrolling of a picture, the scene of the death of Uncle Tom passed before her mind. So strongly was she affected that it was with difficulty she could keep from weeping aloud. Immediately on returning home she took pen and paper and wrote out the vision which had been as it were blown into her mind as by the rushing of a mighty wind. Gathering her family about her she read what she had written. Her two little ones of ten and twelve years of age broke into convulsions of weeping, one of them saying through his sobs, "Oh, mamma! slavery is the most cruel thing in the world." Thus Uncle Tom was ushered into the world, and it was, as we said at the beginning, a cry, an immediate, an involuntary expression of deep, impassioned feeling.

Twenty-five years afterwards Mrs. Stowe wrote in a letter to one of her children, of this period of her life: "I well remember the winter you were a baby and I was writing 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' My heart was bursting with the anguish excited by the cruelty and injustice our nation was showing to the slave, and praying God to let me do a little and to cause my cry for them to be heard. I remember many a night weeping over you as you lay sleeping beside me, and I thought of the slave mothers whose babes were torn from them."

It was not till the following April that the first chapter of the story was finished and sent on to the "National Era" at Washington.
In July Mrs. Stowe wrote to Frederick Douglass the following letter, which is given entire as the best possible introduction to the history of the career of that memorable work, "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

Brunswick, July 9, 1851.

Sir,—You may perhaps have noticed in your editorial readings a series of articles that I am furnishing for the "Era" under the title of "Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life among the Lowly."

In the course of my story the scene will fall upon a cotton plantation. I am very desirous, therefore, to gain information from one who has been an actual laborer on one, and it occurred to me that in the circle of your acquaintance there might be one who would be able to communicate to me some such information as I desire. I have before me an able paper written by a Southern planter, in which the details and modus operandi are given from his point of sight. I am anxious to have something more from another stand-

point. I wish to be able to make a picture that shall be graphic and true to nature in its details. Such a person as Henry Bibb, if in the country, might give me just the kind of information I desire. You may possibly know of some other person. I will subjoin to this letter a list of questions, which in that case you will do me a favor by enclosing to the individual, with the request that he will at earliest convenience answer them.

For some few weeks past I have received your paper through the mail, and have read it with great interest, and desire to return my acknowledgments for it. It will be a pleasure to me at some time when less occupied to contribute something to its columns. I have noticed with regret your sentiments on two subjects—the church and African colonization, . . . with the more regret because I think you have a considerable share of reason for your feelings on both these subjects; but I would willingly, if I could, modify your views on both points.

In the first place, you say the church is "medley
people in the country. I do not say it comprises none but these, or that none such are found out of it, but only if a census were taken of the purest and most high principled men and women of the country, the majority of them would be found to be professors of religion in some of the various Christian denominations. This fact has given to the church great weight in this country—the general and predominant spirit of intelligence and probity and piety of its majority has given it that degree of weight that it has the power to decide the great moral questions of the day. Whatever it unqualifiedly and decisively sets itself against as moral evil it can put down. In this sense the church is responsible for the sin of slavery. Dr. Barnes has beautifully and briefly expressed this on the last page of his work on slavery, when he says: "Not all the force out of the church could sustain slavery an hour if it were not sustained in it." It then appears that the church has the power to put an end to this evil and does not do it. In this sense she may be said to be pro-slavery. But the church has the same power over intemperance, and Sabbath-breaking, and sin of all kinds. There is not a doubt that if the moral power of the church were brought up to the New Testament standpoint it is sufficient to put an end to all these as well as to slavery. But I would ask you, Would you consider it a fair representation of the Christian church in this country to say that it is pro-intemperance, pro-Sabbath-breaking, and pro everything that it might put down if it were in a higher state of moral feeling? If you should make a list of all the abolitionists of the country, I think that you would find a majority of

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EARLY BLACK IMMIGRATION INTO KY: WHITES ALSO

Hedrick, Soc & Econ Conditions Transmontane (1927)

Immigration into Kentucky was mostly from the back parts of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina until 1784. In this year many officers who had served in the American army during the Revolutionary War went into the state with their families; several families also went there from England, New Jersey, New York, and the New England States. Although most of these settlers were lovers of freedom, many took their slaves with them, the slaves often living with the family, working with the master and defending the master's family from the attacks of the savage foe. In 1775 Benjamin Logan went to Kentucky, taking with him three slaves. At that time few people took more than two or three slaves into the wilderness because the plantation was not yet profitable. At this early period the slaves were used more as free laborers. "Uncle Dick," the slave of Colonel Nathaniel Hart, was a counsellor for the men of the neighborhood, instructing them in matters of defense, felling trees and tending crops. Primogeniture and entail never gained a foothold in Kentucky, the land being divided equally among the heirs. The absence of the plantation system was due in part to the fact that a large part of the soil that was suitable for plantations had been divided into small tracts before the arrival of the planters, and, in part, to the fact that the thrift and personal care of the owner was necessary in order to make the cultivation of the land profitable.
AMA MISSIONARIES IN KY, 1891

american missionary, xlv, no. 2, feb. 1891

LEXINGTON.
CHANDLER NORMAL SCHOOL.
Principal.—Frederick Foster, Castine, Me.
Miss E. M. Hitchcock, Lewis, N. Y.
" Mary Knox, Springfield, Mass.
" Flora Clough, Meriden, N. H.
" Kate Clough, " " "
" Mary H. Humphrey, South Hadley, Mass.
" Anna Lee Allen, Oberlin, Ohio.

PRIMARY SCHOOL.
Mrs. Agnes H. Mooney, Marlboro, Mass.
" L. Mary Elliott, New Wilmington, Pa.
" Mary A. Peffers, West Hawley, Mass.
" Fred. W. Foster, Castine, Me.

Louisville.
Minister, Louisville, Ky.
Rev. D. H. Foston,
SCHOOL LIFE IN CHANDLER SCHOOL, LEXINGTON, KY.
MISS MAY KNOX.

It gives me great pleasure to write of our work, for I have learned to love it very much, though this is only my second year in the South.

Our school is not a boarding school, and that I think, is a detriment in many ways. The scholars are not so directly under the influence of the teachers, and the discipline is somewhat harder.

The school-building is about a mile from the center of the city. It is a fine three-story brick—the gift of Mrs. Phoebe Chandler, of Massachusetts. From her it received its name—"The Chandler Normal." Now we are hoping some kind, rich friend will build a boarding hall.

We have all grades, from the fourth to the twelfth inclusive. The latter is intended to fit students for college. No one as yet, has completed the twelfth. However, there are two young men who will do so if they remain in school next year.

It may interest our readers to know something of the work, and societies connected with our school. We have a "Loyal Legion" composed of over one hundred members who have signed the triple pledge. That means to these boys and girls far more than some of you may think. Cigarette smoking, wine and beer drinking, are common here among all classes. One little boy of twelve said to his teacher, "I can't sign the pledge till after Christmas, for I know I shall get drunk then." How sad that is! Many of them are tempted by their own fathers and mothers. Surely we should judge those leniently who have such bad home influences.

Another society is called the "Willing Workers." It is composed of ten members, mostly young men, who are earnest Christians, and are engaged in some kind of work for Christ, as teaching Sunday-school classes, visiting the sick, reading the Bible to the old, and in other ways using their time for the Lord.

Among the young ladies is the well-known organization of "The King's Daughters." These are true daughters of the King, and many homes in the city are gladdened by their deeds of love.

The colored children are as a rule very polite and attractive. Playing marbles on the walk is a favorite pastime. Often as you pass you will hear the whisper, "Stop, boys, and let the lady go by." "Thank you," I said to one little boy, "I'm sorry to interrupt your game." "Not at all, lady," and he lifted his hat with the air of a Chesterfield.

One little boy electrified his teacher the other day by telling her that "If Jesse James had lived in the time of Napoleon, Napoleon wouldn't have been nowhere." The teacher had just been discoursing eloquently upon the great Napoleon.

To give you some idea of the size of Kentucky, I'll give you its boundaries as found in a small boy's examination paper: "On the north by Ohio, on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, on the south by the Indian Ocean, on the west by the Pacific Ocean." It is worth while to live in such a State. One might fancy himself a home and foreign missionary at the same time. God's work is everywhere, in the North as well as the South, and may the day soon come when all men shall be brothers, and when color and race shall make no difference, for with Him there is no respect of
The closing exercises of the Chandler Normal School were a fitting end
to a happy school year.

A number of white people were in the audience, which shows that a more
kindly feeling exists than formerly. This is especially true in Lexington.

The graduating exercises were written up for one of the leading city
papers, a reporter being present for the purpose.

The grammar school exhibition took place the night of June 10th.

Eleven young ladies and eight young men comprised the class that have
completed the studies of the grammar grade. Nearly all intend to enter
the normal department next fall.

On Thursday evening, June 11th, the normal commencement exercises
were held in Chandler Chapel. The graduating class consisted of five
young ladies and four young men.

The subjects upon which they spoke were practical ones. "The Christian
Minister," was given by a young man who has had some practice in
that work, though he has not finished his studies. It showed great earnestness and thought, and, above all, true ideas of morality and religion, so
much needed by the colored minister of the South.

Another, "The Work of the Colored Teacher," was presented by a
young man who intends to go as a missionary to Africa. Would that we
all, whether North or South, had his noble conception of the work of a
teacher! His life at school has proven to us that his words are not idle
ones, but will be put in practice wherever he may be.

With such young people as these going out from our schools, young
men and women of education with high purposes and noble resolves, what
may we not hope for? Is the work for the colored people in vain when it
sends forth such as these to uplift and ennoble their race?

A venerable Baptist minister, who attended the exercises of Chandler school, writes
us a very kind letter from which we are glad to extract some discriminating testimony.

I attended one day the examinations of the Chandler Normal School of
this city, under the supervision of Prof. E. W. Foster, and I take great
pleasure in bearing my unsolicited testimony to the value of the institution.
He is a judicious and faithful manager of its affairs, has a corps of cultivated and devoted lady teachers, and a large attendance of children and
youth of both sexes who seem well behaved, anxious to learn, and pro-
gressing in their studies. I heard examinations of classes in reading, arith-
metic, geography, history, civil government, grammar, algebra, (quadratic
equations) and other branches, which evinced the most careful teaching
by all the instructors, and a very general advancement by the pupils.
LEXINGTON.
NORMAL SCHOOL.
Instructors.
Rev. A. J. Hatch, Oberlin, O.
Miss Flora C. Clough, Meriden, N. H.
" Kate B. Clough, "
" Min I. Olmsted, Denver, Col.
" Mary A. Peppers, West Hawley, Mass.
" Ada H. Conklin, Tuscarora, N. Y.
" Louise C. Holman, Lincoln, Neb.

LOUISVILLE.
Minister,
Rev. G. M. McClellan, Louisville, Ky.
Special Missionary,
Mrs. Geo. W. McClellan, Louisville, Ky.

WILLIAMSBURG AND S. WILLIAMSBURG,
Minister,

ACADEMY.
Principal,

Teachers,
Miss Fannie O. Sowmayer, East Saginaw, Mich.
Mrs. L. S. Tupper, Post Mills, Vt.
Miss M. A. Pickard, Williamsburg, Ky.
" Edith Williams, Minneapolis, Minn.
Mrs. J. P. Hubbard, Hiram, Me.

PLEASANT VIEW AND ROCKHOLD.
Minister,

DOWLAIS AND SAXTON.
Minister,
Rev. A. A. Myers, Jellicoe, Tenn.

ORLANDO.
Teacher,
Miss Flora M. Coro, Masonville, N. Y.

CLOVER BOTTOM, GRAY HAWK AND COMBIS.
Minister,
Rev. Mason Jones, Berea, Ky.

COBBIN AND WOODBINE.
Minister and Teacher,
Miss Hattie Finigan, Gallipolis, O.

LYNN CAMP, LIBERTY AND MAHAN STATION.
Missionary,
Mrs. A. A. Myers, Jellicoe, Tenn.

ACCOUNT OF JUNE 1890 GRADUATION, CHANDLER NORMAL SCH, LEXINGTON

The Chandler Normal School, at Lexington, Ky., closed its first school year with examinations and other appropriate exercises on Wednesday and Tuesday, the 11th and 12th of June.

As the Chandler School is but a continuation and enlargement of the old Normal Institute in new and more commodious quarters, this new work was by no means that of a new school, but rather another step in the work that has been in successful operation for a number of years.

Our anniversary exercises may properly be said to have begun on the evening of Friday, June 6th, when ten young ladies and gentlemen rendered declamations and recitations in competition for prizes. The different selections were rendered with much spirit and feeling, and in a manner highly creditable to the contestants. The large audience present attested their appreciation by their attention to the very close. Well-selected and well-rendered music, by different classes and members of the school, gave pleasure and added to the interest of the occasion.
On Wednesday, the final examinations of the school took place, occurring in all the rooms simultaneously. Creditable work in all the classes proved the good effect of a year's hard work, and very few failures were made. Our patrons evinced their interest in our work and the progress of their children, by attending in good numbers, coming early and remaining until the close. To understand what this means let it be remembered that it tells of a special effort on the part of most, and the dropping out of a day's work and wages. Their words of satisfaction and approval gave token of their cordial sympathy with, and interest in, the work of the school.

On Wednesday evening, our friends assembled again and in much larger numbers, completely filling our large and commodious chapel. The occasion of this meeting was the graduation of the upper class of the grammar room to the normal department. Their exercises consisted of original essays, and declamations and recitations, and gave evidence of good thinking on the part of the boys and girls, as well as careful drill on the part of their teacher. At the close, certificates were given to all who had earned them, testifying to their faithful work and successful graduation, and entitling them to entrance into the normal room next year.

On Thursday morning, the school met for a short session, when each one who had done good honest work and had earned the right to promotion, received a certificate passing him on to the next grade. Of course there were some sorry faces when it was found that carelessness and irregularity rendered it necessary on the part of some to repeat this year's work next year, but if this teaches the lesson of care and diligence, perhaps it is not too dearly learned.

The culminating event of the year occurred on Thursday evening, in the graduating exercises of the class completing the elementary normal course of two years. Although our chapel affords seating capacity for six hundred and standing room for many more, every inch of available space was occupied and some were unable to gain admission. A class of eleven young ladies and one young gentleman presented a programme consisting of a salutatory, recitations, essays, an original oration, class history, and valedictory. Any of the parts would have been considered creditable in any school of similar grade and like standing, in thought, matter, or manner of delivery. Especially good were the oration and the essay. After the presentation of certificates of graduation, the exercises closed with the Class Song. Then came good-byes to the teachers from both pupils and parents, and the year's work was done.
ACCOUNT OF June 1890 GRADUATION, HAND PRIMARY SCHOOL, LEXINGTON (PART OF BUT SEPARATE FROM CHANDLER) BLACK SCH

am. miss., xlv, no 9, sept 1890

The Hand Primary School at Lexington, under the same care as the Chandler Normal, but in a different house, closed a very successful year's work, on Thursday, June 12th. The closing exercises consisted of examinations of classes, recitations, singing, and giving of certificates of promotion to those entitled to pass to higher grades.

The high character of the exercises and the interested attendance of parents testify to the value of the work done by this school.

KY BLACK ADDRESSES AMA: "COLORED MAN SPEAKS FOR HIS RACE" (1890) am miss, xlv, no 4, april 1890

A COLORED MAN SPEAKS FOR HIS RACE.
Address at the Annual Meeting in Chicago,
BY THE REV. GEO. M. McCLELLAN.

About eleven years ago, out in the country, near Louisville, there was born a little colored girl. She was her father's first child, and he was justly proud of her, and calculated that there must be some fitting name for her somewhere, and that he must get it out of a book. He could not read, but he could spell a little, and therefore he got him a copy of Webster's blue-backed speller, and spelled the book half way through until he found the word "heterogeneous;" therefore that little girl was christened "Heterogeneous." This morning this programme was handed to me, and I saw on it "Chinese, Indian, Negro, White;" and I couldn't help thinking of Heterogeneous. As I looked over the subjects, and thought that I would have to speak about something, I thought that "Chinese, Indian, White man and Negro," was quite a subject for a speech. But I was inclined to be fair, like a certain minister, who was always preaching on infant baptism. He preached on infant baptism, no matter what the text was. The deacons and the people of the church got tired of it, and they concluded to give him some text that would relate to facts, before there were any infants. So they turned to the Book of Genesis, and found the text "Adam, where art thou?" And when the minister came to the pulpit Sunday morning, the deacons gave this text to him and told him, "Here is a text we want you to preach upon." He demurred a little and wondered where he should locat...
often where they ought not to be; third, the text is dead set against infant baptism; and as the time is short, I will speak on point third.

Now, I said to myself that either of these themes was a worthy one; but as Chinese comes first, Indian second, and Negro third, and as the time is brief, I will speak on point third.

Not long ago I saw in an illustrated paper President Harrison with his Cabinet, represented as all lolling over asleep; and in the group there stood a Negro, his mouth open, his collar open, his teeth showing, and with a large scroll in his hand. Beneath this picture was this remark: "Wake up to the question of the day," and on that scroll which the Negro had in his hand were the words: "What are you going to do with the black man?"

Now, that question has been asked here indirectly to-day: and, my friends, do you know that sometimes, as we have heard this question discussed, we wonder just exactly how people do consider us in this country. There have been some who have advocated colonization. Some have said that we would have to be sent back to Africa or out west, or to South America. One man thinks that extermination will be the final thing to be reverted to. It may be a fault in my education, it may be that this American Missionary Association has not educated me all right—for I am a product of the Association,—but I have been taught to suppose that we Negroes were free, independent, American citizens, at liberty to choose where we will stay and how long we will stay. It seems that very eminent men are discussing the feasibility of sending us to Africa, and whether it is wise to go to the expense if it is thought best to send us there.

KY BLACK ADDRESSES AMA: "COLORED MAN SPEAKS FOR HIS RACE" (1890) 706-B

am miss, xlv, no 4, april 1890

Now, my friends, it does not seem to me that there is any question about it so far as we are concerned. The whites may go if they want to, but we are not going to budge! So long as this is a free country we are going to stay here; it satisfies us. It seems to me God has so settled it.

The question is not, what are you going to do with the colored man, but what are you going to do for him? A great deal has been done, and it has been said that more has been done for the Negroes than for any other people. That is true; and the Negro has done more in these last twenty-five years than any other people on whom money and time and labor has been expended. The American Missionary Association found out long ago what the Negro problem was. They established schools and sent teachers among us, and when they came to us, they came at once, assuming—not as Senator Eustis has done, that the Negroes have an inherent sense of inferiority, and that they should take an assigned place; not as Governor Lee has insisted, that the all-important thing for the white man to do is to keep the Negro down; and not as Senator Gibbs of Georgia, who a few weeks ago insisted that the white people are in imminent peril, and even went so far as to bring a bill before the Legislature as to whether the Negroes should be driven out of that State. That is not the way these teachers have come down to us. They have assumed that we are as capable as other people, that we have the same needs; and because they have come to us with this assumption to begin with, because they have...
Now, of all things that are most needed to be done for us, we need a good theological seminary in the South, where the ministry can be educated among us. It is only an elevated Christian citizenship that will save us, and make us what other people are; and we must have a theological seminary to aid us toward that end. You have given us colleges, normal schools, industrial training schools, and schools of common branches, and we have now young men and young women filling all the schools through the South. We can get good teachers for our schools in the remotest places, in Arkansas, Texas and Mississippi, or anywhere else. So it is not a question as to what kind of teachers we will have. But the churches have not in their pulpits ministers well prepared to preach the gospel of Christ. They have not kept up with the young people in the work done by the schools. In the North, one of the pleasant things we find wherever we go, is that in all your churches there is something for the young people to do. You have Christian Endeavor Societies, and various organizations by which the young people may be reached. Therefore, you gather them in from the beginning and have them trained so that they can take your places as soon as you are ready to step out of the work. It is not so with our churches. Our ministers have not advanced to that degree where they can take up such work. In these little Congregational churches that have been planted, we have educated ministers, who are able thus to work, especially among young people. We do not have people at our hands as other churches have, but we are trying to get hold of them. In Fisk University there were last year, I believe, 510 students, of whom, perhaps, there were 100 Congregationalists. So, after all, it is Methodists and Baptists that you are educating there. This is all right, because the great masses of the people are found in those churches. If we had a Congregational Theological School we could reach these people just as well through the pulpit as we reach them in the schools.

I was asked to give a little of my personal experience. I dislike to do this; but if narrating any of my personal experience will give an insight into the work that the American Missionary Association is doing, I will gladly consent. My story is the story of hundreds of young men in the South. Only in the larger cities can we get a good English education, except we go to schools established for us by this Association. I went eight years to Fisk University. I have a brother there now in the senior college class. This is his tenth year, and I have a sister who is also in her tenth year there. It takes a long while to get through. My father had no money to send me to school. In his slavery days he had stolen a little bit of learning, and had learned how to write and read and a little arithmetic. I was about four years old when the stroke for freedom was made. My father began to teach me arithmetic, and many a day in his shoemaker's shop, as I sat and kept the fire going, he would teach me and carry me as far as he could; and he put into me the idea of getting an education. At fifteen he told me I might have my own time. At that age I had advanced far enough to pass the examination of the district school, and, having passed, I made my way to Fisk University. I had not known that there was such an institution in the land, or such a thing as the Missionary Association.
was familiar with white people, but I think I had never up to that time had one of them shake hands with me. When I found what they were doing there, and that it was an earnest Christian school, my whole soul was uplifted, and I determined to seek for better things. I thought I was pretty well educated, but when I found myself down stairs among those learning grammar and arithmetic, and that there were nine years before me, I concluded that after all I was not very well educated, but I set out to go through that long course of study.

During all those years of study I taught school every summer. For nine years I was not out of the school room a month in the year. I was either a pupil or a teacher. Wherever I was teaching, I would try to set up a little Fisk University of my own. You know that the school teacher who goes out into these country places is everybody and everything. He is law and gospel, and he must know everything—at least, he must not let people know that he does not know everything. So I was not only school teacher, but I organized a Sunday-school, and preached, also. Especially in Mississippi I did that kind of work, where there was much need of it. This is the way that hundreds of young men have gone through Fisk University and other institutions. We get our education sometimes at great cost, and at great hardships. Sometimes we break down under this constant strain of teaching. Many a time in Mississippi swamps I have waded up to my knees in water going to school, and many a time have I taught lying sick on my back; but the money had to be made. This is the way we get through, and not only the young men but the girls. There are two things which it teaches us: It teaches us how to be men, and it teaches us how to work. We are forced to do it for the money's sake, and it is not only for the money's sake, because we are sure that these young men and young ladies go out with a Christian desire to do good, and a young man, whether he is a Christian or not, feels that he must do Christian work when he is teaching in the summer. He is hardly respectable if he does not do that sort of thing during his service as a teacher. In that way the great masses of the people are being reached by Christian students going out among them.

So it seems to me as though the problem were being slowly yet truly solved, and by and by the Negroes will be lifted up on the same footing with other people. That is the only thing we want. We are not fighting for social equality, or this or that thing. No intelligent Negro has any desire to put the South into the hands of the Negroes for rule. No man who is intelligent could wish the government of the South to come into the hands of any ignorant and inexperienced people, whether white or black, and that is what we are as a mass. But we do want recognition, so far as we have those qualities that would cause the same thing to be granted to us as if we were not Negroes. This is the only thing that we ask for, and this is what is withheld from us. There are those even in the South who are willing to give us this recognition, and little by little they are getting over some of their prejudice and are inclined to recognize us so far as we have a right to their respect. Of course there are those who are determined
AMA MISSIONARIES IN KY 1890 (WHICH ARE WHITE?)

LEXINGTON.
CHANDLER NORMAL SCHOOL.
Principal.—Frederick Foster, Castine, Me.
Miss E. M. Hitchcock, Lewis, N. Y.
“ Mary Knox, Springfield, Mass.
“ Flora Clough, Meriden, N. H.
“ Kate Clough, “ “
“ Harriet E. Conklin, Tuscarora, N. Y.

DANIEL HAND SCHOOL.
Mrs. Agnes H. Mooney, Marlboro, Mass.
Miss Lena V. Lovell, Cortland, N. Y.
Mrs. Frederick Foster, Castine, Me.

LOUISVILLE.
Rev. G. M. McClellan, Louisville, Ky.
Special Missionary,
Mrs. Geo. M. McClellan, Louisville, Ky.

KENTUCKY MOUNTAIN WORK.
General Missionary,
Rev. A. A. Myers, Jellico, Tenn.

WILLIAMSBURG, S. WILLIAMSBURG AND PLEASANT VIEW.
Rev. William M. Gould, Brooklyn, N. Y.

AMA MISSIONARIES IN KY 1890 (HOW MANY BLACKS?)

WILLIAMSBURG ACADEMY.
Principal.—Rev. L. E. Tupper, Williamsburg, Ky.
Miss Mary A. Bye, Lake City, Minn.
Mrs. L. E. Tupper, Williamsburg, Ky.
Miss M. Amelia Packard, Brooklyn, N. Y.
“ Maria M. Lickorish, North Ridgeville, Ohio.
“ Edith A. Bingham, Mount Morris, N. Y.
Mrs. Harriet Bye, Lake City, Minn.
Mr. Chas. Farnsworth, Lockport, N. Y.

ROCKHOLD.
Miss M. A. Lyman, Huntington, Mass.

CORBIN AND WOODBINE.
Mr. Chas. Farnsworth, Lockport, N. Y.

DOWLAIS AND SAXTON.
Rev. A. A. Myers, Jellico, Tenn.

ORLANDO.
Miss Flora M. Cone, Masonville, N. Y.
LEXINGTON.
NORMAL SCHOOL.
Instructors.
Rev. Ael Hatch, Oberlin, O.
Mrs. Flora C. Cough, Plainfield, N. H.
" Anna M. Vetter, Oberlin, O.
" Mir L. Olmstead, Denver, Col.
" Mary A. Peters, Peru, Vt.
" Louise C. Holman, Lincoln, Neb.

LOUISVILLE.

Rev. O. M. McClellan, Louisville, Ky.
Special Missionary.
Miss S. S. Evans, Friesburg, Mo.

WILLIAMSBURG AND S. WILLIAMSBURG.
Minister,
Rev. P. E. Jenkins, S. Coventry, Ct.

ACADEMY.
Principal,
Rev. P. E. Jenkins, S. Coventry, Ct.

Teachers.
Mr. R. E. Dickson, Vindor, Looa, Ct.
Mrs. W. E. Wheeler, Marshfield, Wis.
" Maria M. Looker, South Ridgeville, O.
" M. A. Packard, Williamsburg, Ky.
" J. P. Hubbard, Hiram, Me.

PLEASANT VIEW AND ROCKHOLD.
Minister,
Rev. E. H. Bullock, Pollepton, Ky.

CORBIN AND WOODBINE.
Minister,

LYNN CAMP AND LIBERTY.
Missionary,
Mrs. A. A. Myers, Jollico, Tenn.

MAHAN STATION.
Missionary,
Mrs. A. A. Myers, Jollico, Tenn.

DOWLAIS AND SAXTON.
Minister,
Rev. A. A. Myers, Jollico, Tenn.

CLOVER BOTTOM AND GRAY HAWK.
Minister,
Rev. Mason Jones, Berea, Ky.

At Lexington, Ky., our Normal School has grown to such a degree that even the vestibules and halls of our insufficient building were crowded with eager pupils. Teachers were teaching, and pupils were studying, in conditions that none but missionary teachers would accept. For lack of room, industrial training has been impossible. The locality, meanwhile, has been surrounded by saloons, and houses that are worse. A benevolent lady who became acquainted with these facts offered $2,000 to purchase four acres of land for school and industrial purposes, and to give money sufficient for a new brick edifice with eight large school-rooms and all needful appointments and furnishings; the gift amounting to $15,000.

We believe that we were not wrong in accepting this trust in your behalf, even though it means more teachers and increased expenditures. We are confident that your Christian faith would not decline this Christian benevolence. Hence the plans for Chandler School are in the hands of the builders. Could some like-minded wealthy steward of the grace of God visit Williamsburg, Ky., in our Mountain White work, we might be compelled to face another such dilemma.
AMA MISSIONARIES IN KY 1887

LEXINGTON.
NORMAL SCHOOL.

Instructors,
Rev. Axel Hatch, Oberlin, O.
Miss N. H. Nutting, Randolph, Vt.
" M. Glassburn, Gallipolis, O.
" L. J. Fish, Akron, O.
" Louise Benton, Hempsdale, L. I.
" Jennie Woodruff, Berea, Ky.
Mrs. H. S. Woodruff, Berea, Ky.

LOUISVILLE.
Minister,
Rev. Spencer Swain, Louisville, Ky.

Special Missionary,
Miss S. S. Evans, Frankfort, Ky.

WILLIAMSBURG AND S. WILLIAMSBURG.

Rev. A. A. Myers, Williamsburg, Ky.
Rev. F. E. Jenkins, S. Coventry, Ct.

ACADEMY.

Teachers,
Mr. W. E. Wheeler, Marshfield, Wis.
Mrs. W. E. Wheeler, Marshfield, Wis.
Miss Maria M. Lockcross, North Ridgeville, O.
Mrs. A. J. Hubbard, Hiram, Me.
Miss M. A. Packard, Williamsburg, Ky.

Missionary,
Mrs. A. A. Myers, Williamsburg, Ky.

PLEASANT VIEW AND CORBIN.
Minister,
Rev. A. A. Myers, Williamsburg, Ky.

ROCKHOLD AND WOODBINE.
Minister,

LYNN CAMP AND LIBERTY.
Missionary,
Mrs. A. A. Myers, Williamsburg, Ky.

MAHAN STATION.
Missionary,
Mrs. A. A. Myers, Williamsburg, Ky.

DOWLAIS AND SAXTON.
Minister,
Rev. E. H. Bullock, Jolico, Tenn.

CLOVER BOTTOM AND GRAY HAWK.
Minister,
Rev. Mason Jones, Clover Bottom, Ky.

Teachers,
Miss Nellie E. Archer, Berea, Ky.
" Etta Ames,

AMA MISSIONARIES IN KENTUCKY 1885

LEXINGTON.
NORMAL SCHOOL.

Instructors,
Rev. Axel Hatch, Oberlin, O.
Miss Cora J. Seward, Guilford, Conn.
" Leola Miner, Glouceo, Wis.
" Mrs. Axel Hatch, Oberlin, O.

LOUISVILLE.
Minister,
Rev. J. B. Smith, Louisville, Ky.

Special Missionary,
Miss S. S. Evans, Frankfort, Ky.

WILLIAMSBURG.
Ministers,
Rev. A. A. Myers, Williamsburg, Ky.
" Jas. T. Ford, Lake Bluff, Ill.

Teachers,
Mr. W. E. Wheeler, Marshfield, Wis.
Mrs. W. E. Wheeler.

Missionary,
Mrs. A. A. Myers, Williamsburg, Ky.

SAXTON.
Minister,

KENTUCKY.

Miss Mary Glassburn, " Alice E. Lathrop, Richmond, Mich.
" Miss Mary H. Latham, Amboy, Ill.
" Mrs. Geo. Lawrence, Williamsburg, Ky.

WOODRING.
Teacher.
Miss Clara Stedman, Millburn, Ill.

DOWLAIS.
Teacher.
Mrs. Geo. Lawrence, Williamsburg, Ky.

SAXTON.
Missionary,
### AMA MISSIONARIES IN KENTUCKY 1883

#### LEXINGTON

**Normal School**

**Instructors**

- Rev. Azel Hatch, Oberlin, O.
- Miss E. M. Steward, Galiford, Conn.
- Louisa Minor, Glencoe, Wis.
- Louise Denison, Hempstead, L. I.
- Jennie Woodruff, Berea, Ky.
- Mrs. H. S. Woodruff, Berea, Ky.

**Louisville**

**Minister**

Rev. Spencer Snell, Louisville, Ky.

**Special Missionary**

Miss S. S. Evans, Fryeburg, Me.

**WILLIAMSBURG**

**Minister**

Rev. A. A. Myers, Williamsburg, Ky.

**Teachers**

- Mrs. A. W. A. Wharf, Williamsburg, Ky.
- Mr. W. E. Wheeler, Marshfield, Wis.
- Mrs. W. E. Wheeler, Marshfield, Wis.
- Miss Maria A. Liebisch, Ada, O.
- Miss Ellen A. Hayney, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Herrick, Williamsburg, Ky.

**Special Missionary**

- Mrs. A. A. Myers, Williamsburg, Ky.

#### SOUTH WILLIAMSBURG AND PLEASANT VIEW

**Minister**

Rev. A. A. Myers, Williamsburg, Ky.

**Rockhold and Woodbine**

*Pastor and Teacher*


Miss B. Knott, Rockhold, Ky.

**Lynn Camp and Liberty**

*Missionary*

Mrs. A. A. Myers, Williamsburg, Ky.

**Mahan Station**

*Missionary*

Mrs. A. A. Myers, Williamsburg, Ky.

**Dowla's and Saxton**

*Missionary*

Rev. E. H. Bullock, Jellico, Tenn.

**Clover Bottom**

*Teachers*

Miss M. Alice Gould, Elgin, Ill.

Clara A. Toddy, Clove Bottom, Ky.

**Gray Hawk**

*Minister*

Rev. Mason Jones, Clover Bottom, Ky.

### AMA MISSIONARIES IN KY 1883

#### Berea

**Minister**

Rev. John G. Fee, Berea, Ky.

**Berea College**

**Instructors and Managers**

- "John G. Fee, "
- Prof. L. V. Dodge, "
- "Walter E. C. Wright, "
- "P. D. Dodge, "
- Rev. B. S. Hunting, "
- Miss L. A. Darling, "
- Miss Kate Gilbert, "
- Mrs. H. F. Woodruff, "
- Miss E. F. Moore, "
- "Annie M. Johnston, "
- "Jennie Lester, "
- "Ida M. Clark, "
- "Earie J. Hamilton, "
- "Marie A. Muzzy, "

**Lexington**

**Normal School**

**Instructors**

- Prof. Geo. F. Jewett, Peppercoll, Mass.

**Kentucky**

- Mr. Charles H. Jewett, Peppercoll, Mass.
- Miss Hattie C. Minion, Bowling Green, O.
- Mrs. G. F. Jewett, Peppercoll, Mass.

**Camp Nelson**

*Teacher*

Miss Juan R. Kummer, Oberlin, O.

**Louisville**

*Minister*

Rev. J. D. Smith, Louisville, Ky.

**Williamsburg**

*Minister*

Rev. A. A. Myers, Williamsburg, Ky.

**Clover Bottom**

*Teacher*

Miss M. H. Barton, Ohio.

**Beattyville**

*Teacher*

Mr. A. W. Titus, Berea, Ky.
DESCRIPTION OF LEXINGTON HIGH SCHOOL FOR BLACKS (reopened 1882)

Nearly every one knows of the far-famed blue grass region of Kentucky. It is seventy miles south of Cincinnati, and fifty miles east of Louisville. Lexington is in the very heart of this fertile country, eighty miles south of Cincinnati, on the Cincinnati Southern R.R. The country excels in the production of corn, potatoes and thorough-bred stock, and it is said that the finest horses in the United States are raised in this region. Lexington is one of the oldest towns of Kentucky and has a population of 16,500, of which one half is colored. Although Kentucky did not take a very active part in the late war, yet at its close the provisions for the education of the colored people were as meagre as in other States.

Last June the Association decided to re-open the school, and accordingly the building was repaired. The cut given herewith represents the house in its present shape. On the first floor there are two large school-rooms capable of seating fifty pupils each, two large entries and two coat rooms. On the second floor there are two large school-rooms which may be thrown into one by means of folding-doors, thus forming our chapel. There are also two small recitation-rooms. In the front of the building there is a hall and stairway. The house is also provided with a large bell, which is a great help in securing punctuality. Our school numbers 133, 38 males and 95 females. There are 31 above 16 years of age. None are admitted below the fourth reader. The school is divided into three grades—high school, first and second grammar grades. Miss H. C. Minton is teacher of the first grammar grade, and Mr. C. H. Jewett of the second. Our scholars are not far advanced, because of the very poor advantages which they have had; yet they are a class of well-behaved and earnest pupils.

The discipline of the school is very easy. The scholars respect their teachers and seem to consider the school a means by which they are to rise. Our school-house is far superior to any building in the city for colored schools. This gives us a great advantage. We are obliged to turn away many from the lower grades. The State has just passed a law making the salary of white and colored public-school teachers equal. This makes it important that the colored teachers should fit themselves better for their work. Our school is intended to offer them opportunities for doing this work.
The work of the past year has been pleasant and satisfactory. It is often remarked that the colored people do not appreciate the help given them, but when the close of a year comes and a special invitation is extended to all to visit the school and see the progress made by the children, they do surely show their appreciation of our labor by their presence and their hearty, spontaneous approval of the work done.

Our school closed May 30th with public examination in all branches pursued. Our blackboards, decorated with original designs, presented an attractive appearance and called forth much comment. One of our boys made a design and sold it to a wagon painter, thus making practical use of his knowledge of drawing. One of the pleasantest exercises of our work has been the music. We used Mason’s music charts, teaching scientifically. Without doubt we have done much to elevate the style of music in the churches and homes of the people in Lexington. A cultivated white lady from the North remarked, “You ought to be proud of your singing.”

There are many people who think that we should take our pupils and make a model Boston or St. Louis school in a few weeks or months. This is not possible. It requires years of hard and diligent work. We must go up the rounds slowly and the rounds must be very near together. The elementary work has necessarily been slow, but we have made thoroughness and not speed the object. There have been 144 pupils in the school the past year, with an average attendance of about 100. We have no grade below the third reader. Some of our pupils, seeing that the public schools are very poor, are preparing to take the July examinations for entrance.
Our anniversaries! Yes, we've had our anniversaries; though as a school we are scarcely two years old. Of course we had no French essays or Latin orations, but we had the thunder-storm which so generally accompanies commencements, so felt quite at home as we threw our gossamers over our arms and hastened up the eminence which is so prettily crowned by our new Academy building.

The general examinations were held on Thursday, the 12th, and showed an improvement really encouraging. On Friday a crowd gathered in the chapel to enjoy the closing exercises of the term. We first listened to the "A" rhetorical class; then, after intermission, to the intermediate and primary grades. The exercises were well committed, well delivered and well received. The music by the little folks was quite entertaining, and reflected credit on the teachers. The exercise songs and little cantata were especially enjoyable.

I could but wish that those in the North, who have so kindly assisted this work, could have been set down in our little, old, mountain-bound town, to see with us those clean, happy faces, and contrast them with the same faces two years ago, and they would feel that this has been a glorious work. Slow, I know; all such work is. And often, to keep up our courage, we have been obliged to compare the then and now, and always find it an excellent tonic.

At the close of the literary exercises, Professor Wheeler read the following report: Number enrolled during the year, 100. Number enrolled last term, 100. An increase of 76 per cent. over last year. Six pupils not absent during last term. Eleven not tardy. One pupil tardy but once during the year. Another never tardy and absent but twice during the year.

Remarks were then made by citizens, expressive of their gratification with the progress of the pupils, and thankfulness for having such a school in their midst. Many seem to feel as a lady at my left expressed to me: "I tell ye, these youngsters have a different chance than ever I had; I am going to have my grandchildren in here to go next term; they are mighty peart to learn." And so there are hundreds of "peart" children, and gradually their parents are learning that they can spare them from the corn-fields and keep them in school a few months in the year.

The outlook is favorable, but here, as everywhere, success is but another name for labor.
"PINE GROVE COLLEGE," KENTUCKY.

BY REV. E. H. FAIRCHILD, D. D.

In Jackson County, sixteen miles from Berea, there has long been a church called Walnut Chapel, similar in character to the church at Berea, and connected with the same association. A few families, slightly colored, have always lived among them, belonging to the same church and attended the same school. Indeed, their minister, the most prosperous man among them, and long a trustee of the public school, was said to be slightly colored. Another minister, who preached to them a few years, exhibited more signs of color. In this neighborhood lives Robert Jones, who, in 1886, was whipped by a mob, thirty-three lashes on his bare back, for being a colporteur of the American Missionary Association, and for sustaining Mr. Fee in one of his meetings. Four of the old man's sons live about him; one is a preacher, as is the father himself.

When the colored school law was passed in this State, their harmony was disturbed. It is made unlawful "for any colored child to attend a common school provided for white children or for a white child to attend a common school provided for colored children." This utterly deprived the colored children of school privileges, for there were not enough of them to organize a school district, and there was no prospect that there ever would be. In this emergency the church asked advice of the Association. After due deliberation they were advised to build a good school-house that should be open to all children of the neighborhood, and let the common school take care of itself. Aid was promised them, if it should be necessary.

The community accepted this advice. A plan of a school-house was furnished them, and a promise made that if they would build according to that plan, they should have a good teacher the first six months without expense to them. The school-house was to be 20x30, 12 ft. from floor to ceiling, with four large windows, two doors, and good seats and desks for 60 scholars.

This was a great undertaking, unheard of in that region. There was no house equal to it in the county, for schools or meetings. But enthusiasm was developed, as the work went on, and culminated at the dedication on the 20th of June. Three times as many were present as could be crowded into the house, and so great was the rush for the school it was necessary to publish that only sixty could be admitted. The children of those who aided in building the house were to be admitted first, but must make application within three days. At the end of the three days nearly a hundred applications had been received.

Before the dedication the people had, in some way, named the school "The Pine Grove College." They were advised to drop the name college, as their most advanced students would never get within two years of college. But names are not easily dropped, and this seems destined to endure. Miss Maria Muzzy, an experienced teacher, one of Berea's corps of teachers, had been engaged to take the school. Very frequently she was warned by good friends who knew the mountain people and Kentucky habits that there would be no safety for her in that school, she would surely be mobbed, no lady should be asked to expose herself, she should not think of staying a night without taking care of. Not a room could be found in the neighborhood, with a window in it, which she could have to herself.

A man was found who needed a new house, and for an advance of $600, for

No indignity was ever offered her, and no one ever had more friends among such a people.

At the close of the first week she wrote to Berea that she hadn't the heart to turn away so many, and asked for an assistant, who should exchange with her in teaching in the woods. This arrangement was made; and for two months a part of the school was in the house and

* * *
DESCRIPTION OF PINE GROVE SCHOOL, KY 1882

The school closed grandly and beautifully, with an examination and an exhibition. But the common school was abandoned for not a pupil could be found to attend.

The following are the friends who furnished the money for this important enterprise: I thank them most heartily for their promptness and liberality:

Asylum St. Church, Hartford, Ct., $50.00; Euclid Av. Church, East Cleveland, O., 50.00; First Cong. Church, Cleveland, O., 21.25; Mrs. Mary H. Penfield, Rockford, Ill., 50.00; H. Ford, E. Cleveland, O., 8.00; Mrs. A. A. Brakenridge, Cleveland, O., 6.00; Miss Lucy A. French, Cleveland, O., 6.00; Frank Fairchild, Mt. Vernon, O., 20.00; Mrs. S. E. Rosworth, for Ladies' Benev. Soc., Elgin, Ill., 15.00; Mary L. James, Brooklyn, N. Y., 30.00; F. S. Sessions, Columbus, O., 25.00; Cong. Church, Muskegon, Mich., 25.00; Sunday-school class of girls, Brooklyn, N. Y., 10.83.

For special reasons of a local character, it became necessary to find a benevolent man who would purchase 150 acres surrounding the school-house. Rev. Wm. Kincaid, of Oberlin, is the good man who takes it at $1.50 per acre.

The house is situated on a lofty ridge, six or eight miles long, the route of the main road in that part of the county, but over which a team does not pass more than once a week, and there is no house in sight of the school-house.

The school is managed by trustees, one of whom is a professor of Berea College, and the present pastor of Walnut Chapel Church, to which he preaches once a month, in the school-house. There is no other school in the county fit to qualify young people for teachers.

BLACK KENTUCKIAN, A CONVICT, CONTRACTED OUT TO LABOR

—A Kentucky law orders the sale of certain convicts for a term of servitude to the highest bidder. A negro was sold for six months the other day at Hickman. It seems to many that the aim of the law is altogether at the colored people. Is it not a dangerous weapon, even if constitutional?
RESOLUTION OF BLACKS OF FAYETTE COUNTY, PROTESTING TO CONGRESS
KYSS LEGISLATURE'S USE OF MONEY AT EXPENSE OF BLACK SCHOOLS

am miss, xxxii, no 5, may 1878

—The Kentucky Legislature propose to make of their share an endowment for the State University, against which the colored teachers of Fayette County protest, as a gross injustice to the common-schools, in the following resolutions:

"Whereas, The per capita for each colored child in this Commonwealth is only forty-five cents, while that of a white child is at least four times as great; and, whereas the passage of the proposed education land bill by Congress presupposes the granting of equal school facilities to all; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we regard the attempt, both of the Legislature of this State and the friends of Kentucky University, to maintain that institution at the expense of its colored common-school system of Kentucky, as an act unjust to the colored people of this Commonwealth, unworthy of the chivalry of the age, and as an act deserving the execration of a generous and magnanimous people.

"Resolved, That we urge the friends of humanity in Congress to defeat the bill now pending in the Senate of the United States, unless it can be so modified as to order futile all efforts of the enemies of the colored common-school system to misapply the aforesaid funds."

DESCRIPTION COMMENCEMENT, BEREAL COLLEGE, 1878

am miss, xxxii, no 9, sept 1878

Berea College Commencement.

In one respect, Commencement at Berea, Ky., is unlike all other colleges. It exhibits, in the centre of a Southern State, the complete solution of the vexed negro question. In the large tabernacle, on the 3d inst., was an audience of two thousand people, rich and poor, white and colored, ex-slaves and ex-slaves, sitting where they could find seats, without distinction, and with the kindest feelings. On the large platform sat in the rear the more advanced students, about half white and half colored; in front of them a choir of twenty singers, selected, evidently, with no thought of complexion; at the right a brass band of various shades; in front of all a score of professional men, with their wives, among whom were several colored preachers; outside was a mixed crowd of five hundred or more.

To this crowd twenty orations and essays were delivered by sixteen young men and four young ladies, of whom fourteen were white and six colored; and the manner in which the subject was handled indicated a dissatisifaction with this order of things, though more than two thousand of the audience must have come from regions outside of Berea, which is a village of five hundred inhabitants. A prominent Southern lawyer remarked that he never witnessed so good order in so large a crowd.

This state of things has been brought about without constraint, in the most natural way imaginable. It was originally a white school, but thoroughly anti-slavery. A few months after emancipation, a couple of colored youths were admitted. Half the white students left immediately. But the vacancy was soon filled with colored students; and eventually the white students returned, and the trouble was over. The whole question seems to turn on the learning of one simple lesson—that contiguity with a free man is no more disagreeable than contiguity with a slave. The colors are mixed in all Southern society. A little change in the mixture has here occurred, and that is all.

hundred groups spread and consumed their basket-dinners. And, in the more retired parts, a thousand horses were sheltered from the burning sun.

The afternoon exercises consisted of a rousing address by Prof. Dunn of Hillsdale College, Mich., on the conflicts of civilization, and a statement from President Fairchild to the effect that the annual number of students is about 275—males, 145; females, 128. Thirty-one are in the college department; and over a hundred are qualified to teach a common-school. Probably sixty or more will teach during the long summer vacation.

It has often been predicted that this school would either become all white or all colored; but there seems to be no such tendency. The idea of color seems almost to have passed away. Intellectual culture and moral worth determine each man's position in society. It will be many years before this state of society becomes general; but cheering progress in this direction is
COMMENCEMENT, MATTIE E ANDERSON'S BLACK SCHOOL IN FRANKFORT 1878

Frankfort.
MRS MATIE E ANDERSON, TEACHER.

The public examination of this school occurred June 13th, and was one of great
pleasure and interest. Each teacher conducted the examinations of her own class.
Parents and friends were highly gratified with the very flattering manner in which
the young ladies acquitted themselves. During the year the building has been
enlarged, and many improvements have been made. The new room was opened about
the first of March.

The closing exercises took place at Major's Hall, June 19th, and consisted of vocal
and instrumental music, essays, declamations, tableaux, dialogues and concert ex-
ercises.

Upon the stage were seated Rev. Mr. Evans, pastor of the A. M. E Church;
Rev. Mr. Parris, of the Independent Baptist Church. Prayer was offered by Rev.
Mr. Evans. The children then sang "Away
over Mountain," after which Miss Virgin
Gatewood came forward and read the Salu-
tatory. The exercises were of more than
usual interest, and held the audience spell-
bound from eight, P. M. until twelve M.
The Valedictory was read by Miss Migg-
Streets, after which "The Star-Spangled
Banner" was sung by the children, dur-
ing which they waved fifty flags in the
most patriotic manner. Benediction was
then said by Rev. Mr. Martin, pastor of
the First Baptist Church. The hall
was crowded with people, who seemed
perfectly delighted with all they saw and
heard. We have received numerous com-
pliments from the citizens for giving
such an interesting entertainment. Few
of our pupils are now teaching in different
localities.

BLACK NEWSPAPER IN LEXINGTON, "AMERICAN CITIZEN" LAMENTS THE
DIFFICULT TIMES FOR BLACKS IN 1876

PRYICAL SLAVERY RESTORED.

Under this heading the "American Citizen" of Lexington, Ky., utters some very
strong and, as we fear, truthful language. As this paper is edited by
colored men, its utterances are to be taken as re-
presenting the feelings and apprehensions of the
more intelligent of the race. We copy extracts
from the article:

It must be remembered that it has only
been a little more than a decade since
the colored people became freemen, and
that ten years is far too short a period
for them to have acquired sufficient in-
telegence and wealth to destroy or even
neutralize the effects of a race prejudice
of more than two hundred years' growth,
and for this reason, if no other, the
General Government, since it has given
him the ballot, should protect him in
exercising it. To bring about a desira-
able state of things will require time on
the part of the black man, and for such a
consummation the white race should ex-

stricken to withstand the chicanery of
the shrewd, selfish, over-reaching disposi-
tion of the white race in their treat-
ment in this country, of both the Indian
and negro races, is a fact that can not be
denied. Five millions of people, sur-
ronded by a hostile class thrice as
numerous and vastly their superiors in
wealth and intellect, find themselves in
a precarious condition since the pent up
passions of a race prejudice of nearly
three centuries' standing are being grad-
ually turned loose upon them, threatening
them with political and physical death. * * *

Even the Northern people have become
insensitive to the condition of the negro,
and few even among the Puritans are
demanding that the "darned spots" shall
"out," the "bloody shirt" at
their bidding.

Thousands of negroes can be butchered
on American soil for their political
opinions and to demand a redress for
their grievances only excites division in
all parts of the country, when the death of
one American citizen upon a foreign
shore would call forth all the power of
the Government to repair the injury and
repel such an insult to the American
flag. We take no pleasure in the recita-
tion of these facts that portend danger to
the black race and shame to the Ameri-
can name. To no class of people would
the cessation of hostilities for political
opinion be more gratifying than to the
colored people, who have steadily extend-
ed the olive branch to their white broth-
ern and sought to make political affili-
tions honorable alike to both classes
and secure peace in the South.
Many of the students of Berea College desire to teach during the long summer vacation, but cannot do it without compensation. If they do they must give up their own course of study. Many of the best teachers worked on farms and railroads last season, because the people who desired schools were not able to pay them.

In view of these facts, the Faculty of Berea College, at their last meeting, appointed the undersigned as a standing Committee of Appeal.

We, therefore, appeal to the wealthy and liberal of this State and to the benevolent at the North, to aid us in this most needed work. Every dollar received shall be economically appropriated, without expense, and a strict account rendered through the organ of the American Missionary Association and the American Citizen.

Should we receive more money than we can economically use for this object, we will turn it over immediately to the American Missionary Association, whose work at the South should have the confidence and liberal support of all good men.

Contributions for this object may be sent directly to us, or to the American Missionary Association.

E. H. Fairchild,
Pres. Berea College.
J. A. R. Rogers,
Prof. of Greek and Assistant Pastor.
H. S. Fee,
Prin. High School at Camp Nelson.

AMA MISSIONARIES IN KY IN 1873

am miss, xvii, no 11, nov 1873
AMA MISSIONARIES IN KY SEPT 1873

am miss, xvii, no 9, sept 1873

KENTUCKY.

BEREA, MADISON CO.
Pastor of Church.
Rev. J. G. Fee, Berea, Ky.

BEREA COLLEGE.
Rev. J. G. Fee, " "
" J. A. R. Rogers, " "
Prof. Henry F. Clark, " "
" A. A. Wright, " "
" H. R. Chittenden, " "
Mrs. J. H. Clark, Berea, Ky.
Miss C. M. White, " "
" A. M. Clark, " "
" Kate Gilbert, " "
" C. E. Hubart, " "
" E. J. Hall, " "

CABIN CREEK, LEWIS CO.
Pastor of Church.
Rev. H. Howard, Cabin Creek, Ky.

CAMP NELSON.
Pastor of Church.
Rev. Gabriel Burdett, Camp Nelson, Ky.

HILLSDALE, BRACKEN CO.
Pastor of Church.
Rev. H. Howard, Cabin Creek, Ky.

LEXINGTON, NORMAL SCHOOL.
Principal.
Mr. J. G. Hamilton, Lexington, Ky.

ASSISTANTS.
" Miss Mary P. White, Dayton, Ohio.
" Lucy Carpenter, Portsmouth, Ohio.
" M. Anna Baker, Oberlin, Ohio.
" Laura King, Lexington, Ky.

AMA MISSIONARIES IN KY MAY 1872

am miss, xvi, no 5, may 1872

KENTUCKY.

BEREA.
" J. A. R. Rogers, Berea, Ky.
" J. G. Fee, " "
" C. C. Carpenter, " "
" A. A. Wright, " "
" H. R. Chittenden, " "
" H. A. Pratt, " "
" R. G. Lyon, " "
" Kate Gilbert, " "
" C. E. Hubart, " "
" Alice Peck, " "

LEXINGTON.
Mr. John G. Hamilton, Lexington, Ky.
Miss Flora V. Camp, Chicago, Ill.
" P. A. Rosecrans, Oberlin, Ohio.
" M. E. White, Cincinnati, "
" Laura King, Lexington, Ky.

CAMP NELSON.
Rev. Gabriel Burdett, Camp Nelson, Ky.
REIGIOUS; REFORMS EFFORTS AT ELY NORMAL SCH, LOUISVILLE, 1871

ELY NORMAL SCHOOL.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., March 1, 1871.

It is with truly thankful hearts that we at the Louisville Home greet this first day of Spring, for we have found by experience that it is “good to both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord.” During the last two months there has been a good deal of religious interest in our school. There have been about twelve hopeful conversions, and the interest daily increasing. The feeling seems to be characterized by greater thoughtfulness than I ever saw among young people and children. They are beginning to comprehend to some extent in what a Christian life consists; that it is not merely in belonging to a church, professing to have been converted, and in having “the power” occasionally. But through their darkened minds the truth is forcing its way that the religion of Christ must influence their daily life, purity of thought and life, and realizing this they are not moved by impulse, and rush with the crowd to “get religion” as is often the case in their churches, where lying, theft, intemperance and licentiousness are to say the least considered excusable little sins.

So without any excitement, with only our ordinary Wednesday afternoon and Monday night prayer-meetings, the work has gone steadily on. And from the hearts of those of our pupils who are Christians, earnest prayers go up continually for the conversion of their school-mates.

MISSION SUNDAY SCHOOL.

The attendance of our Mission Sunday School is good and all are greatly interested in it. God has given power to his word as in our weakness we have tried to present it. Our lessons the first three Sabbaths in Feb. were in the Ten Commandments. Frequently in day school the Sabbath lesson can be

against their sins. For example, a boy convicted of falsehood yesterday was sentenced to write the ninth commandment on the black-board, over and over, for one hour. The impression upon the school was very evident.

INTEMPERANCE AMONG YOUNG AND OLD.

Intemperance “goes about like a roaring lion” here “seeking whom he may devour.” And into the till of Satan’s prime minister, the rum-seller, go thousands of dollars which should buy homes for the poor victims, and clothe and send their children to school. But ah! too often the children are themselves poor victims also. One of our scholars, a boy of ten years said, the other day, that he liked wine and eggnog; and brandy too if it was well sweetened; but he was never drunk but once and then his father gave him whiskey just to see how much he could take.

And in talking with our young people we found that almost without exception they drank wine at parties, eggnog at Christmas, and beer between...
RELIGIOUS; REFORM EFFORTS, ELY NORMAL SCHOOL, LOUISVILLE 1871

am miss, xv, no 4, april 1871

/ p. 76 /

EFFORTS FOR TEMPERANCE REFORM.

It seemed to us that the next step for us was to introduce a temperance reform. On last Sabbath we had a general Sunday School exercise with this for the subject, and the school evidently comprehended fully that God had pronounced woes and curses upon the sellers and drinkers of wine and strong drink. A meeting was then appointed for Tuesday night at which there was a good attendance. The early part of the evening bore the character of a "social," and we talked with different ones upon the subject which was uppermost. One poor man whose clothes were literally in rags had been brought there by one of our young men who was intent upon having him saved if possible. His blurred eyes and bleated form evinced need enough of reform. My first question to him was: "Have you children in our school?" "No, I'm too poor, can't afford to send 'em to school, they're too much hired out." I asked him if he worked and received wages. "Yes." "What do you do with all your money?" "Takes right smart of it for house rent, and then meat and bread and clothes." "And tobacco and whiskey," I suggested; "Oh yes," he answered, just as if they were part of the necessities of life. I soon found out that he spent yearly at least from forty to fifty dollars (and probably a good deal more) for these luxuries; enough to clothe his books and send to school at least one of his children. In the course of the evening he was convinced, as far as his blunted senses would admit of, that he had better give up his evil habits; said that at our next meeting he would come and sign the pledge. I presume he wanted one more spree first.

TOBACCO AS WELL AS WHISKEY.

Mr. Pope clearly showed those present the dangers and duties of the hour, making tobacco also a strong point, and then presented two pledges one including wine, eggnog, ale, beer, and other drinks; the other having tobacco added. All were urged to sign the latter, but if any felt that they could not give up their tobacco, they might put their names to the former. Five deluded young men clung to the weed, but signed the other pledge. The strong pledge bears sixty names.

Two of these deserve special mention. They are young men with whom the habit of using tobacco has grown up from boyhood. One of them began when eighteen years old. When appealed to in a conversation on the subject they felt that they could not break off the habit. Both are as we believe true Christians, and when it was put in the light of a duty, when they saw that a Christian ought not to do anything upon which he cannot ask God's blessing, and saw that they were wasting the silver and gold which are his; they decided, although not without a severe struggle, to give it up for Christ's sake. They feel that God will help them to keep their pledge; though when one of them was asked by his teacher to-night how he got along without his accused stimulant, the distress on his face and his quivering lip told how hard the trial was. Three or four boys of fifteen and sixteen felt that the hardest thing to give up would be mince pies; said that their mothers could make "mighty good mince pies, but they would be good for nothing without brandy." Thanks to some of our dear Ohio friends we have a couple of cans of nice mince meat, and I propose to invite those boys here, and let them taste for themselves and see if they cannot be made good without it. One young man who has recently given his heart to the Lord, and who was one of the first to put his name to the pledge, came to his teacher at the close of the meeting and asked her to give him the Bible text we had last Sabbath, he wanted to read them to his father and try to get him to sign the pledge.

Dear friends pray for these young people in Louisville; that they may indeed be lights in the darkness that
AMA MISSIONARIES IN KY 1870

am miss, xiv, no 6, june 1870

KENTUCKY.

ASHLAND.
Mr. W. E. Erkens, Ashland, Ky.
Mrs. M. J. Crooks.

AGUSTA.
Mrs. Helen Sims, New Albany, Ind.

BEREA.
Rev. W. F. Clark.
Rev. J. A. Rodger.
Rev. E. C. Churchill.
Miss H. S. Shuck.
Miss H. C. Peck.
Miss L. A. Simmons.
Miss N. Y. Aiton.

COVINGTON.
Mr. E. Wilhems, Covington, Ky.

CAMP NELSON.
Rev. W. H. Butler.
Rev. W. H. Butler.

CYNTHIANA.
Rev. W. H. Butler.

DANVILLE.
Mrs. B. C. Lee, Bridgeton, N. J.

FALMOUTH.
Mrs. Ellen M. K. Southgate, Cynthiana, Ky.

* Resigned.

LOUISVILLE.
Mr. A. E. Alabam. Oberlin, O.
Mrs. A. E. Alabam. Oberlin, O.
Miss C. E. Ling, Angolica, N. Y.
Kate Gilbert, N. E. Broadfield, Mass.
E. C. Cross, Richville, N. Y.
E. A. Campbell, Cleveland, O.
Alice A. Sherman, Marshall, Mich.
J. A. Laflon, Grass Lake, Mich.

MAYSVILLE.
Miss Amelia L. Carr, Maysville, Ky.

MAYSLEIGH.
Miss Maggie Robinson, Ripley, O.

MILLERSBURG.
Mr. Joseph H. Henness, Cincinnati, O.

MT. STERLING.
Mrs. Victoria Strattan, Mt. Sterling, Ky.
Mr. W. H. Miles.

NICHOLASVILLE.
Mr. C. H. Thomas, Boston, Mass.
Miss P. N. Dudley, Nicholasville, Ky.

PARKSVILLE.
Miss Mary E. Cable, Cynthiana, Ky.

PARIS.
Miss Susan Cribb.

GEORGETOWN.
Mr. Richard L. Moreby, Lancaster, O.

KINGSTON.
Miss Elizabeth Hensley, Oberlin, O.

KEENE.
Miss Lucy R. Williams.

LANCASTER.
Miss Frankie Graham, Lexington, Ky.

LEXINGTON.
Mr. John G. Hamilton, New York City.
Miss E. P. Tractt, Oberlin, O.
Miss M. L. C. Beck, Cincinnati, O.
Miss L. E. Atwood, Austinburg, O.
Miss A. A. Adams, Berkeley, Va.
Lucy Scott.
Mary K. Martin.
Lilla A. Wild.

RICHMOND.
Mr. C. C. Vaughan. Bums, Va.
Miss Florence T. Anderson, Hamilton, O.

SHELBYVILLE.
Mr. Wm. H. Russell, Chatham, Keat, C.W.

SPRINGFIELD.
Miss Mary L. Ford, Cincinnati, O.

SHIPSVILLE.
Miss Laura Williams, Cincinnati, O.

STANFORD.
Miss Isabella hardwood, Cincinnati, O.

VERSAILLES.
Miss Fanny Bartsell, Cleveland, O.

WINCHESTER.
Mr. Geo. Cary, Xenia, O.
DESCRIPTION ACTIVITIES, ELY NORMAL SCHOOL, 1868

am miss, xii, no 7, july 1868

ELY NORMAL SCHOOL,

Louisville, Kentucky,
April 6, 1868.

We are indebted to the Louisville Journal and Courier for an account of the dedication exercises, having taken the liberty to abstract and embody their accounts.

EDUCATION OF THE FREEDMEN—THE ELY NORMAL SCHOOL—ITS DEDICATION YESTERDAY—DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS.

The dedication of the new school building erected on the corner of Broadway and Fourteenth Street, as a normal school for the Freedmen, took place yesterday. The building is one of the largest and finest school structures in the city. It was erected by the Government at a cost of about $50,000.

THE CROWD.

At three o'clock we visited the school, and found it surrounded by a vast multitude of African fathers and mothers and their young hopefuls, all clamoring for admission; but a guard of soldiers, stationed at the entrance, kept the dark crowd at bay. Room having been cleared for the reporters, we passed in, and going up into the chapel of the school, we found it densely packed by the colored men, women and children, who had been fortunate enough to pass the guard—while upon and ranged around a platform in the central front of the hall was a cluster of gentlemen of Anglo-Saxon birth, including General John Ely, Hon. James Speed, Judge Ballard, Rev. Bishop Smith and others.

OPENING EXERCISES.

A favorite air was well performed by the Falls City Band, (colored,) when the Rev. J. K. Noble, Superintendent of Freedmen's schools in Kentucky, announced that the hour for opening the dedication exercises had arrived. The choir, composed entirely of colored children and directed by a colored female organist, sung an appropriate hymn, after which the Rev. Mr. Hays offered prayer invoking the blessing of Almighty God upon the success of the enterprise.

The Address.

Rev. J. K. Noble then explained the object of the occasion for which they had assembled. It was a day to be remembered and commemorated for all time to come. For the first time in a period of one hundred years, the colored people have a school-house of their own. It has been constructed by or for no political party or sect, but for the Freedmen of Louisville. It is designed for a normal school, to fit the young men and women of the colored population for teachers of their race. He stated it would be known as the ELY NORMAL SCHOOL, named in honor of the gallant Gen. John Ely, of the United States Army, who was one of their best friends.

Rev. Mr. Cravath, of Cincinnati, Secretary of the Western Freedman's Aid Commission, and of the American Missionary Association, was then introduced. In this splendid building, he said, he saw evidences of greater usefulness in the future. He acknowledged his gratitude to the officers of the Government and the colored people in Louisville, for their zealous co-operation in carrying forward the work in which he and they were engaged.

Two years since the first teachers were sent to Louisville. Their board and the current expenses of the schools were met by the colored people themselves, except a tax of twenty-five cents levied on each pupil. During the last two years there has been an average of seven teachers in the city. In the whole South there were four hundred and fifty teachers. Last year there were five hundred and twenty in the whole South. This is but one of the chain of institutions planted throughout the South. Every State but Texas has founded similar schools, from some of which many teachers have gone forth. There are over fifty thousand children in the South under instruction. It is expected that in a few years these schools will send out many hundreds of teachers.

The speaker said he was glad to see so many people from Louisville present on this important occasion. He saw gentlemen around him who were the colored man's friends, and rejoiced as sincerely and as gladly as he did at the humane work performed so satisfactorily.

Interesting addresses were also made by B. T. Smith, the venerable Episcopal Bishop of Kentucky; Col. J. S. Catlin, Judge Bland, Hon. Jas. Speed and others.

Between the speeches, the children favored the assembly with lively
The citizens of Columbus are bitterly opposed to educating the Freedmen, and we are made to feel constantly that we are in the "enemy's country." Much of the opposition seems to arise from the non-education of the whites themselves. They are just beginning to feel their own deficiency in this respect, and it motivates them to see the negro receiving advantages which they and their children have never enjoyed.

This was fully illustrated by the remark of a rebel lady to whom I had spoken respecting the progress of our pupils. Lamenting her own lack of education, she said, "Since it's got fashionable to teach the niggers I feel as if I'd like to know a little something myself." Thus it is probable that the impetus given to education by the colored schools will lead in time to the institution of better schools for the white children of the South.

We find a strong feeling of gratitude toward the mission teacher and bureau agents. Often while passing the rooms of these children, Lieut. Bolton, agent of the Bureau is saluted with, "Dar go do

There are over seven hundred Freedmen in the city alone, and from six to seven thousand altogether in this (Hickman) county and the adjoining counties of Fulton and Ballard. Our school, with one exception (Puncheals) is the only one west of the Cumberland, and though put in operation so recently, boasts a respectable number of pupils.

A large, rudely constructed school building has just been erected, which will answer nicely in summer, but is extremely uncomfortable at present. Our pupils attend regularly, and are eager for instruction. Most of the people we have visited appear to be quite "religious" as the phrase goes, that they belong to "meeting," and have knowledge of Heaven and a place of punishment; but the story of the life and death of our Savior is new to them, and they listen with pleased interest to its recital.

The approach toward placing colored schools on something like a permanent basis as public schools. During the winter of 1865-6 the Legislature of Kentucky passed an act that the school trustees might open schools for colored children, and levying taxes upon colored people, one-half of which was to be applied to the support of schools, the other for the poor. Our colored school board applied to the trustees and county school commissioner, and they agreed to so far
DESCRIPTION OF HOWARD SCHOOL (BLACK) LEXINGTON, 1866-67

am miss, xi, no 9, sept 1867

734-A

Taxes upon colored people, and over five hundred dollars came into the hands of the treasurer of our school board, who, after paying bills for coal and repairs, turned over near $300 to the A. M. A. Though this is but a small part of the cost of supporting so large a school, yet, it is a step in the right direction—the beginning of a support of common schools by tax, and as such we rejoice in it.

Our school building, located on what is known in Lexington as Church St., is a brick structure, and answers our purpose very well, so far as it goes. The chief alterations needed are to make the larger rooms smaller by folding doors and to have them better supplied with more convenient seats. Our seats are without desks, and writing has been taught by classes—a few desks being provided for the purpose at one end of the large upper room.

A school house bell is very much needed to secure promptness in our scholars. Will some friend send us one?

We feel that successful schools are the reconstructing power of Kentucky and such we must have at Lexington.

S. C. Hale, Supt.

DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES, A SCHOFIELD, CAMP NELSON Dec 1865

am miss, x, no 2, feb 1866

100 chldrs

100 chldrs

Schofield

Kentucky

From Rev. A. Schofield:


Our school at "The Home" has been large, but we could not accommodate so many in the cold weather as at other times. The average attendance for the current month has been something over one hundred, taught by my wife and daughter, with what I could aid them. The scholars are making good progress in learning; but there is great need of books, readers and spelling books, which could be sold if we had them. In conjunction with the Chaplain of the 119th Regiment of Colored Troops, we have opened a school in the barracks for the soldiers, where about a hundred are taught with good success. In this school my other daughter is teaching, with usefulness, I trust. The Camp is gradually dissolving, still there are many people here and much call for labor. Brother Fee has left, and my labors are much increased by having the poor and the suf-
AM MISS, X, NO 2, FEB 1866

MASS MEETING OF FOUR THOUSAND FREEDMEN IN LOUISVILLE—ADDRESSES BY GENERAL PALMER.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., January 2.—General Palmer addressed four thousand colored people in the open air yesterday.

He congratulated the audience that slavery was ended forever in the United States, and that the colored people, having ceased to be slaves, had no longer any interests which separated them from the mass of the American people.

He was glad that this continent had been reserved the glory of a second example of the deliverance of a whole people from slavery: that now for the first time ours is the land of the free, and that hereafter the government is to be maintained by giving full effect to its own principles; that hereafter, before the law, there shall be no other difference between the colored race and others than that of color: that in the nature of things, for years to come, the colored people of this country must be laborers, but that their interests and the interests of white labor were to be identical: that all efforts to degrade the blacks is to degrade their labor, and in effect to degrade the labor of all others, and those who attempt it are just as much the enemies of the white labor as they are of the colored laborer. He that compels the black man to work for half price compels the white man to do the same. The interests of the black man are therefore the interests of every white man in the country.

HERETOFOR THE LEGISLATION OF THE COUNTRY

Has been very much in favor of wealth and the owners of slaves, but heretofore, slavery being out of the way, it must be for the laborer, no matter what his color may be, to protect him from the despotism of capital.

He expressed his gratification at the general kindness exhibited by the people of Kentucky for their late slaves, which, he said, was the true state of the case, notwithstanding there had been some cases of brutality and outrage committed, the work of abandoned persons in different parts of the state.

He spoke of the right of colored persons to testify in the courts, provided that within a short time all disabilities would be removed, and that within a few years the question to be asked would be, not who is the whitest, but who is the most honest, intelligent and virtuous.

The speech was enthusiastically received by the colored people, and the utmost good order and kind feeling prevailed during its delivery.—Evening Post.

FEE DESCRIBES REFUGEE HOME, SCHOOL, CAMP NELSON OCT 1865

AM MISS, IX, NO 11, NOV 1865

At the suggestion of Capt. T. E. Hall, I organized schools for the instruction of non commissioned officers, in the various colored regiments. We soon had a large school—with thirteen teachers at one period. The schools were ultimately extended to privates and to children. Hundreds of these soldiers were instructed. A considerable number learned not only to read, but also to write; and now, from the army in Texas, send letters to their families and friends in this camp.

A church was organized, called the "Church of Christ at Camp Nelson, Ky." Eighty-one names have been enrolled of

Many sermons and addresses have been delivered by Bro. Sciofield and myself in the different regiments during the week—between Sabbaths.

Many copies of the New Testament have been distributed to such soldiers and children as could read—Tracts and papers without number.

At the solicitation of friends, a Refugee Home was prepared in part of this camp, separate from the soldierly. Here were erected four large wards, dining hall, school buildings containing seven rooms, ninety-seven cottages, two rooms in each, sixty government tents and fifty cabins erected by the colored people. Into these tenements, many thousands of women and children came—at one time there were here 3,000 colored persons. To these thousands, the gospel has been regularly preached every Sabbath, and many times during the week. Many persons, male and female, have been instructed as to their duty to government and as to what government is doing for them.

Within this Refugee Home, there has been a school organized, chiefly for the education of the children within this Refugee Home.

In this school, more than six hundred children have been regularly taught—quite a number are now reading—able to read the New Testament, copies of which have been put into their hands.

Much of this time of instruction I have had a daily watch and care over these children in the school rooms. I do not believe any class of children learn faster than these—few schools of white children so good in behavior. Submission has been the habit of their lives. When kind sympathizing teachers ask this submission, it is readily yielded.
Just at this time, when much apparent good is being done, an order comes from the War Department requiring this Refugee Home to be broken up. But the labor of love will not be lost. These children will carry their books and a knowledge of letters wherever they shall go. Their parents will carry sentiments and truths which shall comfort their hearts and mould their lives, wherever they shall be cast. Yours,

John G. Fee.
FREEDMEN.
FROM REV. ELIJAH DAVIS.

An hour in the Home for Colored Refugees
CAMP NELSON, KY., April 20, 1865.

It is known to the friends of the American Missionary Association that Congress has declared the families of colored soldiers free, and that by this act the freedom of some sixty thousand persons, formerly slaves in Kentucky, is recognized before the law. It is also perhaps as well known that the great majority of the old slave masters there—with the refinement peculiar to slave-holding—are treating these poor people with extreme rigor. They are literally being threshed out of their old haunts, which should have been homes, and compelled to fly. The husbands and fathers are following the flag—under other stripes than those which once fell on them—and the old oppressors, enraged at their loss, strike at the nation's black defenders through those nearest to them. Where shall these poor souls hide from the blast of tyranny? To whom, for the time being, shall they go? The Government is building a home, within the defenses of this camp, situated in the very heart of Kentucky. It is a city of refuge and to it—"in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness," they joyfully come.

I wish the readers of the American Missionary could sit by me an hour and hear the reasons given by these people why they come, as pilgrims, to this shrine of liberty. A record is kept by the clerk at the Home, of ages, place of residence, name of master or mistress, &c., together with the reason which lead the freed people to seek refuge here—"Wanted to be free" is a common reason. A boy was this morning "shut up" a pair of boots for some one of the Government officials, when another boy said to him, "You black boots! What did you come to Camp Nelson for?" "I came for liberty—ain't that enough?" he promptly answered. "I come to learn, too," he added in the same earnest tone.

Was a nobler utterance ever made by a boy than that? But to the record. It is a sad one—not wholly so to be sure, and yet it seems to me one long wailing from hearts that have been tortured by the soul system that has so widely desolated our country.

Hear the witnesses:

MARY. "Was beaten badly by her master."

MARY JOYCE. "Left on account of being whipped and beaten."

LUCKIA. "She and her children were cruelly treated."

DARL. "Mistress threatened to shoot her."

NAN. "Master beat her and her children with anything at hand."

JULIA ANN. "Master told her to go off. Kept her in jail for a time."

REASONS BLACKS GO TO CAMP NELSON (APRIL 1865) 739-A

am miss, ix, no 6, june 1865

/F121

asking for food. Told her to go to Lincoln and get it."

EVA. "Badly treated. Mistress said she would take a gun and blow her brains out."

FLO. "Mistress drew a gun and threatened to shoot her, for speaking for the Union cause."

SARAH. "Master threatened to give her 150 lashes. He is a proctor."

SARAH. "Neither fed nor clothed properly by her master. Bound wheat all harvest—kept up with the cradle all day. Asked for clothing, and was told to go to Lincoln—or to hell! Preferred to go to Lincoln."

CHARLOTTE. "Master whipped me because I could not do work enough. The men had left and we had to do their work. Whipped me last week with a cowhide. Master is a rebel of the strongest kind. As for crowing over freedom, he said that was played out, and all his negroes were Camp Nelson struck. Said his side always whipped. If his negroes went to Camp Nelson he would get them. If they went to hell he would get them. I feel mighty bad about leaving my children. He took my nursing baby, three months old. I have been drawing my milk every day since. Hoping I shall nurse the baby again."

While making this record in the Office of the Home, a noble looking man, soldier in the 5th U. S. Colored Cavalry, comes miles beyond Lexington. Left her three children—her master threatening to put her in the penitentiary, or hang her, if she take them away. And the soldier—a solid, square-built, noble looking black—standing six feet in his stockings, and weighing 180 lbs., fear's God, and has tried to do his duty—but a subdued anguish is in every feature, as if his very spirit were breaking with the cry—"Oh land that I have fought to save—is this the protection pledged to my dear little flock?" Patience, my tried brother. The Captain of Salvation is on the war-path and "He shall break in pieces the oppressor." The children shall come to you, and when

"Peace, with her eyes cemented shall stretch Her wings from sheen to glory;" you shall come back and build, in any of the gates of Kentucky, where it liketh you best, a home for this wife and the children.
Before I had written the above, another black soldier whose family are here, comes in for advice. He had hired a team and sent it out many miles to bring in the things which he had bought since he became a soldier, but the old master will not let them come! Yes, that is the way. If no agent of the Poor can be perpetrated in any particular case, there are still choice opportunities for managing the poor. Great sinners frequently scorn to commit petty meanness—but the Chivalry are at home anywhere in the scale of crime—from assassination in high places, down to the stealing of the poor wardrobe, and poorer furniture of these poor free people! I turn to the record:—

Sophia. "Master threatened to shoot her because her husband had enlisted."

Right here an old man, with two sons in the Army, came to ask what he had better do. He went for his wife but came near being shot by her master and his neighbors, who were watching for him! And two women came to the office for a pass to go to Danville. They had been cast out by a mob—but were going to venture back for their things, which they heard had been dumped by the wayside. And here good brother Fee puts his head into the office-tent door, with, "Come out brother Davis, and I'll show you a case." I went. A woman of thirty perhaps, at a wash-tub with three little children around, at her request modestly let down her dress and showed us a back recently welted by the cowhide in a horrible manner, from the neck downwards. This same woman has a deep wound, still unhealed, over one eye, made with the stroke of a chair in the hand of the same brute who had lacerated her back. Christian friends! the Master said, "thet poor ye have always with you and when ye will ye may do them good." Remem ber, these poor who are coming in great numbers "out of great tribulation"—so destitute—and yet so hopeful, and stretch forth your hands to save.

REASONS BLACKS GO TO CAMP NELSON (APRIL 1865)

FEE ON RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN KY; BLACK CHURCH AT FRANKFORT (1859)
horted the people to turn to God; he then referred to times of refreshing which Christians had already experienced as a foretaste only of what was in reserve for them. His description was that of one who had evidently experienced what he described. He then spoke of the coming of the Lord, of the resurrection of the saints, of their redemption from all their toils, privations and sufferings. Never have I seen any person that appeared to be more fully and sweetly baptized into the spirit of his work. His congregation rose with him in quiet happy feeling, and I found myself overcome and literally weeping like a child. As I thought of the power of the blessed Gospel to free the spirit, to purify the affections, elevate the hopes and raise the soul far above all earthly cares, rendering it happy even in the severest earthly trials, I felt like praising the name of the Lord for his unspeakable gift.

If those who deny the brotherhood of man and the equal capacity of the colored race, could have listened to that black man, their skepticism would have been found dissipated. When the congregation was dismissed, I went forward, introduced myself, and took him by the hand. I learned from him that eighteen months since he was a slave; he had bought himself. I asked him if there were slaves in his congregation who could read. He said there were. I asked him if he would distribute Bibles to those who could read if the Bibles were furnished him. He said he would meet gladly. The Bibles your Society will gladly furnish.

Is it not a good thing to give the word of life to those who so willingly receive it, and to whom it can minister so much of comfort and triumph in the midst of outrage and unnatural privation. God willing, I will give more concerning this outraged people in your next.

NO CONFLICT BETWEEN WHITE-BLACK STUDENTS IN BEREA

p 20/ Following the Civil War: "New students, both white and colored, pressed in, and many who had deserted when the colored children were first admitted, came back."

"From that time Berea has stood with the great schools of the world outside the old slave states in admitting 'all students of good moral character.' There has been no scandal, no economic conflict, no improprieties or evil results, and Berea may fairly claim, by her record of nearly forty years to have proved that 'no harm will come from doing right.' The acquaintance between white and colored young men is founded on respect, and resembles that between the best white and colored men in any town or village."
"Southern objectors are strangely exercised regarding the problem of the intermarriage of the races. Under the Christian usage of Berea there has been no tendency in this direction, but the reverse. And, what is still more important, within the range of Berea's influence illicit intercourse between the races is less than in any other part of the South. Each race maintains its own social life."

"The Freedman's Bureau, after a careful inspection of the work of the Institution, appropriated $18,000 for the erection of Howard Hall." This was during Dr. Rogers' presidency.
These were troublous 'reconstruction times.' The Ku Klux were abroad, so that the freedmen huddled into towns for safety. Once these men of darkness dragged a Berea worker from his bed in a hotel, deaf to the remonstrances of his wife, and whipped him nearly to death in the woods. But they never visited Berea on such errands, perhaps aware of the 'Union League' of old Union soldiers, white and colored, who for years stood ready to assemble at the signal of alarm."

"Berea's influence helped the colored people in establishing their new conditions—the validity of marriages contracted in slavery, the right to testify in court, and most of all in the establishment of colored schools. In fact the colored graduates and undergraduates of Berea who devoted themselves to the colored public schools may be said to have been the best and strongest influence for the upbuilding of their race in the state."
BI OG OF MICHAEL E. STRIEBY, AMA CORRESPONDING SEC.
drake, ama & sou negro, phd diss, 1957

p 212/ Says Strieby was corresponding sec ama for 35 years, devoted to duty, but not as firm and judicious as Mr. Whipple; on occasion took bad advice causing difficulty for the assn.

BI OG ERASTUS MILO CRAVATH (1833-1900) AMA
drake, ama & sou negro, phd diss, 1957

p 217/ Enlisted in 101st Ohio Volunteers in Civil War; served most of his time in Nashville. After the Civil War he became District Secretary in Cincinnati, then Field Secretary, succeeding Rev. E. P. Smith in both positions. Later became president of Fisk Univ.
BIOG. OF ANGUS A. BURLEIGH, BLACK WHO WENT TO BEREAL (1866)
drake, j g fee, founder of berea col, nd (after 1900)

p 9/ Under the heading "How Fee Found Me" Burleigh says:
"In the spring of 1866 there were gathered at Taylor Barracks twenty
five /sic/ or thirty XXXXXX XXXXXX thousand soldiers waiting to be
mustered out of the service. I was one of them. I was seated one day by
the old barracks when one of my company came to me and said, 'Sergeant,
/begin p 10/ there's a man over at the chaplain's office to see you.' I
inquired as to who it was but the soldier did not know, so I arose and went
to chaplain's office. 'Here was a small man, grey of hair and kindly
of face, who arose as I entered and took me by the hand. 'I am Mr. Fee,'
he said, 'John G. Fee. I live in Madison county in this state. You are
expecting to be discharged soon; what have you planned upon doing?+'
'I told him that Major Leavitt had asked me to come to Massachusetts
and get an education.'+

"That," said Mr. Fee, 'is what I am here for, seeking young men and
women to go to Berea and get an education. Also we are making arrangements
so that every one will have an oppoturnity to work his way. You can be
useful here in Kentucky.'+

"He took out of his pocket a small notebook that contained a list
of names that he had gathered.+

'I have here forty-one names and yours will make the forty-second.
Will you come?' he asked. I replied, 'Yes, sir.'+
there's a man over at the chaplain's office to see you." I inquired as to who it was but the soldier did not know, so I arose and went to chaplain's office. There was a small man, grey of hair and kindly of face, who arose as I entered and took me by the hand. "I am Mr. Fee," he said, "John G. Fee. I live in Madison county in this state. You are expecting to be discharged soon; what have you planned upon doing?"

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"That," said Mr. Fee, "is what I am here for, seeking young men and women to go to Berea and get an education. Also we are making arrangements so that every one will have an opportunity to work his way. You can be useful here in Kentucky."

He took out of his pocket a small notebook that contained a list of names that he had gathered.

"I have here forty-one names and yours will make the forty-second. Will you come?" he asked. I replied, "Yes, sir."

He then inquired as to when they might expect me and I replied that I would come immediately upon being mustered out. He then told me the route to take and the distance. I was to go to Lexington and then take a stage to Richmond. Berea was fourteen miles in the forenoon I arrived at Berea.

I was greatly disappointed. The ridge was south from there. He said, "You can walk the distance in a short time."

So in April, 1866, I started to Berea. In Richmond I inquired for it, but no one seemed to know of such a place. Finally in the course of inquiries, I mentioned to a party that there was a school there. He spoke up and said, "Oh, there. Wal, yo take th' Big Hill, roll and keep a-walkin' 'till yo come to Gay's store. (Now known as Bobtown, I believe.) Turn to th' right and keep right on a-walkin' 'till yo come to Silver creek. They knows where Berea school is."

I took the Pike and at about eleven o'clock I arrived at Berea Ridge, which was almost barren and well night desolate. I saw only three houses. The first was Todd's store, an old frame building wherein was displayed some cheap merchandise of all sorts. Second was the house of Mr. Rogers, and third the home of Rev. Fee. Mrs. Fee met me at the door with the same gentle smile that she always had. Edwin Fee was there, but Howard and Burritt were at school. Mr. Fee had not yet arrived home since I saw him in Louisville.

BEREA SCHOOL
I hunted up a lodging place and the next morning bright and early I was in the school, embarked on an education. There were two rooms which were known as the primary and the grown young people's rooms, respectively. The primary room was quite full. There were a few colored children there. The teacher was Miss Eliza Snelak, from Claremont county, Ohio. She was assisted by Mrs. Laura Embre, the married daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Fee. Professor Rogers was the principal. He taught the grown young people. I went into his room and was assigned to a seat. In this room were

Burrall and Howard Fee
John Henry Harrison
Mary Harrison
Eliza Burdett
Amanda Burdett
Lizzie Burdett
Josia Burdett
"Raphie" Rogers, son of Prof. Rogers
Cassius Rawlins
Miss Todd
Mary Bland
Josia Thompson

There were one or two others whose names I do not recall after these years. They were all children from about the immediate vicinity. I was the only stranger, so to speak, and the only one from abroad.

Only four of the above named group ever
continued the work with the intention of matriculating in a college course. They were Howard Fee, Burritt Fee, Raphie Rogers and myself. In the fall, however, young men began to come in from abroad and there was demand for buildings and accommodations of all kinds.

THE BUILDING PERIOD

This brings us up to 1867 and the beginning of the building period in Berea. The boarding hall was most needed. Mr. Fee took the field again as financial agent. There was nothing in the way of a trustee board in former years, but an executive board was now formed, composed of Messrs. Rogers, Hanson and Fee. Mr. Fee was successful in the field and the four first buildings that were the nucleus of the great institution of Berea, as it stands today, were put up in close succession.

First was the old chapel on the west side of the campus. Then four buildings used for recitation and dormitories for students. The boarding hall, in charge of Mr. and Mrs. Wheeler, and two recitation halls. Chief among the buildings was Howard hall, named after the illustrious statesman and able general, who was appointed commissioner of the Freedman’s Bureau, along with Generals Schofield, Sickles, Pope, Ord and Sheridan, to supervise the reconstruction of the States that had rebelled. It was General Howard who donated fifteen or eighteen thousand dollars toward the building that was named for him. Two more recitation halls were built. The corps of teachers was increase. The campus was purchased and paid for by solicitations gathered by Mr. Fee. John Hanson’s mill was running day and night and the lumber had to be paid for and money was scarce. Some one mentioned to Fee that perhaps the school would have to discontinue for lack of funds. Mr. Fee replied, “Before I will allow that to take place I will take a sack on my back and go through the community and beg for potatoes to put on our tables.” This shows the spirit of the man.

The religious life of the campus centered about the Union church. Founded by Rev. Fee in 1853 while he was preaching in the old Campbellite meeting house. The worshiping was carried on in the new chapel on the campus. Rev. Fee was pastor and Professor Rogers was assistant pastor. Chapel services were held every morning. Prayer, Scripture reading, announcements and notices concerning school matters. Prayer meetings were held weekly. I was converted in this year, professed faith in the Lord Jesus and was baptized in Brushy Fork by Professor Rogers. This Union church grew to represent the Christian life of the entire community. The old bell in the chapel was bought over free from Camp Nelson and was adonation of Mr. Harwood of Cincinnati. It was not very much as to tone or beauty of note, but was an unending curiosity to those about Berea, many of whom had never seen a bell other than a cowbell.

There was great rejoicing among the people of the student body when Howard Hall was completed. But this was only the beginning; soon the need for a Ladies’ Hall was felt. Mr. Fee again took the field in search of financial support. Not long after his departure I received a letter from him saying that he had a pledge of five thousand dollars in Pittsburgh. But it was requested of me to say nothing about it. To the best of my knowledge the letter is in the archives of Berea college to this day. The trustee board, the prudential committee as it was known, were in a quandary as to where the material was coming from to erect the Ladies’ Hall. Prayer among all was strengthening the hope that the necessary money and material could be raised. It was, due to the efforts of Rev. Fee. He hunted and found in Southern Ohio, a gentleman by the name of Mr. Tice, who came to Berea to examine the soil as to its fitness for the making of brick. For it was agreed that the Ladies’ hall was to be of brick. Mr. Tice found soil down nearly the old Times Pike.
AA BURLEIGH - DESCRIBES BERE'A 1866-1870'S.

that was suitable for his purpose. He was employed to mould the brick and burn them in the kiln. This he did and I helped wheel the mud. In a short time he had sufficient brick prepared for a $60,000 or $65,000 building.

The ladies' hall went up during these preparations. Pres. Fairchild and family came to Berea. The ladies' hall went up, precious memory! and in 1875 I went to the hills of the Cumberland mountains, brought a Cypress tree and planted it there as my graduation memorial. President Fairchild was my teacher from time to time for four years. It was a cause for great joy on the part of the student body to have one of Ohio's most noble families and eminent educators among us. It is also worth mentioning that from 1866-67 there was no mail service to Berea and the mail was brought to Silver Creek twice a week and whoever was passing by brought it on to Berea.

It is, or should be, the greatest hope of Berea college and its supporters and leaders, should not suffer the future usefulness of the college and the benefit to humanity to be led away from the deep and significant meaning of the seal of the college to a disgrace and final destruction.

Soon the students began to come in from all sections of the country. As I remember them there was John Jackson, John Robinson, D. W. Cain of Indiana, George Gentry of Kentucky and Joe Brown, who were two ex-soldiers. There never was any question raised about class distinction. Everyone understood and abided by the principles taught by the Rev. John G. Fee. He taught that God was no respecter of persons. However, the school grew with rapidity from 1866 to 1869. There were over two hundred persons, and some had to be refused for lack of housing facilities. It was said by those of later management of the college that certain colored soldiers were admitted. There were only two colored soldiers admitted, Joe Brown and George Gentry, mentioned above. Gentry entered the school and statute known as the Day law. However, be it known that this statute was not named after nor approved by Chief Justice Day mentioned above. The law itself is an outrage and a disgrace to our civilization. It would be well for readers of this little brochure to get this law and read it, see it and realize what it means.

As has been pointed out, Oberlin discarded the race-caste line on which she started out, and she has never had occasion to regret her Christian educational work as it is carried on. Her sons labored with John G. Fee for over fifty years. And then at the last in his four score years, Rev. Fee said, "I see Professor Frost is not true to the principles upon which Berea college was founded."

"Oh, iron nerve! loyal and true.

Who stood four square to all the Winds that blew," Reverend John G. Fee.

"Be hind the dim unknown, standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own."
DESCRIPTION OF CAMP NELSON ACADEMY (year?)

g f richings, evidences of prog among colored people, 1899

p 259/ Describes Camp Nelson Academy, Jessimine co, ky, near Nicholasville. Academy has 1 good building, and a dormitory 30 x 60, 3 stories high. /begin p 260/ Says chartered by State Legislature, open to all, though only black presently attend, adjacent to village of Camp Nelson, made up of blacks who settled there after CW; of the 45 families in village, 42 have their own homesteads; no liquors sold there. 40,000 blacks in five adjacent counties. John G. Fee is President of the Board of Trustees for Camp Nelson Academy.

BIOG WILLIAM H. DAVIS (Louisville shoe store owner)  
born about 1874

g f richings, evidence of progress among colored people, 1899

p 301/ has shoe store in Louisville, age about 26, at one time private secretary of the mayor, taught type writing and short hand in schools. He taught himself both skills, first class workmen. /p 302/ He does a fair trade among white people. "Mr. Davis says that he has not had the support he had hoped for from the better class of colored people. But he feels that that will come in time."
BIOG OF E. I. MASTERTON, (merchant-tailor, Louisville)

p. 308/ Masterson a successful merchant-tailor in Louisville. /begin p 309/

a graduate in tailoring of Booker T. Washington "great school" at Tuskegee.

BIOG OF H. A. TANDY (Lexington contractor and builder)

p. 321/ Tandy of Lexington "contractor and builder of brick buildings."

Said awarded the brick work contract of new court house in progress in 1898. His firm: Tandy & Bird. /p 323/ Tandy is connected with the "Colored Fair Association of Lexington, which is the largest thing of its kind in the world carried on by colored people."
BIOG OF DR. W. T. DINWIDDIE (Lexington dentist)

"Dr. W. T. Dinwiddie, a young man who is engaged in the practice of dentistry at Lexington, Ky., is a credit to the race. He is a native of Danville, Ky., where attended the public schools of that city, afterwards taking a two years' course in the Knoxvile College at Knoxville, Tenn. Dr. Dinwiddie first learned the carpenter's trade; ... decided to enter Meharry Medical and Dental College at Nashville, Tenn., and fit himself for the practice of that profession. After a three years' course he graduated with high honors, and was called by the President and Faculty of Meharry Dental College to accept a professorship; and he took the chair of Prosthetic Dentistry, which position he held with both success and honor, until he resigned to enter into the practice of his profession at Lexington...."

BIOG OF WILLIAM H. STEWART (Louisville)

"Native of Louisville, active in public affairs, member of Baptist church. "Mr. Stewart is chairman of Board of Trustees of State University, located in Louisville, Ky., and is secretary of the National Baptist Convention...." Also manager and publisher of American Baptist."

"...oldest and most extensive paper of that denomination."
NO AGITATION OF SLAVERY ISSUE IN JACKSON COUNTY, KY

the american missionary (magazine), III, No. 4, April, 1859.

p 89/ Fee said he had just visited Bro. Candee in a meeting in Jackson County, Ky., in letter dated "Berea, Feb. 28, 59"
"The utmost liberty of speech can be maintained there on the subject of slavery. Eight of the civil officers of the county are known anti-slavery men, some of them out-spoken abolitionists.... There is there less opposition to anti-slavery agitation than in any other county in the State, so far as we know."

BLACKS ATTENDING FEE'S CHURCH, SPRING 1859

the american missionary, III, No. 5, May, 1859.

p 114/ Fee says he and Rogers are talking about opening a school to all "irrespective of color." "This had been the teaching and practise of the church here, in its association and capacity. Two colored persons (slaves) are members, and always, when present, at our communion seasons, take part at one and the same time with others. This seemed to be expected of Abolitionists, in church relations."
BLACK KILLS MASTER, NEAR MASON COUNTY, summer 1859

p 161/ letter from Rev. J. S. Davis to Am. Miss, dated "Cabin Creek, Lewis Co. June 6, '59." Davis said that a few church members live in Mason Co., west of where he is, and they invited him to preach there. Preached there on 1st Sunday in May. "On that day, a mob of about twenty men assembled, some of them with guns, and prevented me from preaching."

"A week or two before that, a negro had killed his master, about six miles from this place, and the excitement was very great. A hundred false reports were in circulation, during the month of my absence, and the impression was general that a mob would be here yesterday. I called on two magistrates, and requested them to be present. One, a member of the Presbyterian church, who, from certain anti-slavery professions, received the votes of a number of our brethren, refused to come, though he said he would draw up any necessary writ, required by law after violence was done."

BIBLES GIVEN TO KY SLAVES BY A. G. W. PARKER, summer 1859

p 162/ Report of A. G. W. Parker, Colporter: "I have spent eleven days in visiting slaveholding families, for the purpose of giving Bibles to such slaves as could read. In 52 of such families I find 507 slaves, and of that number 21 can read a little. To 18 of the 21 I have given Bibles. Twelve of these were men and 6 women." Parker said he received many "cold looks" from slaveholders in his work "The number of slaves in the families visited ranges from 2 to 83. In two of these families there are two slaves, in each, who can read, in none of the others is there more than one who can read at all, and in many of them not a slave who can spell out a word of the story of Jesus."
BLACK JOIN AMA CHURCH OF REV G. CANDEE (McKee, Ky.)

the american missionary, III, no. 9, sept 1859

p 209/ from Rev. G. Candee, "McKee, Aug. 1, 1859" dateline:
"Our congregations at McKee, have been smaller since last winter /sic/
Five members of colored families united with the Church then; and that circumstance has been used, by our enemies, to deter many from coming to our meetings. We are called the 'Nigger Church,' and the 'Black Church,' &c."

George Candee

BLACK DELEGATES TO BORDER STATE EMANCIPATION CONVENTION (early 1864)

the american missionary, VIII, no. 4, april 1864.

p 94/ Fee in a letter dated "Berea, Madison Co., Ky., February 15, 1864" said the previous Saturday two meetings for the people here, the second on the subject of emancipation "At the close of the second address the audience elected six delegates to attend the Border-State Emancipation Convention called to convene at Louisville, Ky., on the twenty-second instant."

"At these meetings a few slaveholders were present, and parts of two families of slaves. One master present offered to give to any good man a large family of slaves if he would take care of them. The mother of the family said: 'No; I have helped raise master's children, and now he must divide the farm with me.'" Fee said he agreed with the slave woman.
The teachableness of the colored soldiers, their eagerness to learn, and their rapid progress, were alike surprising and gratifying. I have never seen more rapid progress made by any persons than by them." Later Rogers stated: "Colored soldiers will be leaders among colored men."

"Camp Nelson, Ky., Oct. 10, 1864" Fee said several thousand soldiers had recently left Camp Nelson (both white and black). Said there was talk of a regular school, and talked about a recent church meeting:

"There were male and female, soldier and citizen, and every grade of complexion, from the fairest Caucasian to the darkest African—all blended together on the one common basis of manifested faith in Christ."
FEE TALKS ABOUT HIS ACTIVITIES AT CAMP NELSON (jan 1865)

american missionary, ix, no 3, march 1865

p 56/ letter from Fee dated "Berea, Madison Co., Ky. Jan. 9th, 1865"
Fee says he just returned from the "Union State Convention" which met in Frankfort in the 4th instant.

"As I came from that convention, I returned to Camp Nelson, where I have spent most of my time as you know, during the summer and fall. There I saw as I had in days previous, suffering and distress. When colored men began to enlist, their wives and children often followed them into camp; sometimes because of affection to the husband and father; sometimes because enraged masters would beat them unmercifully, or drive them off. From the beginning of enlistments an order existed driving the women out of camp. They would return,—now place of shelter, and often their husbands gone, they were much exposed to temptation. A request was made that the Secretary of War would provide a place for them within the camp, (which contained eleven square miles,) away from the soldiery, and surround their grounds by picketing and a guard—furnish shelter, a place for work and instruction. The plan was examined, approved—sent to the commandant of the State, approved, and sent back. By this time the 'dead of winter' was here. Many of the women and children by their own efforts had little huts erected, with a small amount of provisions. With a very summary notice the commandant of the post ordered soldiers to drive the women out of camp. They were driven without time or opportunity to get away their little effects. From the wagons and carts they were dumped down in the streets or by the way side, in extreme cold weather. The women and children, generally in a decrepit state, were then driven out to the woods, where they were either perished, or relieved by the kindness of some neighboring citizens."

WOMEN AND CHILDREN REFUGEES TURNED OUT OF CAMP (Camp Nelson?)

american missionary, ix, no 2, feb 1865

p 30/ Under the heading "Storm Appeal From Kentucky" which has no date and no signature, probably from Fee. Says on Nov. 23, 1864, while he was away, the women and children were turned out of camp. Some died of exposure. Author protested vigorously, writing B. F. Wade of Ohio asking him to tell the Sec. of War. "I have been appointed Superintendent to organize a home for them, and the buildings are already commenced. I design building wards for them in a section of the camp, retired from the troops, with school-room, work-shop, and all the necessary buildings for a complete home. I design having this all enclosed with a fence and have but one point of ingress or egress and that through the office of the Superintendent." not sure who this is or which camp???
what had been done by the commandant of the post, who acted under previous
orders from another official. By the order of Gen. Burbridge, the
women were returned, and by order of Secretary of War rations are issued
to them, and good buildings are going on, as previously contemplated for
their shelter. Here it is expected work will be furnished to the women and children, and hundreds taught to read and write, and this for time to come." Fee goes on to say they are suffering for clothes, etc.
"Will the christian and humane world give clothing and teachers to these
suffering ones?"

"Many of them are mothers with infant children, while others have
husbands in the army, and thus far have received no support from them.
Rev. J. G. Brice, our missionary agent, had visited them and writes:
'Such squalid poverty I scarcely ever beheld the like of. In rooms
scarcely twelve feet square, I found ten, fifteen, twenty and twenty-five
persons of all ages huddled together, with clothing hardly sufficient, in
some cases, to cover their nakedness.'" Brice goes on to tell about the
women being run out of camp; apparently he is describing Camp Nelson.
BLACKS GO TO BERE (sept 1865)

american missionary ix, no 11, 1865

p 252/ From J. A. R. Rogers "Decatur, Brown Co. 0. Sept. 6th, 1865"

"About 100 ex-slaves from Ky., have come within reach of us here and have been gathered in considerable numbers into the Sab. School. ... All things considered, they are doing very well. We shall have a day school for them soon. Our black laws will not allow them in the public school if a single householder objects. We have enough here now to make a public school under the law."

FEE URGES BLACKS TO PURCHASE LAND IN KY (wants to help)

american missionary, x, no 1, jan 1866

p 18/ Article, apparently based on a Fee communication, says Fee is "anxious to provide some way to make it possible for the colored people of Kentucky to become owners of land. He says that white men there, owning from two hundred to four hundred acres of land, 'will not sell a scrap to a nigger.' He has proposed to persons in Ohio and elsewhere, to form a company, and buy and sell lands to colored men and others on equitable business principles, securing a moderate but fair profit."

"He says lands in some parts of the State are selling at from $50 to $100 per acre, but in the mountain counties they can be bought for from one to five dollars per acre. He advises colored men to locate there, and thinks that by their becoming owners of the soil, and producers of valuable commodities, they will soon rise higher than the condition of mere boot-blacks or day-laborers."
MISS S. G. STANLEY WORKING IN LOUISVILLE 5½ MONTHS

american missionary, x, no 9, 1866 (sept)

p 199/ Miss S. G. Stanley "Louisville, Ky., July 18, 1866" She says that in her 5½ months in Louisville she has made great progress, did not have an exhibition.

ACCT GRADUATION, Berea Summer 1865- J H Fairchild, pres Oberlin Col.

american missionary, xii, no 8, Aug 1868

p 172/ letter from Rev. J. H. Fairchild, D. D., President of Oberlin College dated "Oberlin, July 5, 1868"

"Of the twenty-six who came forward in these exercises, fourteen were reputed white and twelve colored, but it required a keener discrimination than mine, notwithstanding my long experience, to divide them properly. I failed in three instances."
ROGERS REPORTS (Dec 27, 1879) ON PROGRESS OF BLACKS IN HIS CLASS IN LATIN

american missionary, xv, no 3, March 1871

p 53/ In a letter from J. A. R. Rogers, dated: "Berea, Dec. 27, 1879." While making up an examination in his Latin class, Rogers decided "to give them the passages to be translated into English used for the last class entering Harvard University. No member of the class had ever seen any of the passages before they were presented for their translation at the examination. The average of the class was eight and seven-tenths upon a scale of ten. One-half of the members of the class are colored. Of course you will observe that they are three months farther on in their course than those to whom the questions were proposed at Harvard."

p 54/ Rogers said he has been preaching at Clear Creek 1 time per mo.

BLACK MINISTERS SPEAK AT BEREA COMMENCEMENT (June 16, 1880)

american missionary, xxxiv, no 8, aug 1880

p 242/ "The afternoon was occupied with addresses by Rev. J. A. R. Rogers, Secretary Strieby, Pres. Fairchild, of Oberlin, and two colored ministers of the vicinity."
CAMP NELSON CHURCH WITHOUT PASTOR, 1881

american missionary, xxxv, no 9, sept 1881

p 276/ Fee, in reporting on events in Ky, mentioned that the Church at Camp Nelson was without a regular pastor, but "the members keep up frequent meetings and a promising Sunday-school."

1881-82 AMA APPOINTMENTS IN KY

american missionary, xxxvi, no 2, feb 1882

p 44/ In addition to the Berea contingency of 14, Camp Nelson listed Miss Juan Kumler of Oberlin, Ohio, as teacher; Louisville listed Rev. J. D. Smith, Louisville, minister.
"Louisville, Ky.--The Association having helped the Plymouth Church--Rev. J. D. Smith, pastor--to purchase the house of worship of the East Baptist Church (white), it was to be re-opened with dedicatory services on Sabbath, the 18th of February, Rev. B. A. Imes and W. A. Sinclair and the Field Superintendent assisting and remaining over for additional service."

"Short addresses followed from Rev. Mr. Simmons of the (colored Baptist) Bible Institute of Louisville, and Rev. Mr. Barnett, a Methodist minister from College Hill."
p 234/ Rev. W. J. Simmons, President of the Colored Baptist Normal and Theological Institute in Louisville spoke on "The Literature of the Bible," "It was carefully written and effectively delivered."

"Christmas in Berea. The formal preparation for the day may be said to have commenced with the social, on Wednesday eve, at the residence of President Fairchild. About ninety persons were there assembled, and partook of cake and fruit, and what was much better, the social joys of mingling with neighbors, without reference to color or caste."
"A. R. Davison, who was a student in 1870-71, write from Lovan, Ala. He says: +

"I left Berea College at the close of the year 1871, and have never been able to return since. I am an ex-slave living almost in sight of where I was born, and where I served as a slave. I am running a small newspaper and job office, and am the postmaster at this place. If you have the records of the school for the year mentioned, you will see that I paid by chopping wood, and other manual labor, over seventy-five dollars while there.+

"I can't help but praise Berea College, and those who gave me such good instructions. +

"The name I had then was Anthony Williams; it should have been Anthony R. Davison."

Mr. S. C. Hale, Superintendent of Colored Schools reports:

in American Miss. Asson for Freedmen: Teachers: Misses Brooks, Bradley, Barber, Todd, Taylor and Cross. The school is supported by the Government furnishing the school building, and the colored people the fuel. The whole cost per scholar to the Association is but seventy-five cents. "The schools are absolutely and entirely free." 552 scholars, 343 average attendance, 10 adult men, 12 adult women; 333 primary; 73 intermediate; 146 advanced.
SOME DESCRIPTION OF ARIEL, NEAR CAMP NELSON


Says Fee "... established a negro /sic/ school with white teachers, men and women, at Ariel, near Camp Nelson, in this, Jessamine county. It was supposed that matters were moving on smoothly, as the whites gave no opposition. The white teachers lived with negroes /sic/ and taught them. The teachers were women, Northern women. They did not try to gain admittance to white society, and they may not have taught social equality except by example. They were not molested, but were looked upon as harmless cranks. No whites ever attended this negro /sic/ school taught by white people."

WAS THERE RACIAL ANTAGONISM AT BEREA?

Black File. Berea College Archives, Record Group 13. responses to a questionnaire of Violet Tyler, 1924, for a paper she wrote:

D. W. Cain, 1877: "Now as to racial antagonism, I remember this was appearing before I left, not among the students so much as around the faculty."

Frank L. Williams: "There were some situations in which involved racial antagonism in Berea while I was there. Some of these situations were brought about by poor judgment on the part of white students, and sometimes by poor judgment of colored students. I think in situations such as existed there, it would be impossible to prevent suspicion. For people very sensitive, occasions would arise for racial antagonism."
FEE ENCOURAGES BURLEIGN TO FINISH STUDIES

Letter dated Pittsburg /sic/ Pa. /J. G. Fee to Angus Burly (sic, Burleigh) April 25, 1867 in Angus A. Burleigh file, Berea College Archives, Record Group 8.

"I hope you will not stop until you complete a regular course of study. You will need faith & patience & perseverance. But labor with the blessing of God will overcome all things. +

"I shall try to see that you have such aid as is really necessary. The best thing that can be done for any young man is to give to him facilities by which he can help himself. Then he develops energy of character that will take him through other difficulties and prepare him to be truly useful ...."

BURLEIGH WITHOUT MONEY (1874)

Letter on Lexington Branch, Freedman's Savings and Trust Co., stationary, dated Sept 5, 1874, from A. A. Burleigh to Miss White, his washerwoman. in: Angus A. Burleigh file, Berea College Archives, Record Group 8.

"Miss White--please send me a bill of my washing. You must excuse me for not settling with you when I left. I had no money at that time. Just drop me a card to Lexington. I shall send you the balance due. truly your Friend." A. A. Burleigh (signed) Burleigh asked "Eddie" to deliver the note for him.

apparently Burleigh had just gone to work for the Fred Sav & Trust?
"Angus A. Burleigh, Hermosa Beach, California, oldest living graduate of the College. Born on the Atlantic in 1848, Mr. Burleigh's first home on the land was in Virginia. Early in life he came to Kentucky and was here when the Civil War broke. In 1864, at the age of 16, he enlisted, and was mustered out in 1866, at Camp Nelson, where he was found and brought to Berea by John G. Fee. Burleigh was graduated from the College in the class of 1875 and is the only surviving member. His two classmates were John R. Rogers and John Fee Gregg."

Taken from Berea Quarterly, Feb 1897, p. 24: "Having learned to read before the war, he was able to graduate in 1875 from the classical course. After a period of teaching he devoted himself to the ministry, and has held pastorate in Brooklyn, N. Y., Quincy, Ill., and Milwaukee, Wis., his present charge. He has been chaplain of the Ill. State Senate, and has traveled as presiding elder in Ia., Minn., Wis. and the Dakotas."

Burleigh wrote to the Citizen, apparently between 1-30-1930 and 9-4-1930, indicating that he was the oldest living graduate of Berea. Said he arrived at Berea in the spring of 1866, in May. Said received A. B. and A. M. Taken from typescript copy of that letter.

Typescript copy fo a letter to the Citizen, 10-3-1930. Burleigh said 1870 was his preparatory year for college. "I am the son of an Englishman—a sea captain—and was born on the Atlantic Ocean. My mother was a De Dasco. The De Dascos came to the Western World in the early part of the 19th century."

In 4-1936 Burleigh was still alive, 89 years old.
Mcolumbus, Ohio, June 21, 1919.

"Prof. John H. Jackson, Negro educator and writer, died at his home here. He was 68 years of age. Professor Jackson was the first Negro to be graduated from Berea College, Berea, Ky. He was president of the Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute for eleven years and president of the Lincoln Institute, Jefferson City, Mo., for three years. He also was connected with the public schools of Lexington, where he was born, for several years.+

"His chief published work was a 'History of Education from the Greeks to the Present Time.' At the time of his death he was secretary of the Negro Y. M. C. A. here. In 1880 he was a delegate-at-large from Kentucky to the Republican national convention, where he was one of the famous 306 who voted for Grant.--Lexington Leader."

BLACKS MUST BE OWNERS OF LAND (Fairchild-1882)

p 15/ "The negroes /sic/ must be owners of farms, and not renters or mere laborers, else they will never be desirable citizens. How this is to be accomplished is a difficult problem; not by force, let us hope."
FAIRCHILD REPORTS ON LOUISVILLE BLACK SCHOOLS: CAPACITY OF BLACKS REPORTED BY SUPT OF SCHOOLS (1882)

ama, pamphlet no 7, god's designs for negro race, address fairchild, 1882

p 18/ Says he is not going to discuss capacities of blacks, but will let report of Louis superintendent speak. "In the city of Louisville there are about forty colored schools, all instructed by colored teachers, but under the supervision of the city superintendent. This is his testimony in regard to them.+

"They are graded like the white schools, pursue the same studies and go over the same ground every year; are examined by the same committee with the same list of printed questions, in the absence of their teachers, and stand as high in their examinations as the white schools. He is not able to see that color has anything to do with ability to learn. Their teachers, for want of experience, are not quite equal to the white teachers, but they will be in time; and the principals, four colored men, are fully equal in all respects to the white principals.+

"This is the testimony of a Kentuckian, not likely to be prejudiced in favor of the colored people, given directly to me for publication."

MUST LEARN TO TREAT BLACK PEOPLE LIKE WHITE PEOPLE: FAIRCHILD (1882)

ama, pamphlet no 7, god's designs for negro race, address fairchild, 1882

p 19/ "We must learn to treat negroes as we do white people. They must ride in the same cars, sop at the same hotels, sit at the same tables, attend the same schools and churches, meet in the same social circles, sing in the same choirs, and mingle as equals everywhere. This is not to be forced at all; we must gradually and naturally grow into it. To this we are steadily but inevitably coming. This seems to many, I know, like flying into the face of nature. But to those who have witnessed these things in a school of nearly four hundred members, half white and half colored, for a dozen years, it does not seem so. All this may be witnessed in the centre of Kentucky, and three thousand people, two-thirds of them white, gather every year at the Commencements to witness the wonderful work. All is voluntary, peaceful and orderly."
We are quite too apt to mistake prejudice for Nature. Is it Nature that teaches us to enjoy the manipulations of a colored barber while we could not endure to have a colored gentleman shaved in the same shop? Does Nature fill our fashionable restaurants and hotels with colored cooks and waiters when a genteel, colored man or woman could not be tolerated forty feet away? Does Nature teach us to take colored servants into the ladies' car and drive the most cultured colored ladies into the smoking car? Fairchild sees God's designs being manifest in the past 50 years, and predicts all he has suggested in the next 50 years. "The South is changing even more rapidly than the North."

"Pres. Fairchild of Berea, Ky. said, the colored people are to have all the responsibilities of the white people, or they will be an inferior people. They must be as well prepared as white people in every respect, in order to secure the respect of the white people and maintain their own respect." Fairchild goes on to impress upon his audience the importance of going to college.

"We must educate the colored people to associate with the white people. They must be brought to the place where they will not feel ill at ease among cultured people."
FAIRCHILD DENOUNCES RACE PREJUDICE: SEVERAL EXAMPLES


p 5/ Fairchild comments that blacks can work in hotels, etc, but cannot patronize them. He then listed 9 instances of pure prejudice against blacks. /page 6/ court case; blacks can't testify in courts. /p 7/ can't frequent hotels. Tells the story of one of his students: "an intelligent, cultured, neatly-dressed amiable young lady from Southern Ohio, last year set out to visit the capital of this State, where she had taught school the year before. At Lexington she took the cars. As she was about to enter the ladies' coach the brakeman stopped her and directed her to the forward car, occupied by men only. She declined to enter there, and asked for the return of her fare. This was refused, and, with the aid of another man, the brakeman forced her into the car. Many disagreeable particulars I omit, and confine myself to such acts as were supposed to be in obedience to orders, and were justified to me by the principal officer of the road. It is not with a vulgar brakeman that we have a controversy, but with the public sentiment which demands or allows such an insult by a railroad company to a genteel young lady. If she had held a white child in her arms, or something as a servant, as a conductor once said to me, it would have been all right; the ladies' car would have been opened to her without hesitation." Another problem is no schools in some districts/begin p 9/ discrimination by ministers, etc.

BURDETTE MEMBER OF BEREA COLLEGE BOARD OF TRUSTEES (publicity circulars)

annual circular, Berea College, June 1875 (Publicity leaflet) found in the Fairchild papers, Berea College Archives, Record Group 3.1, Box 1

This publicity document lists Board of Trustees, with Rev. Gabriel Burdette as a member.

Annual Circular, Berea College, 1874-75. Rev. Gabriel Burdette, board of Trustees member.
PROF. PETER H. CLARK, PRINCIPAL OF BLACK HIGH SCHOOL, CINCINNATI,
SON OF KY SLAVES, AT BEREA COMMENCEMENT 1875
clipping;
Under the title: "Interior Correspondence, Berea, Ky., June 20" a communique
in the Congregationalist, July 15, 1875, signed by "Pilgrim" found in
the fairchild papers, Berea College Archives, record group 3.1, box 1.

One of the speakers before the Literary Societies during commencement was
"Prof. Peter H. Clark, Principal of the High School in Cincinnati for
colored pupils, upon 'The dangers of our nation.' It was a scholarly and
patriotic production. His grandfather and his mother had toiled in
Kentucky as slaves. He is a gentleman of culture, of breadth of view,
and of eloquence."

this same article apparently appeared in a number of New England papers.

HENRY ALLEN LAINE TALKS ABOUT ENTRY INTO BEREA (1890,91?)
letter from Henry Allen Laine to Miss Alice K. Douglas, dated "Richmond,
Ky., Route 3. Mar. 4, 1926" found in the fairchild papers, Berea
College Archives, record group 3.1, box 1.

HA Laine writes about the teachers he had at Berea., refers to
hisself: "a timid student like me." Mrs Carlock was "largely
instrumental in bringing me into the College Church in the spring of
1891; and I was baptized by Principal B. S. Hunting as Brother Fee was
too feeble to officiate." Black Student, long time Co Agent, Mad Co.
Smith said he arrived in Berea from Oberlin College in the fall of 1890 with a letter of introduction from Mr. Eugene P. Fairchild, Acting Treasurer. "As a result of this introduction I was invited to eat my Christmas dinner at the Fairchild home where for the first time I came in direct contact with Miss Gilbert...." Talks about her classes.

HATHAWAY COMMENTS ON INDUSTRY AND ECONOMY OF BLACKS (1884)

"There are two elements in the acquisition of property, viz; industry and economy. In both of these a great body of the race has been remiss, and is to-day. the /sic/ negro /sic/ race, as all other races, has indolent ones in its ranks; then again, a large number have unwisely and harmfully mistaken idleness for freedom, and in their efforts to enjoy their freedom spend valuable time in what is usually called 'loafing.' By their labor they add naught to themselves, their race, or their country; they are drones in the great hive of human affairs.+

"But the race has been woefully lacking in economy. Notwithstanding the shiftlessness of a large number, an enormous amount of money is earned by the race each year. Imagine, if you can, what an enormous amount of money is paid into the hands of the race in one year. Taking all things into consideration, the advancement of the race does not account for it. Let us make a liberal estimate. In this county (Madison) there are not less than 1,300 colored voters-and we take voters rather than population, in order that we may not overestimate. Suppose that each of these 1,300 men were able to save, above all expenses, only the sum of ten dollars for the entire year. All together would save in a year beginning p 14/ $13,000. What a showing this would make in only a few years! In the twenty years of freedom it would give the colored people of Madison County the wealth of over half a million...."
PRICE OF SLAVES 1858

letter from James Nelson to Dear Son, dated Pleasant Hill, Clarke Co., Ky., 1858; found in Slavery and Anti-Slavery Collection, Historical Collections, Berea College.

"Negroes have decline in price. Mr Henderson paid $750 for a good hand 30 years old."

A. A. BURLEIGH--DISCIPLINE CASE 1874

typescript "Report of Clerk of Faculty to Trustees, June 30, 1874 Selections," Henry F. Clark, Clerk of Faculty. found in Board of Trustees, Minutes, Berea College Archives, Record Group 2, Box 1.

Three cases of discipline: "In the early part of the winter term Mr. A. A. Burleigh was brought before the Faculty upon three serious charges, each with several specifications. The charges were, first "Repeated insubordination," second, "Repeated insolence," third, "violent and disorderly talk and conduct among the students." After a careful trial extending through several long sessions, all three charges were unanimously sustained by the Faculty, and all the particular specifications also, by a vote all but unanimous; except that one specification under the third charge, which was of quite a serious nature was waived in lack of corroborative evidence to support the clear and unequivocal testimony of one unimpeachable witness. The final action... was a vote that Mr. Burleigh be reprimanded before the students of the institution and be informed that a continuance of such conduct will sever his connection with the school."

in regard to the penalty for these offenses,
Berea Faculty Vote to Recruit Black Students

Report of L. V. Dodge, for the Faculty to the Board of Trustees, June 19, 1884. Minutes, Berea College Archives, Record Group 2, Box 1.

Unanimously accepted by the faculty is a call for recruiting more black students to keep the ratio of 50-50, as they recruit more whites from the bluegrass area.

ACCT OF DELIA WEBSTER'S ENTRY, THEN RETURN TO KY (1842-52)

Anony, by-laws Webster Kentucky Farm Assn, 1858

p 9/ Says Miss Webster left north to go to Ky in 1842 for reasons of health. After being treated harshly and thrown into prison, she moved north again. Eventually she began teaching in New York City but soon prominent people in Kentucky "induced her to leave New York and return to that State. The Governor and people thought she would be safe in doing so, and she was well received." In 1849 she located a site in Ky for a school, but was unable to get possession until 1852. It was on the banks of the Ohio, between Cincin. and Louisville opposite Madison, Indiana. The estate consisted of 600 acres of good land.

p 10/ During 1852 Miss Webster was joined by others in "her Free Labor enterprise." "...but in less than six months the whole atmosphere was rife with threats and predictions that they would all be driven off on account of their anti-slavery; and scarce a year had elapsed after they moved upon the place, before some became intimidated by the threats of violence, and left, while the others were literally driven off the Farm and out of the State by lawless officials or soulless mobs. More than twenty persons were thus expelled. Miss Webster alone stood her ground and faced the enemy, declaring her constitutional rights and her intention to maintain them."

"For some time she was left in peace, but at length the persecutions were revived, and numerous meetings held to devise means of driving her from the field. At one time she was waited upon by a committee of fifty slaveholders, delegated to demand of her to abandon her project and leave the State." She remained reminding them of the state Constitution.

At
The effects of this Free Labor experiment began to show itself an hundred miles into the interior of the State, and the fact that she was a defenceless woman, did not deter the chivalrous slave-holders from the most unlawful and desperate efforts to force her to employ slaves to work her Farm, or drive her entirely from her possessions on her refusal to do so.

"Sternly refusing to surrender her rights in such a summary manner, Miss Webster was dragged before the court at Corn Creek, in the winter of 1854, and, placed under ten thousand dollar bonds to leave the State and never return; and on her refusal to give the required bonds, she was cast into Bedford jail..." where she was mistreated for a lady.

"Enfeebled in health she returned to her Farm and rural pursuits, and again employed a company of poor whites, who were actually suffering for the necessities of life, paid them good wages, and set them at work, (herself superintending,) and succeeded in getting in large fields of corn, oats, and other crops, and was making a sure and steady progress in her great work, when again all sorts of rumors were put in circulation, and much said about slave property running down upon the hands of the owners, and about the decided diminution in the price of slave labor; and the conclusion of the whole matter was, that those who would save themselves from loss must unite in putting down Miss Webster, or put their slaves in their pockets." Miss Webster was next visited by a "wealthy slave-holder" who offered to buy her out. He "...frankly said that it was not because they had any confidence in the stale rumors that she was running off slaves,"; they recognized that she was a law abiding citizen.

"...but that her plans, her system, and her example, however good in themselves considered, were operating directly against their institutions, and were gradually diminishing the value of certain property in which they were largely interested." They threatened to use their influence against her. Upon refusing to leave, she was again illegally arrested (sort of house arrest); her guard falling asleep, and learning that "...she was to be delivered up to the merciless 'Legree,'" she fled to Indiana. Says her property in furniture, library, corn, etc, stolen. Then the "...rich 'Legree' bribed the officer or constable, (for the sheriff himself would have nothing to do with it,) sold the property and pocketed the proceeds; for the recovery of which a suit has been instituted against this man; and in the opinion of some of our best lawyers, the State of Kentucky is also liable for heavy damages." When she did not make her next payment the mortgage on the land was foreclosed.

Eventually, however, negotiations stayed the judgment against her land. "And, now, the object of this organization is to pay up the balance of her indebtedness, so as to save the property for Miss Webster, and take a Trust Deed of the beautiful estate, giving her the right of redemption." /pages 3-8/ describe the contract or the corporation raising money to help Miss Webster.
"If Ohio is ever abolitionized," wrote Samuel May, Jr., "it will be by the fugitive slaves from Kentucky; their flight through the State, is the best lecture,—the pattering of their feet, that's the talk."

taken from Undated note, May Papers, Boston Public Library

"Levi Coffin of Newport (Fountain City), Indiana, and later of Cincinnati, J. Miller McKim and William Still of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, and Thomas Garrett of Wilmington, Delaware, all enjoyed a well-deserved reputation for underground railroad service."
WHY SLAVES RAN AWAY: A KY EXAMPLE (General reluctance to leave)

Arlay, liberty line, 1961

p 23/ "Even the independent individualist Frederick Douglass admitted years after his escape that the prospect of leaving his friends was 'decidedly the most painful thought' with which he had to contend. Fear of change for the worse caused a slave in Virginia to run away from his master, who was 'a very good old man.' Many years afterward he admitted, 'I never would have left him, but he was gittin old and I didn't know into whose hands I'd fall into.' Fear of being sold was common and often provided a reason for running away. Sometimes slaves escaped after they were threatened with sale or learned of plans to sell them, though in many cases the sale plans were imaginary. The owners of ten slaves who escaped from Kentucky could only explain the exodus by a rumor that two of them were to be sold to a Louisiana cotton planter. The slaves, of course, may have had other reasons."

GARA COMMENTS ON COLEMAN'S VIEW OF UNDERGROUND RR

Arlay, liberty line, 1961

p 15/ "More recently, a historian of Kentucky said much the same thing. Assuming that large numbers of slaves had escaped, he commented that it was 'plainly evident that no such numbers could have escaped from Kentucky masters had they relied solely on their own efforts.' He described the underground railroad as 'an elusive and shadowy transportation system' with codes and rigid discipline characteristic of a 'vast secret service.' The illegal 'system grew from an obscure trickle of private humanitarianism into a powerful interstate organization.'"
p 33/ "A runaway in Kentucky surrendered to the trader who had purchased him with the understanding that he would have a chance to buy himself. It took half a dozen years of labor as a steward on a steamboat to pay the trader the sixteen hundred dollars stated in the contract.

see Drew, Refugee, 239-48, 251-54, 271-73

p 86/ "Not surprisingly, southern courts also invoked severe penalties on abolitionists caught helping slaves escape. Calvin Fairbank's fugitive slave adventures cost him seventeen years in prison, although an accomplice, Delia Webster, was pardoned by a Kentucky governor after she had served only six weeks of a two-year sentence."
KENTUCKIANS EXAGGERATE LOSS IN ESCAPED SLAVES

p 86/ "Early in 1861, in answer to a Kentuckian's charge that his state lost $200,000 annually in slaves, William Kellogg of Illinois disclosed that another congressman had told him that there were at that time in Maryland 'men under indictment for stealing more negroes than there have been slaves taken from the South in the past year by any combination of northern men.'"

Cong Globe, 36 Cong, 2 sess (1861), App., 193

HENSON LEADS SLAVES OUT OF KY

p 85/ "After making his own successful escape to Canada with his family, Josiah Henson returned to Kentucky to help a number of other slaves escape. Both Harriet Tubman and Josiah Henson worked with abolitionist friends when they could find them, but for the most part they relied on their won ingenuity in taking slaves north."

see Truth Stranger than Fiction, p 149
When Seth Conklin made a trip south to rescue Peter Still's family, he found no underground railroad network prepared for him. He wrote that he searched the country opposite Paducah, Kentucky, and found the region for fifty miles around 'inhabited by Christian wolves.'

Calvin Fairbank boasted that he had guided forty-seven Kentucky and Virginia slaves 'toward the North Star,' without help.
p 72/ "In 1850 a Kentucky newspaper commented approvingly of the purchase and manumission of slaves, a practice which was 'much more consonant with law and justice. . . . than the practice of harboring and secreting slaves that too commonly prevails in the free States.'"
"ALL SLAVES DREAMED OF ESCAPING TO FREEDOM" OVERSIMPLIFICATION

p 40/
"It is obviously an oversimplification, then, to assume that all slaves in the ante bellum South dreamed constantly of escaping to the North. Though their lives were difficult, often cruelly burdensome, still many of them preferred immediate and tangible relief to the uncertainties of an abstract freedom. Thus slaveowners and overseers faced the constant problem of absenteeism of slaves who ran off in anger, in fear, or simply in the desire to avoid work. Besides those who, by various means, achieved at least partial respite from the drudgery of slave life, there were also some few fortunate enough to have generous masters who either freed them outright or allowed them to purchase themselves.+

"Given the conditions of their time, most of the bondsmen had little alternative to some kind of adjustment within the slave society. Very few of them allowed any hope of freedom /begin p 41/ they may have harbored to lead to deeds."

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ONLY A MINORITY OF SLAVES THOUGHT IN TERMS OF ESCAPE

"There was a minority, however, more sensitive to its bondage than the rest. If the average slave adjusted to slavery and to his place in it, there were always some who did not. For them running away was a logical solution. They were the misfits in the system, and their best adjustment was to leave it altogether. The decision to leave was not to be taken lightly. The chances of being recaptured were high. But there were those who were motivated in running away not by a desire to gain new privileges, or to return to a former and more benevolent master, or to enjoy a temporary respite from a difficult and monotonous work routine, but rather by a determination to leave the world of slavery forever. It was a small minority who had the courage to implement the idea. Some even would have died rather than return to slavery, and records of a few desperate struggles with fugitives testify to this. Often they arrived independently at the decision to run away. 'It always appeared to me that I wanted to be free, and could be free,' said a fugitive slave who had reached Canada, 'No person ever taught me so, --it came naturally to my mind.'"

the quote comes from Drew, The Refugee, 344-46

GARA EVALUATES THE NUMBER OF ESCAPES FROM THE SOUTH

"Under those circumstances the number of slaves who escaped from southern bondage was not large. The exact number, of course, can never be determined. The legend put it high, but in actual fact the proportion of runaways to the entire slave population was small. They were numbered in the thousands, and only a small percentage of the millions of slaves in the South."

gara cites FB Simkins, hist south (NY 1953), 198, 199
WERE BLACKS AWARE OF HOW TO GET TO THE NORTH?

gara, liberty line, 1961

p 35/ "But apparently /begin p 36/ they did not consider escaping. Even some slaves who ran away northward were ignorant of geography and distance and had little idea of how to get to their destination. 'The real distance was great enough,' said Frederick Douglass, 'but the imagined distance was, to our ignorance, much greater. Slaveholders sought to impress their slaves with a belief in the boundlessness of slave territory, and of their own limitless power. Our notions of the geography of the country were very vague and indistinct.'"

BORDER STATE SLAVES MORE KNOWLEDGEABLE OF EXISTENCE OF FREE TERRITORY

gara, liberty line, 1961

p 35/ "The ignorance of most slaves about the free states made it more likely that such discontent would be translated into action. They knew of the existence of free territory through talking with whites, free Negroes, and other slaves who had been there. For border-state residents, this kind of knowledge was probably universal, and it was not unusual in the lower South. But for the most part such knowledge was based on vague heresay. Slaveholders sometimes deliberately circulated stories about the severity of winters in the northern states and Canada."
"The desirability of freedom for its own sake was apparently not nearly so obvious to those born in slavery as to Professor Siebert. In actual fact, many additional considerations, far more prosaic than a search for freedom, influenced those slaves who made a break from slavery. Motives for running away, whether instinctive or practical, were usually more than balanced for the slave by a variety of circumstances which made it far easier not to do so. Furthermore, there were other ways to leave bondage; not all slaves who entered the ranks of the freedmen did so by running away, nor did they all prefer life in the North to life in the South."

"Two Louisville fugitives who traveled by train in 1859 were apprehended by police who met the train at another town." Gara was talking about in chapter entitled "The Road to the North," how difficult it was for blacks to escape the south.
FEMALE SLAVE HIDES OUT IN FRANKFORT (1851) BUT WRITES OWNER SHE IN IN CANADA

gara, liberty line, 1961

p 30/ "A slave woman who had been hired out in Frankfort, Kentucky, decided to leave her employer and live with a free Negro barber. She liked the city and the barber; so she wrote a letter to her master stating that she had safely reached Canada. But her letter carried a Frankfort postmark, and she was captured and the barber was jailed."

WHITE MEN ATTEMPT TO AID SLAVE PARAMOURS ESCAPE

gara, liberty line, 1961

p 24/ "In another case a young white man succeeded in getting his disguised slave paramour across the river from Kentucky /begin p 25/ into Indiana, but the fellow's enthusiasm got the better of him. When he raised the lady's veil, her color was revealed and both were arrested. . . . A highly respected grocer in Louisville became enamored of a young slave girl, whom he helped escape to Canada. Later he sent her 'letters of a very affectionate nature,' which were the cause of his being apprehended by the law."
FREE BLACK, SELLS SELF INTO SLAVERY, PUNISHED BY BEING SET FREE

p 21/ "A free Negro in Louisville, Kentucky, he voluntarily sold himself into slavery. Before long he was apprehended for committing petty larceny. A Louisville editor suggested that his object in selling himself had been 'to better enable him to pursue an idle life, and to be personally irresponsible for his own acts.' Apparently the court agreed, for not only was he punished by shipping, but it was decreed that since he had originally been a free Negro, he 'was bound to stay free.'"

KENTUCKY SLAVEOWNERS TRY TO DISCOURAGE SLAVES FROM RUNNING AWAY

p 160/ "After a group of Kentucky fugitives were recaptured, the Louisville Courier commented, 'They had no chance to get away from the start, as every avenue toward Canada was closely watched.' Editors carefully reported instances of recapture in northern states. Another fugitive from Louisville was furious at the Hoosiers because he was captured twice in Indiana. The Hoosiers, reported the Courier, 'were not such Abolitionists as he imagined. The fact is,' the story continued, 'since Indiana purged herself of Know-Nothingism, runaway slaves have no chance of escaping through that State.'"
KY SLAVEOWNER GETS REDRESS FOR SLAVE FREED BY MOB (1850)

In 1850 a Kentucky newspaper called attention to a Federal court decision which awarded a slaveowner the full value of some slaves who could not be recovered because of mob interference. The editor pointed out that the Federal courts afforded a 'peaceful and efficient redress' to Kentuckians in such matters. He contrasted Kentucky's 'constant and immovable devotion to the Union with South Carolina's 'blustering about secession and disunion,' even though Kentucky suffered 'more every year from the escape of her slaves, by aid of Northern abolitionists,' than South Carolina had suffered since the American Revolution."

Frankfort (Ky.) Commonwealth, Aug 27, 1850

ESCAPING SLAVES DID NOT SEE UNDERGROUND RR AS WELL ORGANIZED

The kind of aid these former slaves and others wrote about was certainly not the well-organized and mysterious institution of the legend, and it was often available only after the most difficult part of the journey was accomplished.
The Cincinnati Daily Enquirer told of a slave who had been induced to run away by underground railroad agents, but after disappointment with life 'at the hands of the cheese-making fanatics of the Western Reserve,' he decided to return to Kentucky. Although it was more difficult to get out of Ohio than out of the South, he finally succeeded in making his way to Louisville. In telling of life in the North, reported the Enquirer, the ex-fugitive said 'they had treated him as if he was a nigger.'

Cincinnati Daily Enquirer, July 8, 1859

Josiah Henson left Kentucky slavery with his family in 1830. They traveled by night and rested by day. They were 'thrown absolutely upon their own poor and small resources,' said Henson, 'and were to rely on their own strength alone.' They 'dared look to no one for help.' The Hensons traveled two weeks before reaching Cincinnati, where they were kindly received and entertained for several days. Then they were carried thirty miles in a wagon, only to be again on their own resources until they met a friendly boat captain who took them from Sandusky to Buffalo and then paid their passage to Canada.
KY BLACK PURCHASES FREEDOM, THEN THAT OF FAMILY

p 33/ "On occasion free Negroes held members of their own families in benevolent bondage. A young man in Kentucky purchased first his own freedom, then his underage brother's. He hired his youthful brother to work for others, and when the youngster died, the freedman sued the company who had hired him for the wages due him as his brother's owner."

Wilmington Delaware Gazette, Dec 28, 1858

REAL EFFECT OF FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW (1850)

p 127/ "Actually, the Fugitive Slave Law had little to do with the problem of recovering fugitive slaves. The act had no meaning except as a factor in the sectional struggle for power. It was, as the Richmond Whig stated, 'a HARSH MEASURE—better calculated to inflame and exasperate sectional feeling, and endanger the security of slave property, than to produce any salutary results.' But many Southerners came to look upon the acceptance of the Fugitive Slave Law as a test of the compromise, and those north and south who defended the compromise itself pointed out that the significance of the law was not a matter of its practical results, but of the principle implied in its enactment."
HENRY CLAY DOUBTED LARGE CLAIMS OF SLAVES ESCAPING TO THE NORTH

When Congressman Thomas L. Clingman of North Carolina estimated in 1850 that the South had lost fifteen million dollars as a result of abolitionist-inspired slave escapes, EdwardStanly, another North Carolina congressman, retorted, 'I do not believe my colleague's constituents ever lost a slave by northern Abolitionists.' And Henry Clay denied the accuracy of Senator Robert Barnwell Rhett's charge that of fifteen thousand fugitive slaves in the free states only half a dozen had been recovered. 'No man knows how many fugitive slaves there are in the North,' said Clay. He added that only a few had been returned because in most cases their masters had not taken the trouble to chase them.'

But Gara goes on in the next paragraph to say that the skepticism of people like Clay represented "a distinctly minority opinion."
"Brion Gysin's To Master--A Long Goodnight is a novel about the life of Josiah Henson, the supposed model for Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom. The book is mostly an attack on 'Uncle Tomism,' or the attitude of Negroes who accommodate themselves to notions of white superiority, but Gysin also includes material on the underground railroad. He pictures the road as having been organized in the late 1840's and becoming most significant after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. The novel alludes to secret signs on houses known only to members of the underground, and to underground railroad 'shepherds' who enticed slaves from the South. The impression is one of considerable organization, with 'directors of the Underground' making definite plans to run off slaves."

"Indeed, Henson's fame is assured, for even he came in time to believe that he was the original Uncle Tom, and his neighbors accepted this evaluation. His cabin and grave, in rural Ontario, became tourist attractions, and Dresden, ironically the center of the province's most clearly practiced color bar in the 1950's, advertised itself as the Home of Uncle Tom. At first untended, but from 1930 looked after by the Independent Order of the Daughters of the Empire and later by the Dresden Horticultural Society, the grave became the scene of Negro Masonic pilgrimages. Henson's house was opened as a museum in 1948, and the cemetery of the colony of which the house was a part was restored by the National Historic Sites Board of Canada, with plans afoot to recreate a portion of the community itself, both to instill civic pride in Negro Canadians and as a tourist attraction."
FACTS ABOUT JOSIAH HENSON'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

winks, ed, autobiog of josiah henson, 1969

p vi (intro. by winks)/ 'The first version of his autobiography, published in 1849, is without guile, straight-forward, dramatic in its simplicity. But this fugitive from Kentucky, clearly intelligent and hard-working, also shared the normal desire to collect a few of the merit badges that life might offer, and when he found himself thrust into fame in a role that just might fit, he hugged his new role to himself until his death. To his credit, not until he was old and senile did Henson ever claim to be Uncle Tom, but he did nothing to stop others from making the claim for him. Those versions of his autobiography which appeared after the publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin in 1852 showed substantial alterations, extensions, and fabrications, and the fullest of these accounts, ghost-written for Henson by an English clergyman-editor, John Lobb, while not extremely scarce, deserves to be brought back into print not only for what it tells us about Henson and in the fugitive slaves, but for the fullness of detail it provides, most of it accurate, about fugitive life in Canada, and for the almost classic opportunity it affords to study the ways in which texts might be altered to serve a cause.'

EARLY FACTS ABOUT JOSIAH HENSON

winks, ed, autobiog of josiah henson, 1969 (1849)

p 13/ Henson born June 15, 1789, Charles County, Md. Remembered little of his father; one day father appeared with back lacerated. Henson said the overseer had "brutally assaulted" his mother, his father sprang to her defense and attacked the white overseer. Father eventually severely beaten. /p 15/ Father lost his desire for life, became morose, sold down south to Alabama. Never saw him again. /p 16/ His master died and /p 17/ Josiah was separated from his mother when the slaves were auctioned off. Josiah remembered his mother's request that he be purchased by the man who bought her being rebuffed brutally. /p 18/ Josiah fell sick, and sold "cheap" to same man who bought his mother, Isaac Riley of Montgomery County: "He was coarse and vulgar in his habits, and unprincipled and cruel in his general deportment." They were forced to work hard. Josiah worked for Riley for many years. /p 22/ Henson worked himself to a position of being "practically, overseer." /p 25/ Converted to Christianity. /p 28/ He helped his master out of a fight, making an enemy of a white overseer, Bryce Litton, who worked on his owner's brother's farm. Intercepted by Litton and three blacks a week later /p 29/ Litton hit Josiah with a "heavy fence-rail" and his arm was broken: "The ponderous blow fell; I lifted my arm to ward it off, the bone cracked like a pipe-stem, and I fell headlong to the ground. Repeated blows then rained on my back till both shoulder-blades were broken, and the blood gushed copiously from my mouth." /p 30/ Josiah indicated that no physician was called to attend his wounds: "From that day to this I have been unable to raise my hands..."
Josiah Henson's master, Riley, came to him "into my cabin and waked me up. I thought it strange, but for a time he said nothing,..." Riley said he was in serious trouble, saying only Henson could help. /p 34/ Finally Riley proposed: "'I want you to run away, Sie, to my brother Amos in Kentucky, and take all the servants with you.' I could not have been more startled had he asked me to go to the moon. 'Kentucky, massa? Kentucky? I don't know the way.' 'Oh, it's easy enough for a smart fellow like you to find it; I'll give you a pass and tell you just what to do.'" Henson finally agreed, being told it was the only option to being sold south to Georgia. His master said he would follow in a few months, making a new start in Kentucky. (said it was February 1825) Josiah (Sie) was to take 18 blacks besides his wife and two children, and a one-horse wagon with supplies. /p 35/ Says started to Ky at 11 p.m. and went through Alexandria, Culpepper, Fauquier, Harper's Ferry, Cumberland, over the mts on the National Turnpike to Wheeling. At Wheeling he sold the wagon and purchased a boat and began floating down the Ohio River. Henson said he learned at Cincinnati that the area was free soil. /p 36/ Some blacks in Ohio told them they were fools to continue to Ky and into slavery. Henson said he had given his word to take the group to Kentucky and would do so. /p 38/ Henson said he arrived in Daviess Co. Ky in April 1825 and delivered his charge to his master's brother, Amos Riley, who had a large plantation with 80 to 100 slaves. His house was about 5 mi south of Ohio R, and 15 mi above Yellow Banks, on Big Blackfords Creek. Josiah remained there 3 years.

Josiah Henson Contrasts Ky with Md. - Religion

p 38/ "In Kentucky, the opportunities of attending the preaching of whites, as well as of blacks, were more numerous; and partly by attending them, the and the camp-meetings which occurred from time to time, and partly from studying carefully my own heart, and observing the developments of character/p 39/ around me...." says he became more religious. Decided to become a Methodist minister. "In the course of three years, from 1825 to 1828, I availed myself of all the opportunities of improvement which occurred, and was admitted as a preacher by a Quarterly Conference of the Methodist Church."
JOSIAH HENSON LEARNS THAT HIS MASTER IS GOING TO SELL HIS SLAVES, EXCEPT HENSON AND HIS FAMILY

winks, ed, autobiog josiah henson, 1969

p 39/ In the spring of 1828 Josiah's master in Md. said that his wife would not go to Kentucky, that he must sell his slaves, except for Josiah and his family. /p 40/ Hearing the groans and outcries of the other slaves Josiah "...lamented that I had prevented them from availing themselves of the opportunity for acquiring freedom which offered itself at Cincinnati." He had too blindly taken his oath to duty.

METHODIST MINISTER (white) URGES HENSON TO PURCHASE HIS FREEDOM

Winks, ed, autobiog of josiah henson, 1969

p 41/ "In the course of the summer of 1828, a Methodist preacher, a most excellent white man, visited our neighbourhood, and I became acquainted with him. He was soon interested in me, and visited me frequently, and one day talked to me in a confidential manner about my position. He said, 'You ought to be free. You have too much capacity to be confined to the limited and comparatively useless sphere of a slave, and though it must not be known that I have spoken to you on this subject, yet, if you will obtain Mr. Amos's consent to go to see your old master in Maryland, I will try and put you in a way by which I think you may succeed in buying yourself.' He said this to me more than once; and as it was in harmony with all my aspirations and wishes, was flattering to my self-esteem, and gratified my impatience to bring matters to a direct issue, I now resolved to make the attempt to get the necessary leave." Henson approached Amos Riley with the request to return to Md, and Riley gave him a pass. Henson started in Sept 1828 for the east, made "kind-hearted" friends in Cincinnati. He got preaching engagements in Cincinnati /p 42/ and the contact with free blacks inspired him in his preaching. Says he gathered $160 in Cincinnati. He purchased "a decent suit of clothes and an excellent horse, and travelled from town to town, preaching as I went." /p 43/ In Ohio he made $275 in addition to his horse and clothes.
Josiah Henson makes provisions to purchase freedom (1828-29)

Josiah Henson, ed. autobiog of josiah henson, 1969

p 44/ Henson decided that he could not remain a slave and decided to visit "Master Frank," the brother of Riley's wife, a man who had been kind to Henson. /p 45/ Frank suggested that Henson attempt to purchase his freedom. Frank helped Henson strike a bargain. Henson would pay $350.00 cash and owe $100.00 on a note. Henson received his manumission papers on March 9, 1829, and decided to return to Kentucky. /p 46/ Henson arrived in Ky and learned from his wife that word had reached Ky that Henson was purchasing his freedom and that he still owed $650.00. Henson realized he had been deceived. /p 47/ Master Amos in Ky confirmed he had heard Henson's price was $1000.00, and Amos stated the price was too high. Since Henson could not read, and fearing that his manumission papers really said he still owed $650.00, Henson claimed to Amos that he had lost his manumission papers. Actually, Henson's wife had hidden the papers.

p 49/ The situation remained like this for a year.

Josiah Henson to take produce to New Orleans with master's son

Josiah Henson, ed. autobiog josiah henson, 1969

p 49/ After about a year of uncertainty about how much he owed for his freedom, Henson was told by his master that Henson was to go with the master's son, Amos, to New Orleans with a load of produce. Amos was 22 at the time. Henson was convinced that he would be sold in New Orleans. Therefore, Henson asked his wife to sew his manumission papers in his clothes. /p 50/ Henson's wife and children accompanied him to the landing. The boat was commanded by three white men who were hired for the trip, in addition to young Amos and Henson. /p 51/ The captain of the expedition became blind as his eyes developed some kind of inflammation.

/p 53/ As Henson saw conditions of slaves in the Miss. Valley, he decided to kill the four whites, "take what money there was in the boat, scuttle the craft, and escape to the north." As they neared New Orleans, Henson decided to act. He got an axe, raised it to kill young Amos, when "...suddenly the thought came to me, 'What! commit murder!' and you a Christian?" /p 54/ Henson could not do it. Henson reasoned: "I was going to kill a young man who had done nothing to injure me, but was only obeying the commands of his father." /p 55/ Once in New Orleans the cargo was sold. Henson said several planters came to the boat to look at the slave: "There was no longer any disguise about the disposition which was to be made of me. Master Amos acknowledged that such were his instructions, and he set about fulfilling them." Henson recalled the faithful service he had given his father in an effort to "move his heart" but failed. /p 56/ The night before Henson was to be sold, young Amos got...
Josiah Henson Goes to New Orleans, to Be Sold, Nurses Master's Son 844-A

Josiah Henson, ed, autobiog josiah henson, 1969

winks, ed, autobiog josiah henson, 1969

/p 57 cont'd/ Henson nursed young Amos during the 10 day trip home, arriving on July 10. / p 58/ Though praised for the safe return of young Amos, Henson was convinced that another attempt would be made to sell him down south.

"...I was bound to do everything in my power to secure myself and my family from the wicked conspiracy of Amos Riley against my life, as well as against my natural rights, and those which I had acquired, even under the barbarous laws of slavery, by the money I had paid for myself."

Josiah Henson Visits Blacks in Vicksburg, Sold from Kentucky 845 (visit in 1830)

winks, ed, autobiog j-siah henson, 1969

p 51/

"On our way down the river we stopped at Vicksburg, and I got permission to visit a plantation a few miles from the town, where some of my old companions whom I had brought from Kentucky were living. It was the saddest visit I ever made. Four years in an unhealthy climate and under a hard master had done the ordinary work of twenty. Their cheeks were literally caved in with starvation and disease. They described their daily life, which was to toil half-naked in malarious marshes, under a burning, maddening sun, exposed to poison of mosquitoes and black gnats, and they said they looked forward to death as their only deliverance. Some of them fairly cried at seeing me there, and at the thought of the fate which they felt awaited me. Their worst fears of being sold down South had been more than realised. I went away sick at heart, and to this day the remembrance of that wretched group haunts me."
Josiah Henson decides to escape with his family to freedom

Winks, ed, autobiog josiah henson, 1969

p 59/ Henson said that during his days of preaching in Ohio he had heard "...of the course pursued by fugitives from slavery, and became acquainted with a number of benevolent men engaged in helping them on their way. Canada was often spoken of as the only sure refuge from pursuit, and that blessed land was now the desire of my longing heart."

Henson's wife reluctant to escape

Winks, ed, autobiog of josiah henson, 1969

p 60/ Henson told his wife of his plan to escape. His wife was extremely reluctant to leave, fearing being caught or even killed. Henson described her: "She had not suffered the bitterness of my lot, nor felt the same longing for deliverance. She was a poor, timid, unreasoning slave-woman." Henson argued with his wife, while she cried; reluctantly she decided, when he threatened to take the children and leave her, to go with him.
HENSON'S PLAN OF ESCAPE: THOROUGHLY WORKED OUT

winks, ed, autobiog of josiah henson, 1969

p 60/ Henson's cabin was near the boat landing; the plantation covered the entire 5 miles to the master's house. As overseer, Henson went from one farm to another. The biggest problem was that "our oldest boy was at the house with Master Amos; the rest of the children were with my wife." Another big problem was how to take the two youngest children, ages 3 and 2. Both were quite healthy and would be a physical burden. Henson had his wife make a knapsack large enough to hold his two small children ages 3 & 2, with straps that went around his shoulders. His wife's consent was given on a Thursday morning; "... I resolved to start on the night of the following Saturday. Sunday was a holiday; on Monday and Tuesday I was to be away on farms distant from the house; thus several days would elapse before I should be missed, and by that time I should have got a good start.+

"At length the eventful night arrived. All things were ready, with the single exception that I had not yet obtained my master's permission for little Tom to visit his mother. About sundown I went up to the great house to report my work, and after talking for a time, started off, as usual, for home; when suddenly appearing to recollect something I had forgotten, I turned carelessly back, and said, 'Oh, Master Amos, I most forgot. Tom's mother wants to know if you won't let him come down a few days; she wants to mend his clothes and fix him up a little.' 'Yes, boy, yes; he can go.' 'Thank you, Master Amos; good night, good night. The Lord bless you!' In spite of myself I threw a good deal of emphasis into my farewell. I could not refrain from an inward chuckle at the thought--how long a good night that will be! The coast was all clear now, and, as I trudged along home,
HENSON'S PLAN OF ESCAPE: THOROUGHLY PLANNED--DETAILS OF

winks, ed, autobiog of josiah henson, 1969

/p 62 cont'd/ To her, indeed, I was compelled to talk sternly; she trembled like a leaf, and even then implored me to return.*

"For a fortnight we pressed steadily on, keeping to the road during the night, hiding whenever a chance vehicle or horseman was heard, and during the day burying ourselves in the woods. Our provisions were rapidly given out. Two days before reaching Cincinnati they were utterly exhausted. All night long the children cried with hunger, and my poor wife loaded me with reproaches for bringing them into such misery. It was a bitter thing to hear them cry, and God knows I needed encouragement myself. My limbs were weary, and my back and shoulders raw with the burden I carried. A fearful dread of detection ever pursued me, and I would start out of my sleep in terror, my heart beating against my ribs, expecting to find the dogs and slave-hunters after me. Had I been alone, I would have borne starvation, even to exhaustion, before I would have ventured in sight of a house in quest of food. But now something must be done; it was necessary to run the risk of exposure by daylight upon the road.*

"The only way to proceed was to adopt a bold course. Accordingly, I left our hiding-place, took to the road, and turned towards the south, to lull any suspicion that might be aroused were I to be seen going the other way. Before long I came to a house. A furious dog rushed out at me, and his master following to quiet him, I asked if he would sell me a little bread and meat. He was a surly fellow. 'No, I have nothing for niggers!' At the next, I succeeded no better, at first. The man of the house met me in the same style; but his wife, hearing our conversation, said to her husband, 'How can you treat any human being so? If a dog was hungry I would give him something to eat.' She then added, 'We have

HENSON'S ESCAPE (ACTIVITIES IN INDIANA)

winks, ed, autobiog of josiah henson, 1969

/p 63 cont'd/ children, and who knows but they may some day need the help of a friend.' The man laughed and told her that if she took care of niggers, he wouldn't. She asked me to come in, loaded a plate with venison and bread, and, when I laid it into my handkerchief, and put a quarter of a dollar on the table, she quietly took it up and put it in my handkerchief, with an additional quantity of venison. I felt the hot tears roll down my cheeks as she said 'God bless you;' sic/ and I hurried away to bless my starving wife and little ones." The journey continued. He had to take water to his children in his shoes. "That night we made a long run, and two days afterwards we reached Cincinnati." 10. 46/ took two weeks.
While attending a meeting at Fort Erie Henson met one James Lightfoot of Ky. who lamented that he had left his family in Ky. But when Lightfoot visited Henson a few days later, Henson consented to help free Lightfoot's family. Henson passed through N. Y., Penna., and Ohio, crossed the river into Ky. He took with him a "small token" given him by James Lightfoot that his family would recognize. Having heard of a "large party ready to attempt their escape if they had a leader to direct their movements," Henson says he went another 40 to 50 miles into Ky., and after a week's delay led the "large party" began the journey through Cincinnati, Richmond, Ind., where a number of Quakers lived, and then on to Toledo, Ohio, to Canada.

"I had made several efforts to induce my brother to run away previous to my going to England. Mr. William L. Chaplain, of New York, saw him in his southern home, and tried to induce him to take the underground railroad—that is, to run away." The brother refused at that time.

Is this the correct definition of underground railroad.
KY. BLACK, WILLIAM JOHNSON, RAN AWAY, FEARING BEING SENT SOUTH

siebert, underground rr, 1898 (1967)

p 27/ "William Johnson, of Windsor, Ontario, ran away from his Kentucky master because he was threatened with being sent South to the cotton and rice fields."

siebert's source: interview, Wm Johnson, Windsor, Ontario, July, 1895.

L COFFIN SHIPS BOONE CO FUGITIVES NORTH IN FUNERAL PROCESSION

siebert, underground rr, 1898 (1967)

p 61/ "Levi Coffin, of Cincinnati, Ohio, frequently received large companies for which safe transportation had to be supplied. On one occasion a party of twenty-eight negroes arrived, towards daylight, in the suburbs of Cincinnati, from Boone County, Kentucky, and it was necessary to send them on at once. Accordingly at Friend Coffin's suggestion a number of carriages were procured, formed into a long funeral-like procession and started solemnly on the road to Cumminsville."

Siebert's source: History of Darke County, Ohio, p 332
A brave woman named Armstrong escaped with her husband and one child to Canada in 1842. Two years later she determined to rescue the remainder of her family from the Kentucky plantation where she had left them, and, disguised as a man, she went back to the old place. Hiding near a spring, where her children were accustomed to get water, she was able to give instructions to five of them, and the following night she departed with her flock to an underground station at Ripley, Ohio."


"About 1847, Mrs. Laura S. Haviland accepted a mission to find the family of one John White, a slave, who had escaped from the South and was serving as a farm-hand in the neighborhood of Mrs. Haviland's school in southeastern Michigan. Mrs. Haviland went to Cincinnati where she consulted with the Vigilance Committee, and thence to Rising Sun, Indiana, to secure the services of several of John White's colored friends. Here a plan was formed for Mrs. Haviland to go into Kentucky to the plantation where the family lived, and, disguised as a berry picker, see the wife, inform her of her husband's whereabouts, and offer to assist in her rescue. Accomplishing this errand and returning across the border into Indiana, Mrs. Haviland awaited the slave-woman's appearance; but her escape had been prevented by the vigilance evoked on account of the operations of counterfeiters in Kentucky. Then John White started South intent on saving his wife and children from slavery, but his efforts were unsuccessful, and he was thrown into a Kentucky jail. However, he was soon released by Laura Haviland, who purchased him for three hundred and fifty dollars."

Siebert's source: Laura S. Haviland, A Woman's Life Work, 91-110.
ELIJAH ANDERSON (BLACK) SAID TAKING SLAVES OUT OF KY

siebert, underground rr, 1898 (1967)

p 183/

"Elijah Anderson, a negro, has been described by Mr. Rush R. Sloane, an underground veteran of northwestern Ohio, as the 'general superintendent' of the underground system in this section of Ohio. Mr. Anderson's work began before the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, and continued until the time of his incarceration in the state prison at Frankfort, Kentucky, where he died in 1857. During this period his activity must have been unceasing, for he is quoted as having said in 1855 that he had conducted in all more than a thousand fugitives from slavery to freedom, having brought eight hundred away after the passage of the act of 1850. Not all of these persons were piloted to Sandusky, although that city was the point to which Anderson usually conveyed his passengers. After the opening of the Cleveland and Cincinnati Railroad he took many to Cleveland."

Siebert's source: The Firelands Pioneer, July 1888, p. 44.

JOHN MASON, FUGITIVE, SAID TO HAVE LED OTHERS OUT OF KY

siebert, underground rr, 1898 (1967)

p 183/ Rev. W. M. Mitchell, a black missionary to refugees in Toronto, Canada, in his book on the underground railroad /p 184/ said he met one John Mason, a fugitive slave from Kentucky: "He had obtained his liberty but was not content to see his fellows go without theirs, and 'was willing,' wrote Mr. Mitchell, 'to risk the forfeiture of his own freedom, that he might, peradventure, secure the liberty of some. He commenced the perilous business of going into the State from whence he had escaped and especially into his old neighborhood, decoying off his brethren to Canada.... This slave brought to my house in nineteen months 265 human beings whom he had been instrumental in redeeming from slavery; all of whom I had the privilege of forwarding to Canada by the Underground Railroad.... He kept no record as to the number he had assisted in this way." Mitchell says Mason eventually captured. /p 185/ When he resisted both arms were broken.

In discussing the penalty under the 1793 fugitive slave law, Siebert presented the following case. "In the famous case of Jones vs. Van Zandt, which was pending before the United States courts, in Ohio and at Washington, for five years, from 1842 to 1847, the defendant was compelled to pay both penalties. In April, 1842, Mr. Van Zandt, an anti-slavery Kentuckian, who had settled at Springdale, a few miles north of Cincinnati, Ohio, was caught in the act of conveying a company of nine fugitives in his market-wagon at daybreak one morning, and, notwithstanding the efforts of the slave-catchers, one of the negroes escaped. The trial was held before the United States Circuit Court at its July term, 1843. The jury gave a verdict for the claimant of $1,200 in damages on two counts. Besides the suit for damages, an action was brought against Van Zandt for the penalty of $500. In this action, as in the other, the verdict was for Jones, the plaintiff. The matter did not end here, however, and was carried on a certificate of division in opinion between the judges to the Supreme Court of the United States. The decision of this court was also adverse to Van Zandt, and final judgment was entered against him for both amounts. This settlement was reached at the January term in 1847."

"The month of January of the same year / 1821 / had witnessed the presentation in Congress of a resolution from the general assembly of Kentucky, protesting against Canada's admission of fugitives to her domain, and requesting negotiation with Great Britain on the subject. In 1826, during the administration of John Quincy Adams, negotiations were at length opened. Henry Clay, then Secretary of State, instructed Mr. Gallatin, the American Minister at the Court of St. James, to propose an agreement between the two countries providing for 'mutual surrender of all persons held to service or labor, under the laws of either party, who escape into the territory of the other.' His purpose in urging such a stipulation was, he declared, 'to provide for a growing evil which has produced some, and if it be not shortly checked, is likely to produce much more irritation.' He also stated that Virginia and Kentucky were particularly anxious that an understanding should be reached." In Feb. 1827 Clay again contacted Gallatin on this subject. "About five months later the American Minister sent word to the Secretary of State that the English authorities had decided that 'It was utterly impossible for them to agree to a stipulation for the surrender of fugitive slaves,' and this decision was reaffirmed in September, 1827."
... the sad affair of Margaret Garner, a slave-woman who escaped from Boone County, Kentucky, late in January, 1856, and found shelter with her four children in the house of a colored man near Cincinnati, Ohio. Rather than see her offspring doomed to the fate from which she had hoped to save them, she nerved herself to accomplish their death. While her master, successful in his pursuit, was preparing to take them back across the river, she began the work of butchery by killing her favorite child. Before she could finish her awful task she was interrupted and put in prison. The efforts to prevent her return to Southern bondage proved unavailing, and she was at length delivered to her master, together with the children she had meant to kill.

In 1847 the legislature of Kentucky presented a petition to Congress urging the importance of new laws so framed as to enable the citizens of slaveholding states to reclaim their negroes when they had absconded into the free states. This resulted in a bill reported in the Senate, but the bill never got beyond its second reading.
For more than twenty years, Levi Coffin lived at Newport, Indiana, and while there he enlisted a number of antislavery workers in fugitive aid work. Later he helped organize a similar group in Cincinnati. Both communities had sheltered fugitives before Coffin's arrival, and in both places the work had been done largely by free Negroes. When he moved to Newport in 1826, Coffin learned that fugitives often went through the town and usually stopped with Negroes, who were not very skillful in hiding them and sending them on to Canada. Coffin organized the work and assisted those who had previously done it. In Cincinnati, too, the Quaker abolitionist found "that the fugitives generally took refuge among the colored people." There, too, he soon decided that there were only "a few wise and careful managers among the colored people." The majority were too careless and a few could not be trusted; once again Coffin systematized the local work which had been done on a haphazard basis.

The organized efforts of Levi Coffin and some neighboring antislavery sympathizers constituted, on a limited basis, what southern partisans viewed as part of a nationwide system for assisting fugitive slaves. To a great extent, stories of such activity provide the basis for the popular legend. Friends of the fugitive soon learned of Coffin's work. While he lived at Newport, slaves were conducted to his home from Cincinnati and Madison and Jeffersonville, Indiana. The "depots" were usually twenty-five or thirty miles apart. Coffin and his friends transported fugitives in wagons from one town to another, and on occasion they had to elude persons who were hunting the slaves in their care. They provided some of the ex-slaves with clothing and other necessities, and boarded them occasionally until they could be sent further north.

Levi Coffin carried on much of his work openly. His reputation was widely known, and his home a center of antislavery activity which he made no effort to hide. He once took a woman fugitive to a Quaker meeting at West Elkton and chided one of his neighbors for speaking cautiously. Coffin asked if there was anyone in the village who would capture a slave. "If there is," he said, "hunt him up . . . I think we could make an abolitionist of him." As popular sentiment on the slave question intensified, Coffin and the others found even less reason to keep their fugitive aid work secret. Years later he recalled that public opinion in his neighborhood became so
Levi Coffin met little opposition, even though he made it known that he would shelter and help as many runaway slaves as came to his house. He threatened anyone who molested him with legal prosecution, and as a bank director, he used his influence to curb some of the proslavery men in his neighborhood. Slave hunters and hired accomplices often passed through his town; although they knew him well, and knew he harbored slaves and helped them to escape, they never searched his premises or molested him in any way. As far as Coffin knew, none of the fugitives he aided on their way was captured or returned to slavery.

In his reminiscences Levi Coffin suggests that the number of fugitives he assisted was very large. During his two decades of underground railroad service at Newport, he recalled, the number 'varied considerably in different years, but the annual average was more than a hundred.' In Cincinnati he was also busy in the work. Mrs. Andrew H. Ernst, who was an active leader in the Cincinnati fugitive sewing circle, told a friend that fugitives went through Ohio 'by hundreds in a year.' In 1850 she reported that 'from 6 hundred to a thousand pass through our city annually.' Certainly the underground railroad as operated by Levi Coffin for more than thirty-five years was a flourishing institution.
The articles all present a somewhat restrained but romanticized description of the underground railroad. Such material is partly of a nature that cannot be proved without reliance on traditional sources. Its presence in such reliable reference works indicates the widespread acceptance of the legend.

Legends are usually compounded of both fact and fancy, and the legend of the underground railroad is no exception. Few writers have exercised critical discrimination in dealing with the institution, and some of the scholars have accepted improbable assertions and questionable data as a basis for their statements. In some instances it is impossible to distinguish fact from fancy. There is probably at least a germ of truth in most of the stories concerning the mysterious institution, though the scattered seeds of historical fact which mature into legends have a way of multiplying beyond belief. Although it is doubtful that any amount of critical scholarship will modify the legend in the popular mind, a study of available materials uncovers quite a different version of the underground railroad. Perhaps the legend itself reveals something of the American character and aspirations, and as such is worthy of its own history.

The facts, insofar as they can be discovered, show that the slaves were not presented with the neat arrangement pictured in the legend for spiriting them to Canada. For most it was necessary, and to some it probably seemed preferable, to adjust themselves to the realities of the slave system. The slave was not in a position to choose between the simple alternatives of slavery and freedom; in the urgent human terms in which these things presented themselves, the matter was much more complicated. The Promised Land was not as close as the northern states or Canada, though for some these places provided an environment far more congenial than that of slavery.

The relatively few slaves who did escape were primarily dependent on their own resources. The abolitionists played a less important part and the escaping slaves a more important one in the revised presentation. Evidence for a nationwide conspiratorial network of underground railroad lines is completely lacking; the nationally organized railroad with its disciplined conductors, controlling directors, and planned excursions into the South did not exist. The abolitionists had no centralized organization, either for spiriting away slaves or for any other of their activities. There was a semblance of organized underground railroad activity in certain localities, but not all the abolitionists participated in or even condoned such work. Free
GARA'S EVAL OF UNDERGROUND RR: OPPORTUNITIES IT OFFERED: LEGEND

Gara, Liberty Line, 1961

Negroes contributed much more to such enterprises than they have usually been given credit for, and fugitives who rode the underground line often did so after having already completed the most difficult and dangerous phase of their journey alone and unaided.

For the abolitionists, the use of the fugitive issue in their propaganda assumed a more important role than the actual assistance given to the fugitives. The road is significant in history, not for its practical effect on the operation of southern slavery, but for the part it played in the verbal battles which preceded the Civil War. Much that has previously been accepted as fact is in truth no more than a repetition of one variety or another of partisan polemics.

The legend of the underground railroad had its origin in the ante bellum period, when an image of the mysterious institution, based in part on propaganda statements of abolitionists and their southern opponents, began to take shape. However, the great bulk of material on the underground railroad appeared after the war. In reminiscences and histories, elderly abolitionists told of the institution and their part in it. They tended to enlarge its scope and exaggerate its importance, and thus contributed much to one of America's best known but least examined legends.

ORIGIN OF TERM "UNDERGROUND RR"

So did the Reverend William M. Mitchell's book The Underground Railroad, which was published in London in 1860. Mitchell was a free Negro who had been a slave driver and later a minister in Ohio before going around 1855 to Canada, where he served as a missionary among the Negro population. He boasted of twelve years experience as a director of the underground railroad, and wrote his book partly to raise money for a chapel and schoolhouse for the refugees in Canada. Mitchell said the underground railroad had been operating "at least a quarter century" before 1860. He included a version of the frequently repeated anecdote which was supposed to account for the popular name of the institution: A slave who had escaped from Kentucky was hotly pursued by his master, who lost all track of him at the Ohio River. "The d—d Abolitionists must have a Rail-road under the ground by which they run off Niggers," fumed the disappointed slaveholder. Mitchell explained that since the "useful road" was concealed from the
reported "with such accelerating velocity," it was appropriate to call it a railroad. He defined the underground railroad as a "mutual agreement between the friends of the Slaves, in the Northern States, to aid Fugitives on their way to Canada." They were taken "from one friend to another," only at night, usually for a distance of six to twelve miles. Mitchell pictured a flood of fugitives pouring into Canada by this method. "With the Under-ground Railroad we may safely say that nearly two thousand reach Canada annually," and the number was continually increasing. He alleged that there were forty-five thousand fugitives in Canada, and added that of the "present generation of Slaves 90,000 have attempted to secure their freedom by running away, but only 45,000 have succeeded." He gave no proof for his statistics, and some contemporaries questioned their accuracy. The Boston Courier, for example, repeated them and commented, "we cannot but be incredulous as to the amount."

1844 LETTER FROM HENRY BIBB TO FORMER MASTER

HENRY BIBB TO W. H. GATEWOOD

"DEAR SIR:—I am happy to inform you that you are not mistaken in the man whom you sold as property, and received pay for as such. But I thank God that I am not property now, but am regarded as a man like yourself, and although I live far north, I am enjoying a comfortable living by my own industry. If you should ever chance to be traveling this way, and will call on me, I will use you better than you did me while you held me as a slave. Think not that I have any malice against you, for the cruel treatment which you inflicted on me while I was in your power. As it was the custom of your country, to treat your fellow men as you did me and my little family, I can freely forgive you.

I wish to be remembered in love to my aged mother, and friends; please tell her that if we should never meet again in this life, my prayer shall be to God that we may meet in Heaven, where parting shall be no more.

"You wish to be remembered to King and Jack. I am pleased, sir, to inform you that they are both here, well, and doing well. They are both living in Canada West. They are now the owners of..."
You may perhaps think hard of us for running away from slavery, but as to myself, I have but one apology to make for it, which is this: I have only to regret that I did not start at an earlier period. I might have been free long before I was. But you had it in your power to have kept me there much longer than you did. I think it is very probable that I should have been a toiling slave on your plantation today, if you had treated me differently.

To be compelled to stand by and see you whip and slash my wife without mercy, when I could afford her no protection, not even by offering myself to suffer the lash in her place, was more than I felt it to be the duty of a slave husband to endure, while the way was open to Canada. My infant child was also frequently flogged by Mrs. Gatewood, for crying, until its skin was bruised literally purple. This kind of treatment was what drove me from home and family, to seek a better home for them. But I am willing to forget the past. I should be pleased to hear from you again, on the reception of this, and should also be very happy to correspond with you often, if it should be agreeable to yourself. I subscribe myself a friend to the oppressed, and Liberty forever.

HENRY BIBB.

WILLIAM GATEWOOD.

Detroit, March 23d, 1844.

Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an American Slave, 175-178.

There is some historic value in the following letter of Henry Bibb's former master and his reply:

W. H. GATEWOOD TO HENRY BIBB

BEDFORD, TRIMBLE COUNTY, KY.

Mr. H. Bibb.

Dear Sir,—After my respects to you and yours &c., I received a small book which you sent to me that I perused and found it was sent by H. Bibb. I am a stranger in Detroit and know no man there without it is Walton H. Bibb if this be the man please write to me and tell me all about that place and the people I will tell you the news here as well as I can your mother is still living here and she is well the people are generally well in this country times are dull and produce low give my compliments to King, Jack, and all my friends in that county I read that book you sent me and think it will do very well—George is sold, I do not know anything about him I have nothing more at present, but remain yours &c

W. H. GATEWOOD.

February 9th, 1844.
The rescue of Lewis Hayden and his family was the means of bringing Mr. Fairbank to the penitentiary, while it opened to his friend Hayden an honorable career in New England. Mr. Hayden became a respected citizen of Boston, and helped to organize the Vigilance Committee for the purpose of protecting the refugees that were settling in the city; in course of time he came to serve in the legislature of the State of Massachusetts. His wife, who survived him, made a bequest of an estate of about five thousand dollars to Harvard University to found a scholarship for the benefit of deserving colored students. The story of Hayden's delivery and of his own imprisonment is best told in Mr. Fairbank's words: "Lewis Hayden ... was, when a young man, ... the property of Baxter and Grant, owners of the Brennan House, in Lexington. Hayden's wife, Harriet, and his son, a lad of ten years when I first knew them, were the slaves of Patrick Baine. On a September evening in 1844, accompanied by Miss D. A. Webster, a young Vermont lady, who was associated with me in teaching, I left Lexington with the Haydens, in a hack, crossed the Ohio River on a ferry at nine the next morning, changed horses, and drove to an Underground Railroad depot at Hopkins, Ohio, where we left Hayden and his family. ... When Miss Webster and I returned to Lexington, after two days' absence, we were both arrested, charged by their master with helping Hayden's wife and son to escape. We were jointly indicted, but Miss Webster was tried first and sentenced to two years' imprisonment in the penitentiary at Frankfort. ... While my case was still pending I learned that the governor was inclined to pardon Miss Webster, but first insisted that I should be tried. When called up for trial in February, 1845, I pleaded guilty, and received a sentence of fifteen years. I served four years and eleven months, and then, August 23, 1849, was released by Governor John J. Crittenden, the able and patriotic man who afterwards saved Kentucky to the Union."

In spite of his incarceration for aiding slaves to escape, and in the face of the heavier penalties laid by the new Fugitive Slave Law, passed shortly after his release from prison, Calvin Fairbank was soon engaged in similar enterprises. He declares, "I resisted its [the law's] execution whenever and wherever possible." A little more than two years after his pardon Mr. Fairbank was again arrested, this time in Indiana,
for carrying off Tamar, a young mulatto woman, who was claimed as property by A. L. Shotwell, of Louisville, Kentucky. Without process of law Mr. Fairbank was taken from the State of Indiana to Louisville, where he was tried in February, 1853. He was again sentenced to the state prison for a term of fifteen years, and while there was frequently subjected to the most brutal treatment. Altogether Mr. Fairbank spent seventeen years and four months of his life in prison for abducting slaves; he says that during his second term he received at the hands of prison officials thirty-five thousand stripes. Having served more than twelve years of his second sentence, he was pardoned by acting Governor Richard T. Jacob.

1849-50 CASE: NORRIS VS NEWTON; INTERFERENCE WITH RETURN OF FUGITIVE

The value of four negroes was involved in the case of Norris vs. Newton and others. These negroes were found in September, 1849, after two years absence from Kentucky, living in Cass County, Michigan. Here they had taken refuge among abolitionists and people of their own color. They were at once seized by their pursuers and conveyed across the line into Indiana, but had not been taken far when their progress was stopped by an excited crowd with a sheriff at its head. The officer had a writ of habeas corpus, and the temper of the crowd would admit of no delay in securing a hearing for the fugitives. The court-house at South Bend, whither the captives were now taken, was at
once crowded with spectators, and the streets around it filled with the overflow. The negroes were released by the decision of the judge, but were rearrested and placed in jail for safe-keeping. On the following day warrants were sworn out against several members of the Kentucky party, charging them with riot and other breaches of the peace, and civil process was begun against Mr. Norris, the owner of the slaves, claiming large damages in their behalf. Meanwhile companies of colored people, some of whom had firearms and others clubs, came tramping into the village from Cass County and the intermediate country. Fortunately a demonstration by these incensed bands was somehow avoided. Two days later the fugitives were released from custody on a second writ of habeas corpus, and, attended by a great bodyguard of colored persons, were triumphantly carried away in a wagon. The slave-owner, the charges against whom were dropped, had declined to attend the last hearing accorded his slaves, declaring that his rights had been violated, and that he would claim compensation under the law. Suit was accordingly brought in the Circuit Court of the United States in 1850, and the sum of $2,850 was awarded as damages to the plaintiff.¹

Source: 5 McLean's Reports, 92-106

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ROBIN WINKS INTRODUCTION TO JOSIAH HENSON AUTOBIOGRAPHY

winks, ed, autobiography of josiah henson, 1969

INTRODUCTION

Josiah Henson and Uncle Tom

Of the many narratives written for, and on occasion by, fugitive slaves who fled from the United States to the provinces of British North America before the Civil War, no single book has been so widely read, so frequently revised, and so influential as the autobiography of Josiah Henson. For Henson came to be identified with one of the best known figures in Nineteenth Century American literature, the venerable and self-sacrificing Uncle Tom of Harriet Beecher Stowe's most famous novel. To the popular mind then, and to many people now, Henson was undeniably Tom, the very figure from whom Mrs. Stowe borrowed large elements of plot and characterization, the figure who came to symbolize the successful fugitive, the man who permanently settled in Canada and there won fame, if not fortune, and a permanent place in the history of the abolitionist struggle.

Indeed, Henson's fame is assured, for even he came in time to believe that he was the original Uncle Tom, and his neighbors accepted this evaluation. His cabin and grave, in rural Ontario, became tourist attractions, and Dresden, ironically the center of the province's most openly practiced color bar in the 1950's, advertised
became the scene of Negro Masonic pilgrimages. Henson's house was opened as a museum in 1948, and the cemetery of the colony of which the house was a part was restored by the National Historic Sites Board of Canada, with plans afoot to recreate a portion of the community itself, both to instill civic pride in Negro Canadians and as a tourist attraction. The Historic Sites Board gave the considerable force of its approval to the Henson saga when it placed a plaque near the restored home in honor of the man "whose early life provided much of the material for . . . 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'". Henson became one of the best known of all fugitive slaves, the several editions of his narrative one of the most frequently consulted sources, his life thought to be the archetypical fugitive experience. The first version of his autobiography, published in 1849, is without guile, straightforward, dramatic in its simplicity. But this fugitive from Kentucky, clearly intelligent and hard-working, also shared the normal desire to collect a few of the merit badges that life might offer, and when he found himself thrust into fame in a role that just might fit, he hugged his new role to himself until his death. To his credit, not until he was old and senile did Henson ever claim to be Uncle Tom, but he did nothing to stop others from making the claim for him. Those versions of his autobiography which appeared after the publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin in 1852 showed substantial alterations, extensions, and fabrications, and the fullest of these accounts, ghost-written for Henson by an English clergyman-editor, 

John Lobb, while now extremely scarce, deserves to be brought back into print not only for what it tells us about Henson and the fugitive slaves, but for the fullness of detail it provides, most of it accurate, about fugitive life in Canada, and for the almost classic opportunity it affords to study the ways in which texts might be altered to serve a cause.

For the cause of the abolitionists was served well by Henson's narrative. In many ways his saga is illustrative of the problem of the intelligent fugitive slave of the time: Henson was seldom left free to be himself, to assimilate if he wished into the mainstream of Canadian life—even of black Canadian life—for he became the focus of abolitionist attention, a tool to be used in a propaganda campaign which was not above much juggling with the facts, however proper its ultimate goals may have been. For these reasons his life, and his
autobiographical account of it, deserve examination in some detail. And that life, and narrative, must be seen against the background of the efforts made by and on behalf of the fugitive slaves to found all-Negro colonies in Canada West, or present-day Ontario. The most significant of these attempts was one initiated in 1842 under the promising name of Dawn, and it is with Dawn that we associate Henson's Canadian sojourn.

Dawn represented one attempt to adjust to the presumed realities of a white America. No less than the European immigrants of the time, some Negroes believed in the success ethic that lay behind one of the United States's chief messages to the world: hard work, clean living, education, and an eye for the main chance would bring a man, at least a free man, even if black—and unless flawed by character or caught by bad luck—to the top. However, the Negro was flawed, in the eyes of many, by character and certainly by luck, in terms of the hard truths of a white world, and enough realized that the demise of slavery alone (which surely was coming) was not enough to give the Negro his place in the line inexorably marching toward success. Manual labor institutes, practical training, the fundamentals of a bookish education, and some understanding of how a capitalist economy actually worked were essential—or so Josiah Henson would argue later in his autobiography. A brief escape from the world was needed so that the Negro might master these tools, so that he might catch up with the white man, who had not been deprived of the necessary knowledge. A firm belief in education and the instant status it gave behind the many assumed titles, the Doctors, Professors, and Right Reverends who sprang so quickly from their soil. In a communal society, the Negro could train himself to use freedom, could come to follow the mores, to reflect the virtues, to accept the ethics of the dominant white society. In short, the values of the Negro community experiments were normative ones. The Negroes accepted the social environment of the North much as it was, or as they saw it to be, and they did not intend to retreat from it permanently or to reform it. Rather than turning their backs upon white society, they sought a temporary refuge in which to prepare for a full place in that society.

Dawn began in Ohio. In 1834 the Board of Trustees of the Lane Seminary in Cincinnati told students and faculty that they were not to organize anti-slavery activities, and among the Lane Rebels, as they were named, who left for the more liberal atmosphere of Oberlin College, was Hiram Wilson. In the late fall of 1836, with $25 given to him by Charles Grandison Finney, Wilson went to Upper Canada (as Ontario was then called) to see for himself how the fugitives were faring, and in the spring he returned to attend the funeral of his wife, Fanny, who had died in New York.
about the merits of educating fugitives. He also borrowed heavily,
and although by the fall of 1839 his work in Amherstburg, across the
river from Detroit, was well-known in Northern abolitionist circles,
he confessed to the Peterboro anti-slavery leader, Gerrit Smith, that
he was trusting in the Lord to pay a debt of $10,000. In 1840 the
American Anti-Slavery Society commended him to the "liberal
patronage of every true-hearted abolitionist," and the next year
Smith and others organized a Rochester-based committee to help
channel funds to the several schools—ultimately fifteen in all—began
by or inspired through Wilson's work. His efforts became the Canada
Mission, and since he was trusted, where itinerant Negro preachers
often were not, funds, Bibles, and clothing funnelled through Wilson
to the fugitive slave encampment.  
Wilson attracted the attention of a Quaker philanthropist in
Skaneateles, New York, James C. Fuller, who wished to help
fugitives but not to violate his principle that Americans must not
interfere in Canadian matters. Schools which were controlled from
the United States were not agreeable, therefore, but missions firmly
rooted in Canadian soil, although run according to Wilson's princi-

*The Emancipator, Dec. 22, 1836; The Anti-Slavery Standard, July 8, 1841; Toronto
Constitution, Nov. 16, 1837; American Anti-Slavery Society, Fourth Annual Report, New
York, 1837. p. 19; Boston Public Library, Weston Papers, 12; Maria F. Rice to Mrs. Maria
W. Chapman, Oct. 23, 1839; Historical Records Survey, Calendar of the Gerrit Smith Papers
In the Syracuse University Library: General Correspondence, Albany, 1941, 2, pp. 129, 255;
Wilson to Smith, Dec. 18, 1839, Ray Potter to Smith, Jan. 25, 1846; Public Archives of
Sydenham, June 18, 25, 1841; PAC, G 20, 310; Rice to Metcalfe, July 3, 24, 1844; Fred
Landon, "The Canadian Anti-Slavery Group," The University Magazine, 17, Dec., 1917,
542; Clayton S. Ellsworth, "Oberlin and the Anti-Slavery Movement Up to the Civil War,"
corn and oats. In time, the population rose to five hundred or more, and the community was served by its own saw and grist mills, a brick yard, and a rope walk. Lumbering proved modestly rewarding, and in all, the settlers increased the value of their land by over a dollar an acre within five years.

The man most responsible for Dawn's initial success was Josiah Henson, one of the few Negro leaders in Canada West who seems to

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was $1,000, and the slave was unable to disprove this. Henson still did not flee, however, although the Ohio River was nearby.

Henson's decision to escape arose from what he regarded as moral mistreatment in New Orleans. Asked to accompany his owner's nephew south, he realized that despite denials he was to be sold, and on the journey he took up an axe to kill his sleeping companions, only to realize that as a Christian he could not. He was saved from being sold, and parted from the wife he had left in Kentucky, only because his companion fell seriously ill while in Louisiana and asked Henson to take him back to his home. Henson did so, but he resolved that the decision to sell him, together with his owner's "attempt to kidnap me again, after having pocketed three-fourths of my market value, absolved me from any obligation... to pay him any more, or to continue in a position which exposed me to his machinations."
he could not. The twelve-year-old lad then set out to teach him how, and in time Josiah learned "to read a little." Soon after, he took employment with one Benjamin Rislely, who allowed him to call prayer meetings in his home.

At one of these meetings a small group of Negroes decided to invest their earnings collectively in land. "It was precisely the Yankee spirit which I wished to instil into my fellow slaves, if possible," Henson later wrote, and in the fall of 1834 he set out to find a suitable area for them. He rented cleared lots near Colchester, where he and his followers learned to raise tobacco and wheat. According to Henson, he learned that the grantee had not complied with some of the conditions for his allotment, however, and he wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor, who advised the Negroes to apply to the legislature for relief. Upon doing so they found themselves freed from rent, although now subject themselves to the usual improvement clauses. They had meant to leave the site quickly, but given this boon they remained for seven years.

Henson now was devoting most of his thought to the problems of how fugitives like himself might best adjust to Upper Canada. As he saw, "The mere delight the slave took in his freedom, rendered him, at first, contented with a lot far inferior to that which he might have attained. Then his ignorance led him to make unprofitable bargains, and he would often hire wild land on short terms, and bind himself

to clear a certain number of acres; and by the time they were cleared and fitted for cultivation his lease was out, and his landlord would come in, and raise a splendid crop on the new land..." Too, the Negroes often raised only tobacco, tempted by the high price it brought, but this created a glut in an already depressed market, and the Negroes who had not diversified with wheat were driven to the wall. To correct this, Henson "set seriously about the business of lecturing upon the subject of crops, wages, and profits... "

While in Colchester, Henson met Hiram Wilson, and from 1836 the two worked together. When Fuller returned from England with funds to establish a manual labor institute, it was Henson and Wilson who called a convention in June, 1838, to determine how and where the money might best be spent. As Henson knew, with all the sensitivity of the self-consciously unlettered who see universal education as a panacea, Negroes increasingly were excluded from the public schools of the province, and upon his urging the delegates decided to found

*Ibid., p. 63.
†Ibid., p. 65-66; Boston Recorder, Jan. 7, 1848.
The British-American Institute. In 1842 Henson moved to Dawn. "We look to the school, and the possession of landed property by individuals, as two great means of elevation of our oppressed and degraded race..." he later wrote in his autobiography.

This autobiography was first published by Arthur D. Phelps in Boston early in 1849. Hoping to earn some small income for his moderate anti-slavery views, and Eliot wrote The Life of Josiah Henson, formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada. In style, pace, and proportion the account reflects the unembellished simplicity of Henson's life. Clearly, he was an unusual man, alert and intelligent. Equally clearly, he emerged as a natural leader to other Negroes, for he understood figures where they did not, and he was imaginative and independent in his approach to immediate problems.

The narrative also showed that Henson was vain behind his facade of humility, proud, possessive, and prone to seek out quick approval rather than long-range solutions. He needed to lead, and often led well, but he rather enjoyed manipulating the lives of others, if always for what he conceived to be their benefit. He seemed immensely stable, given neither to recriminations nor to a paralyzing fatalism, and in the main, he was an effective spokesman for the Negro, despite his deeply-felt need to please. If Dawn succeeded, much would be due Henson; otherwise, he was unlikely to win recognition outside a limited circle.
fifth chapter in its entirety. The Montreal Gazette noted it only less favorably. Within weeks there were separate Toronto and Montreal editions based upon the Boston printing.¹ In St. Thomas, Canada West, a diorama illustrative of Mrs. Stowe's more poignant scenes was widely viewed, in Toronto strolling players dramatized the novel in the streets, and the London Mechanic's Institute Library doubled its order for copies. In Montreal La Case de l'Oncle Tom was an imme-


¹See Fred Landon, "When Uncle Tom's Cabin Came to Canada," Ontario History, 44, Jan., 1952, pp. 1-5.

²The Maple Leaf, 1, July to Dec. 1852, pp. 3-13, and variously, through: pp. 177-184, and 2, Jan.-June 1853; Globe, April 24, 27, 1852; Gazette, April 3, 11, 1852. Landon, "When Uncle Tom's Cabin Came to Canada," and other authors refer to a Halifax edition in the same year. I have examined a mint copy of this edition, held by the Yale University Library, and while the title page lists Halifax as the place of publication, I believe that Halifax, England, rather than Nova Scotia, is meant. The price is given as one shilling, but from 1856 the decimal system was in use in Canada, and the Halifax merchants long before had taken up dollars and cents. The publishers, Milner and Sowerby, are unknown to the Public Archives of Nova Scotia (Miss Phyllis Blakeley to author, Oct. 7, 1966). The Yale copy is inscribed as a gift to Elizabeth Ann Langridge, and no such family name occurs in any Nova Scotian genealogies.
This explosive and utterly unexpected effect of her work may have frightened Mrs. Stowe. Assuredly, the virulence of the Southern attack upon her novel, upon not only its sentiments, its plot, and its style, but also upon its allegedly factual base, disturbed her. Even friendly reviewers doubted her veracity: *The Times* of London found Tom too pure, too perfect to believe, and thought Mrs. Stowe's

The first dramatization of Uncle Tom's Cabin, written by George L. Aiken and presented by Halifax-born George Howard in Troy, New York, in September 1852, included a scene in which Eliza crossed the ice, but did not mention Canada (French's Standard Drama: *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly*, New York, 1858). Canada soon moved to the nearside of the Ohio by Thomas Hailes Lacy in a version first performed at the Theatre Royal in Manchester, England, in February 1853 (*Lacy's Acting Edition of Plays...*). London, n.d., 12, entire), so that Eliza's "whistlepipe toward an outmost brightness" (in the words of E. E. Cummings, *Tom, Santa Fe, 1935*, p. 17) popularly reinforced the Underground Railroad myth by identifying Canada as that land of brightness. The continental French, in particular, seem to have believed that Canada was just across the Ohio from Kentucky: see J. C. Furnas, *Goodbye to Uncle Tom*, New York, 1936, p. 272.


"honest zeal" had outrun her discretion." As the London editions mounted toward forty, as the rage for Uncle Tom swept across the Continent, his creator felt obliged to justify what she had written.¹

In the novel she had claimed to be a close student of the slave states, and having lived in Cincinnati at the time of the Lane revolt, she was, in fact, tolerably well-informed. But she saw that the novel could not stand alone, undefended, and she went forth to her own defense, therefore, vigorously, massively—but not forthrightly.

Accordingly, she constructed A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin: Presenting the Original Facts and Documents upon which the Story is Founded . . . , which was published in Boston, in 1853. The title was less than honest, for the documentation she brought together in the Key, while amply supporting much that she had put in her novel, had not all been in her possession at the time Uncle Tom was created; quite simply the Key was a post hoc attempt to buttress a thesis already expressed. Not unnaturally, she made the best case for herself in assembling her materials, and in an opening chapter she made clear her belief that to have injected documentation into the novel would have been to clog its narrative drive.

To collect material for her Key, Mrs. Stowe consulted various books while in Boston. She drew in part from Theodore Dwight Weld's horrific compilation of atrocity stories, American Slavery as It is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses, published in 1839, and she also used Eliot's Life of Henson, from which she quoted at some length (with slight inaccuracies), identifying him correctly as "pastor... of the missionary settlement at Dawn, in Canada." She clearly did not read Henson closely, however, for she was wrong about his purchase price and about the exact itinerary of his journey from Maryland to Kentucky on his first trip. She said that Henson's chief significance lay in his Christian decision not to kill his companions while travelling to New Orleans. Once she related Henson to one of the figures in her novel, George Harris, and once she found in Henson's narrative an "instance parallel" with Tom's Christian dedication.* Later she credited most of Uncle Tom to Weld's book, which she said she had kept in her workbasket by day and under her pillow at night.¹


In the 1878, or fourth, revised edition of his life, Henson asserted that he had met her in Andover, Massachusetts, and that he had told her the story of his life, and indeed in 1876 in a private letter Mrs. Stowe said that Henson had visited her there. Upon this basis, as we shall see, Henson was able to imply and others who choose to use him for their own purposes were able to assert that he and Tom were the same man, that Tom yet lived, and that Eliza, Eva, and George were drawn from Henson’s family and friends.

But none of these alleged facts will bear close scrutiny. Mrs. Stowe did not move to Andover until 1852, so if Henson visited her there, it was after she had completed all but a chapter or two of her novel. Henson was in Boston twice in 1850, but both occasions were “after the Fugitive Slave Law was passed,” which was in September, so he was not in Boston in January as Charles and Lyman Stowe wrote, and in any case Mrs. Stowe was in Cincinnati in January, not reaching Boston until May. The first edition of his narrative, as published in 1849, appeared early in the year, while Mrs. Stowe was still in Cincinnati, and when she began writing furiously in February of 1851, she apparently mentioned neither Henson nor his book to anyone, although she normally shared her ideas freely with her husband. Had she communed with Henson before his book was written, as he later implied, surely he or Eliot would have mentioned it.
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exaggerate, transmuting the mundane into the dramatic (his broken shoulders became more crippling with each edition), and he could move with the times, as he did when he excised the more obsequious passages from the original version of his life for later editions, when he struck entirely a passing reference to being arrested for debt, or

The 1858 edition apparently was re-written by Samuel A. Eliot. The previous year Eliot, who had served in the House of Representatives in 1850-51, and who refused to become an abolitionist although he continued to oppose slavery, had retired to Cambridge, his investments having gone sour, to live in genteel poverty.

On the various later editions, see the note following this essay.

When he added a chapter in 1858 on his exploits in returning to the South to help other fugitives to escape, a phase of his activities unaccountably forgotten in 1849. He incorporated a pious refusal to participate in the Nat Turner rebellion into his local lectures, although the rebellion actually took place after he had reached Canada West. He claimed that he personally had written his books although in 1849, as we have seen, he recorded that he learned to read "a little" and one of his abolitionist supporters noted that he
true to his own lights, and while, by his own admission, he managed
money badly, he appears not to have abused his positions of trust for
personal gain. He also resisted becoming Uncle Tom, at first,
although in the end he fell to the pressures of financial need, the
desire for prestige, and a fading memory.

It was not Henson who first or most persistently insisted that he
was the original Uncle Tom, and since he wrote none of the lives
themselves, one must find his ghost writers as culpable as he in
building the legend. In public lectures long after the Civil War,
Henson repeatedly was introduced as Uncle Tom, but initially he
appears to have been careful not to make the claim explicit himself:
"It has been spread abroad that "Uncle Tom" is coming," and that
is what has brought you here. Now allow me to say that my name is
not Tom, and never was Tom, and that I do not want to have any
other name inserted in the newspapers for me than my own. My
name is Josiah Henson, always was, and always will be. I never
change my colors. (Loud laughter.) I would not if I could, and could
not if I would. (Renewed laughter.) Well, inquiry in the minds of
some has led to a deal of inquiry on the part of others. You have
read and heard some persons say that, "Uncle Tom" was dead, and
how can he be here? It is an imposition that is being practised on
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Library, Fremont, Ohio, Hayes Papers: Douglass to William King Rogers, Feb. 26, 1878), and Hayes did not think the meeting significant enough to record in his diary (see T. Harry Williams, Ed., Hayes: The Diary of a President, 1873-1841, New York, 1964, pp. 121-23). Other enlargements and inconsistencies appear in the various versions of Henson's ghosted works. For the 1878 edition he recalled "His Praying Mother" in a chapter not thought of before, and while in 1868 he mentioned John Scoble (misspelled Scobell) by name, a quarrel led to the English abolitionist's absence by the 1878 edition. The wording of a sign Henson placed on produce he exhibited at the London World's Fair changed slightly between the two editions, and in the latter he said he had corresponded with Lieutenant-Governor John Cockburn (meaning Colborne, further evidence that Henson spoke his account to someone else, since the two names are pronounced in approximately the same way). In 1849 he shipped his son away from his master without comment, but by 1858 he "could not refrain from an inward chuckle at the thought—how long a good night that will be!" thus giving Brian Glyn a title for his odd biography (see the end of this essay). Between 1849 and 1858 Henson quite forgot whether it was a man or woman who befriended him near Cincinnati (compare p. 48 of the former with p. 111 of the latter edition). In 1849 he said there were twenty thousand Negroes in Canada, and he gave the same figure in 1858 although elsewhere he remarked upon how many had arrived in the interim. No one of these changes, errors, or contradictions is important, and some—such as removing his master's curse, "you black son of a bitch," and his repetitive "damned nigger," from the later editions published by the editor of the Christian Age—are explicable enough, but collectively they are extremely damaging.

us... Very well, | do not blame you for saying that... A great many have come to me in this country and asked me if I was not dead. (Laughter.) Says I, 'Dead?' Says he, 'Yes, I heard you were dead, and read you were.' 'Well,' says I; 'I heard so too, but I never believed it yet.' (Laughter.) I thought in all probability I would have found it out as soon as anybody else.' "Thus did Henson skirt the edges of truth, adding that all should realize that Mrs. Stowe was writing a novel, and concluding—with a deft change of the subject—that if the audience would refer to chapters 34 through 57 of the Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin, "...I think you will there see me." Yet, the Key ran to only forty-nine chapters.

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Others were less clever at avoiding the central question, or chose not to. In 1851 there appeared a London and Edinburgh edition of Henson's narrative, slightly altered, and with the first appearance of the added section devoted to aiding fugitive slaves, together with a preface by Thomas Binney, Minister of the Weigh-House Chapel in London, where Henson made one of his most effective appeals for money. This edition was an abolitionist handbook, as the 1849 version had not been, for it included an appendix on runaways in Canada, on specific fugitive slave cases, and an appeal for £2,000. The edition of 1858, printed in Boston, with Mrs. Stowe's rather flat preface replacing Binney's more impassioned one, followed. A "revised and enlarged" London edition was next, in 1877; it retained Mrs. Stowe's preface, added an introduction by George Sturge and Samuel Morley, English abolitionists, and carried a title page specifying that Henson was Uncle Tom.

The editions from 1877 were, in fact, almost entirely the work of John Lobb, the youthful managing editor of the weekly Christian Age. Lobb had been a religious journalist who knew how to attract an audience: when he took over the faltering Age in 1872, its circulation was five thousand, and in four years he raised the figure to eighty thousand. Morley and Sturge asked him to help solicit money for Henson, still in need of assistance at debt-ridden Dawn,
and in seven months Lobb attracted £2,000." Together with Henson, he went to Windsor Castle where they were received by Queen Victoria, who asked all of her domestic staff to come to meet the real Uncle Tom. Adding an index, drawing from Henson the promise that Lobb's would be the "only authorized edition" of his life, the editor soon had sales moving up to forty thousand. The next year they reached ninety-six thousand, whereupon Lobb made further modest revisions in the text and added extracts from Henson's addresses and an account of his audience with the Queen. In 1877 Lobb also wrote, without Henson's assistance although from his book, The Young People's Illustrated Edition of "Uncle Tom's" Story of His Life, which contained a preface by the Earl of Shaftesbury and "Uncle Tom's Address to the Young People of Great Britain," which Henson almost certainly did not dictate. The life was re-arranged and each chapter title, the illustrations, and even the index pointed moral lessons: "It is noble to speak the truth." Again, nowhere was Henson made to say specifically that he was Uncle Tom, although Lobb, outside conveniently manipulated quotation marks, did so for him. Lobb's narrative of his life sold a quarter of a million copies and became a Sunday School favorite, although Henson seems to have received very little money from the enterprise and his estate certainly received none.

On Lobb, see his (as editor) Talks with the Dead: Illustrated with Spirit Photographs, London, 1906, pp. xxvi; Register of the Royal Geographical Society, London: certificate of Election as a Fellow; and appendices to the 1877, 1878, and young people's editions of Henson's autobiography. The Journal of Queen Victoria, in the Royal Archives, Round Tower, Windsor Castle, confirms that she received Henson, his second wife, and Lobb, on March 5, 1877, and in her entry of March 4 she refers to reading the book. Henson claimed to have dined with Lord John Russell, and with the Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he had the following unlikely conversation: "At what university, Sir, did thee graduate?" 'I graduated, your grace,' said I in reply, 'at the university of adversity.' 'The university of adversity,' said he, looking up with astonishment; 'where is that?' I saw his surprise, and explained . . . "But is it possible that you are not a scholar?" 'I am not,' said I. 'But I should never have suspected that you were not a liberally educated man . . . .' " (1858 ed., pp. 196-97). Archbishop Charles Sumer was not known as a wit, but he scarcely needed to have "adversity" explained to him. In any case, the official register, in Lambeth Palace Library, London, does not include Henson's name—although this is not conclusive evidence that the visit did not take place, of course.

Lobb, on the other hand, left the Christian Age and set himself up as a publisher. He wrote a similar life of Frederick Douglass, after Henson's death advertised the autobiography as dealing with "Legree, who maimed Josiah Henson for Life," and with "Eva, who was saved from Drowning by Josiah Henson, etc.," and declared that the narrative had been translated into twelve languages. At the end of the century, Lobb turned to spiritualism; he communed with
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For Mrs. Stowe, Henson would stay no more mute than he did for Lobb, and she continued to be contradictory and evasive. In 1876 the Reverend William H. Tilley, rector of the Cronyn Memorial Church in London, Ontario, sought confirmation of Henson as Tom, possibly because of a brief association of Bishop Benjamin Cronyn with Henson earlier. Mrs. Stowe's reply of May 15 was made public, but it was seldom quoted in full, and time and again her letter was cited to prove that she had admitted the relationship. In fact, she was as unclear as usual, avoiding any direct identification: "I take pleasure in indorsing with all my heart that noble man, Josiah Henson," she wrote, "to be worthy of all the aid and help which any good man may be disposed to give. It is true that a sketch of his life furnished me many of the finest conceptions and incidents of 'Uncle Tom's' character, in particular the scene where he refuses to free himself by the murder of a brutal master. He once visited me in Andover and personal intercourse confirmed my high esteem I had for him..." But she did not say when the visit took place, and as we have seen, had the visit been before she wrote most of the novel, it could not have been to Andover.* In a special editorial note to the 1881 edition of Henson's Life, Lobb nonetheless asserted that Mrs. Stowe had "quite settle[d] the point," quoting a barely relevant extract from The Times.† Plagued by further inquiries, Mrs. Stowe wrote to the editor of the Indianapolis News in 1882 that Uncle Tom was "not the biography of any one man." She died in 1896 with the incubus of Josiah still firmly upon Tom's back.§

But of what matter is this problem of the linkage between Uncle Tom and Josiah Henson? Precisely this: as Canadians came increasingly to assign Henson's role to Tom, as the myth of the North Star, the Underground Railroad, and the Fugitives' haven "under the lion's paw"—a myth so well-explored by Larry Gara in his book, The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad (Lexington, Ky., 1961)—grew in the post-Civil War years, Canadians also came increasingly to congratulate themselves upon their lack of prejudice and to contrast themselves favorably with the immoral and once slave-ridden United States. The true contrast was favorable enough, indeed, but that the greatest, the best-known, the most pious and most Christian black fugitive of all time should have sought out Canadian soil for his resurrection bred a growing

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† Of the alleged twelve editions in translation, I have found but four, two in Swedish, and one in Dutch (all 1877). Lobb claimed there was a Welsh edition, for example, but a search by Mr. Melvin McDonald, Assistant Keeper (of the Department of Printed Books, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, in August 1966, failed to produce one. The Bowdoin College Library does hold a copy of the rare Bergen edition of 1877, translated into Norwegian by H. C. Knutzen.
§ Lobb, Ed., Tales with the Dead, p. 32.
Canadian self-satisfaction with racial conditions above the forty-ninth parallel. If Uncle Tom came to Canada, could conditions need improving? With every passing year since the late 1860's a stream of self-congratulatory Canadian newspaper accounts, editorials, and memoirs appears in April or September, on the anniversaries of the outbreak of the Civil War or of the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, in which Henson has been cited as ample and sole evidence to prove that Canadians shared none of the American racial virus, that in this one area, at least, the pressures of continentalism had been resisted successfully.* That many Negroes agreed with Martin Delany in saying that Mrs. Stowe knew nothing about black men;† that Henson

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§Some of Henson's contemporaries doubted that he was Mrs. Stowe's Uncle Tom, although none appears to have been heard. Most scholarly works on the Negro, local histories of Ontario, and general accounts of abolitionism also accept the identification, but four scholars have questioned the association: In 1946 J. Winton Coleman, Jr., in "Mrs. Stowe, Kentucky, and Uncle Tom's Cabin," Lincoln Herald, 48, June, p. 6, presented a better case for Lewis Clarke, who escaped in 1841 and who did talk with Mrs. Stowe; in 1937 Fred Landon challenged the association; Montreal Star, June 22, and in 1947 he somewhat harshly noted that Henson "made little practical contribution to the welfare of his people," Canadian Historical Review, 28, Dec., p. 440. In 1958 William H. and Jane H. Pease, in
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rapidly-selling book could do him no harm, whatever little he gained financially he apparently did give to the community he died serving. The rest of his story we know from his own account, and although he added color to it and allowed Lobb to embroider events, the basic outline is quite accurate. Henson did pioneer a saw mill for Dawn, one which helped the community as well as himself, and he did exhibit his wares at the great London Exhibition, to the advantage of his colony, since he dramatically drew attention as well as to the resourcefulness of the fugitives in Canada West. He was deeply involved in litigation over his management at Dawn, and he broke sharply with members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, developments at which he only hints in his narrative.

But for the most part the historian must conclude that Henson's motives were appropriate both to the needs of Dawn and to his own needs and that his opponents were mistaken. He also found himself in serious trouble, as he notes, for recruiting Negro Canadians to serve in the Northern armies during the Civil War, but charges that he kept their bounty money for himself seem to have been false. His trip to England and Scotland during the summer of 1876 was undertaken largely to raise funds to clear a mortgage he had been forced to accept in order to fight a law suit against him, and while the money he thus raised was for his personal use, one may argue—as he did—that the law suit itself arose from his efforts to help keep Dawn and its successor settlements active. He clearly was fractious, devious, and by the time he had worn the mantle of fame for some years, also paternalistic toward his less fortunate brethren. He lost valuable friends among the American abolitionist community before

the war by not paying his debts, forcing them to cancel loans as a gift to the movement for which he was taken to be a spokesman, and he lost other friends among the Negro community by taking over functions of leadership which were not his to take. As his once warm supporter turned cool, Amos A. Lawrence, wrote to John Scoble, some of Henson's ability lay in being able to cajole people into doing what they knew to be financially unwise. Quincy, who served several times as editor of The Liberator during William Lloyd Garrison's absence, concluded that Henson "was a time-serving sycophant." But Henson's force continued to be an appealing one, and the money he earned on lecture tours continued to find its way into the diminished Negro community over which he served increasingly as patriarch. He was scorned by some but, it would appear, loved by more, and if he served himself, he also served others.

In the year before his death Henson lectured in the Park Street Baptist Church in Hamilton, Ontario; he was ninety-three and past caring, and for the first time he categorically, without the protective
When Charles L. Remond, a Garrisonian activist, recommended that a committee be appointed to prepare an address to the slaves in the Southern states suggesting that they resort to armed insurrection, Henson was on his feet with a powerful speech which was instrumental to the defeat of the motion. "As he didn't want to see three or four thousand men hung before this time," Henson remarked, "he should oppose any such action, head, neck and shoulders," now; the idea of armed insurrection was "ridiculous."

So it was, too, and Henson's influence undoubtedly was in the right direction, but there were those, such as Remond, who thought him cowardly. Ultimately Henson was to suffer the greatest irony of all: precisely through his successful self-identification with Uncle Tom, and because of his own moderate views on matters of race, he would become synonymous for many with the paths of moderation and even accommodation to the white community which the mid-Twentieth Century's black power advocate now rejects.

The problems that Henson's life and his much-altered autobiography raise are important ones. Indeed, because of the many changes in his narrative, the events with which Henson may appropriately be associated—the arrival of the fugitive slaves, the rise and decline of the Negro community movement in Canada, and the role in the abolitionist movement of those fugitives who elected to remain permanently resident in Canada—are more than ordinarily unclear. In the first of these, in which Canada was often described as "The sustained insurrection of the Negro," Henson's influence was undoubtedly large. With the passage of time, however, his role became less certain, and it is to this problem, and to the many changes in his narrative, that the present paper is addressed.
enough to trust completely, especially where matters of nuance arise. Perhaps most of the problems that Henson's Life leaves for us are no more important than the question of how badly injured, and in precisely what way, he was. But as the quintessential Canadian Negro, the successful fugitive, Henson's account remains important to the broader story of how the abolition of slavery itself took place.

Here, then, is an unusual and important book, reprinted for the first time since it appeared in Canada in 1881. This edition is selected over the several others because it is the fullest, containing as it does all of the material added between 1851 and 1879 together with


Lobb's own conclusion. Copies of all editions are scarce, and but two copies of the Ontario edition have been traced: to the University of Western Ontario, in London, and to the Widener Library at Harvard University. The author wishes to thank the latter for making available the copy from which the present edition has been prepared.

For the first time since Henson's death, a book which has been much in demand by scholars and libraries, a book which is a singular landmark within abolitionist literature, is back in print. I should also like to thank those who read an intermediate draft of this essay, in whole or in part, and gave me the benefits of their criticisms: Professor and Mrs. William H. Pease of the University of Maine, Professor Edward Wagenknecht of Boston University, Professor C. Vann Woodward of Yale University, and Mr. Joseph S. Van Why, Curator of the Stowe-Day Foundation in Hartford, Connecticut. None, of course, is responsible for any errors that remain or for my interpretations.
I now felt comparatively at home. Before entering the town I hid my wife and children in the woods, and then walked on alone in search of my friends. They welcomed me warmly, and just after dusk my wife and children were brought in, and we found ourselves hospitably cheered and refreshed. Two weeks of exposure to incessant fatigue, anxiety, rain, and chill, made it indescribably sweet to enjoy once more the comfort of rest and shelter.

I have sometimes heard harsh and bitter words spoken of those devoted men who were banded together to succour and bid God speed to the hunted fugitive; men who, through pity for the suffering, voluntarily exposed themselves to hatred, fines, and imprisonment. If there be a God who will have mercy on the merciful, great will be their reward. In the great day when men shall stand in judgment before the Divine Master, crowds of the outcast and forsaken of earth, will gather around them, and in joyful tones bear witness, "We were hungry and ye gave us meat, thirsty and ye gave us drink, naked and ye clothed us, sick and ye visited us." And He Who has declared that, "inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me," will accept the attestation, and hail them with His welcome, "Come ye blessed of My Father." Their glory shall yet be proclaimed from the house-tops, and may that "peace of God which the world can neither give nor take away" dwell richly in their hearts!

Among such as those—good Samaritans, of whom the Lord would say, "Go ye and do likewise,"—our lot was now cast. Carefully they provided for our welfare until our strength was recruited, and then they set us thirty miles on our way by wagon.

We followed the same course as before—travelling by night and resting by day—till we arrived at the Scioto, where we had been told we should strike the military road of General Hull, made in the last war with Great Britain, and might then safely travel by day. We found the road, accordingly, by the large sycamore and elms which marked its beginning, and entered upon it with fresh spirits early in the day. Nobody had told us that it was cut through the wilderness, and I had neglected to provide any food, thinking we should soon come to some habitation, where we could be supplied. But we travelled on all day without seeing one, and lay down at night, hungry and weary enough. The wolves were howling around us, and though too cowardly to approach, their noise terrified my poor wife and children. Nothing remained to us in the morning but a little piece of dried beef, too little, indeed, to satisfy our cravings, but enough to afflict us with intolerable thirst. I divided most of this amongst us, and then we started for a second day's tramp in the wilderness. A painful day it was to us. The road was rough, the underbrush tore our clothes and exhausted our strength; trees that had been blown down, blocked the way; we were faint with hunger, and no prospect of relief opened up before us. We spoke little, but
themselves through the briers. Suddenly, as I was plodding along a little ahead of my wife and the boys, I heard them call me, and turning round saw my wife prostrate on the ground. "Mother's dying," cried Tom; and when I reached her, it seemed really so. From sheer exhaustion she had fallen in surmounting a log. Distracted with anxiety, I feared she was gone. For some minutes no sign of life was manifest; but after a time she opened her eyes, and finally recovering enough to take a few mouthfuls of the beef, her strength returned, and we once more went bravely on our way. I cheered the sad group with hopes I was far from sharing myself. For the first time I was nearly ready to abandon myself to despair.

Starvation in the wilderness was the doom that stared me and mine in the face. But again, "man's extremity was God's opportunity."

We had not gone far, and I suppose it was about three o'clock in the afternoon, when we discerned some persons approaching us at no great distance. We were instantly on the alert, as we could hardly expect them to be friends. The advance of a few paces showed me they were Indians, with packs on their shoulders; and they were so near that if they were hostile it would be useless to try to escape. So I walked along coldly, till we came close upon them. They were bent down with their burdens, and had not raised their eyes till now; and when they did so, and saw me coming towards them, they looked at me in a frightened sort of a way for a moment, and then, setting up a peculiar howl, turned round, and ran as fast as they could. There were three or four of them, and what they were afraid of I could not imagine. There was no doubt they were frightened, and we heard their wild and prolonged howl, as they ran, for a mile or more. My wife was alarmed, too, and thought they were merely running back to collect more of a party, and then would come and murder us; and she wanted to turn back. I told her they were numerous enough to do that, if they wanted to, without help; and that as for turning back, I had had quite too much of the road behind us, and that it would be a ridiculous thing that both parties should run away. If they were disposed to run, I would follow. We did follow, and the noise soon ceased. As we advanced, we could discover Indians peeping at us from behind the trees, and dodging out of sight if they thought we were looking at them. Presently we came upon their wigwams, and saw a fine-looking, stately Indian, with his arms folded, waiting for us to approach. He was, apparently, the chief; and saluting us civilly, he soon discovered we were human beings, and spoke to his young men, who were scattered about, and made them come in and give up their foolish fears. And now curiosity seemed to prevail. Each one wanted to touch the children, who were as shy as partridges with their long life in the woods; and as they shrank away, and uttered a little cry of alarm, the Indian would jump back too, as if he thought they would bite him. However, a little while sufficed to make them understand whether we were going, and what we needed; and though they supplied our wants, fed us beautifully, and were good...
our march, having ascertained from the Indians that we were only about twenty-five miles from the lake. They sent some of their young men to point out the place where we were to turn off, and parted from us with as much kindness as possible.

In passing over the part of Ohio near the lake, where such an extensive plain is found, we came to a spot overflowed by a stream, across which the road passed. I forded it first, with the help of a sounding-pole, and then taking the children on my back, first the two little ones, and then the others, one at a time, and, lastly, my wife, I succeeded in getting them safely across. At this time the skin was worn from my back to an extent almost equal to the size of the knapsack.

One more night was passed in the woods, and in the course of the next forenoon, we came out upon the wide, treeless plain which lies south and west of Sandusky city. The houses of the village were in plain sight. About a mile from the lake I hid my wife and children in the bushes, and pushed forward. I was attracted by a house on the left, between which and a small coaster vessel, a number of men were passing and repassing with great activity. Promptly deciding to approach them, I drew near, and scarcely had I come within hailing distance, when the captain of the schooner cried out, "Hallo there, man! you want to work?" "Yes sir!" shouted I. "Come along, come along; I'll give you a shilling an hour. Must get off with this wind." As I came near, he said, "Oh, you can't work; you're crippled." "Can't I?" said I; and in a minute I had hold of a bag of corn, and

followed the gang in emptying it into the hold. I took my place in the line of labourers next to a coloured man, and soon got into conversation with him. "How far is it to Canada?" He gave me a peculiar look, and in a minute I saw he knew all. "Want to go to Canada? Come along with us, then. Our captain's a fine fellow. We're going to Buffalo." "Buffalo; how far is that from Canada?" "Don't you know, man? Just across the river." I now opened my mind frankly to him, and told him about my wife and children. "I'll speak to the captain," said he. He did so, and in a moment the captain took me aside, and said, "The Doctor says you want to go to Buffalo with your family." "Yes, sir." "Well, why not go with me?" was his frank reply. "Doctor says you've got a family." "Yes, sir." "Where do you stop?" "About a mile back." "How long have you been here?" "No time," I answered, after a moment's hesitation. "Come, my good fellow, tell us all about it. You're running away, ain't you?" I saw he was a friend, and opened my heart to him. "How long will it take you to get ready?" "Be here in half an hour, sir." "Well, go along and get them." Off I started; but before I ran fifty feet, he called me back. "Stop," said he; "you go on getting the grain in. When we get off, I'll lay to over opposite that island, and send a boat back. There's a lot of regular nigger-catchers in the town below, and they..."
I watched the vessel with intense interest as she left her moorings. Away she went before the free breeze. Already she seemed beyond the spot at which the captain agreed to lay to, and still she flew along. My heart sank within me; so near deliverance, and again to have my hopes blasted, again to be cast on my own resources! I felt that they had been making sport of my misery. The sun had sunk to rest, and the purple and gold of the west were fading away into grey. Suddenly, however, as I gazed with a weary heart, the vessel swung round into the wind, the sails flapped, and she stood motionless. A moment more, and a boat was lowered from her stern, and with a steady stroke made for the point at which I stood. I felt that my hour of release had come. On she came, and in ten minutes she rode up handsomely on to the beach.

My black friend and two sailors jumped out, and we started off at once for my wife and children. To my horror, they were gone from the place where I left them. Overpowered with fear, I supposed they had been found and carried off. There was no time to lose, and the men told me I would have to go alone. Just at the point of despair, however, I stumbled on one of the children. My wife, it seemed, alarmed at my long absence, had given up all for lost, and supposed I had fallen into the hands of the enemy. When she heard my voice, mingled with those of the others, she thought my captors were leading me back to make me discover my family, and in the extremity of her terror she had tried to hide herself. I had hard work to satisfy her. Our long habits of concealment and anxiety had rendered her suspicious of every one; and her agitation was so great that for a time she was incapable of understanding what I said, and went on in a sort of paroxysm of distress and fear. This, however, was soon over, and the kindness of my companions did much to facilitate the matter.

And now we were off for the boat. It required little time to embark our baggage—one convenience, at least, of having nothing. The men bent their backs with a will, and headed steadily for a light hung from the vessel's mast. I was praising God in my soul. Three hearty cheers welcomed us as we reached the schooner, and never till my dying day shall I forget the shout of the captain—he was a Scotchman—"Coom up on deck, and clop your wings carb like a rooster; you're a free nigger as sure as you're a live mon." Round went the vessel, the wind plunged into her sails as though inoculated with the common feeling—the water seethed and hissed past her sides. Man and nature, and, more than all, I felt the God of man and nature, who breathes love into the heart and maketh the winds His ministers, were with us. My happiness that night rose at times to positive pain. Unnerved by so sudden a change from destitution and danger to such kindness and blessed security, I wept like a child.

The next morning we reached Buffalo, but it was too late to cross.
grow on free soil, and as soon as your feet touch that, you're a man. I want to see you go and be a freeman. I'm poor myself, and have nothing to give you; I only sail the boat for wages; but I'll see you across. Here, Green," said he to a ferryman, "What will you take this man and his family for—he's got no money?" "Three shillings." He then took a dollar out of his pocket and gave it to me. Never shall I forget the spirit in which he spoke. He put his hand on my head and said, "Be a good fellow, won't you?" I felt streams of emotion running down in electric courses from head to foot. "Yes," said I; "I'll use my freedom well; I'll give my soul to God." He stood waving his hat as we pushed off for the opposite shore. God bless him! God bless him eternally! Amen!

It was the 28th of October, 1830, in the morning, when my feet first touched the Canada shore. I threw myself on the ground, rolled in the sand, seized handfuls of it and kissed them, and danced around, till, in the eyes of several who were present, I passed for a madman. "He's some crazy fellow," said a Colonel Warren, who happened to be there. "Oh, no, master! don't you know? I'm free!"

He burst into a shout of laughter. "Well, I never knew freedom make a man roll in the sand in such a fashion." Still I could not control myself. I hugged and kissed my wife and children, and, until the first exuberant burst of feeling was over, went on as before.

I remained at home, working on my farm, until the next autumn, about the time I had promised to assist in the restoring to liberty the friends of James Lightfoot, the individual who had excited my sympathy at the meeting at Fort Erie. In pursuance of this promise, I again started on my long journey into Kentucky.

On my way, that strange occurrence happened, called the great meteoric shower. The heavens seemed broken up into streaks of light and falling stars. I reached Lancaster, Ohio, at three o'clock in the morning, found the village aroused, the bells ringing, and the people exclaiming, "The day of judgment is come!" I thought it was probably so; but felt that I was in the right business, and walked on through the village, leaving the terrified people behind. The stars continued to fall till the light of the sun appeared.

On arriving at Portsmouth, in the State of Ohio, I had a very narrow escape from being detected. The place was frequented by a number of Kentuckians, who were quite ready to suspect a coloured man, if they saw anything unusual about him. I reached Portsmouth in the morning, and waited until two in the afternoon for the steamboat, so that I might not arrive in Maysville till after dark.
so seriously affected in my head and teeth as not to be able to speak. I then hung around the village till the time for the evening boat, so as to arrive at Maysville in the night. I was accosted by several during my short stay in Portsmouth, who appeared very anxious to get some particulars from me as to who I was, where I was going, and to whom I belonged. To all their numerous inquiries I merely shook my head, mumbled out indistinct answers, and acted so that they could not get anything out of me; and, by this artifice, I succeeded in avoiding any unpleasant consequences. I got on board the boat and reached Maysville, Kentucky, in the evening, about a fortnight from the time I had left Canada.

On landing, a wonderful providence happened to me. The second person I met in the street was Jefferson Lightfoot, brother of the James Lightfoot previously mentioned, and one of the party who had promised to escape if I would assist them. He stated that they were still determined to make the attempt, decided to put it into execution the following Saturday night, and preparations for the journey were at once commenced. The reason why Saturday night was chosen on this and the previous occasion was, that from not having to labour the next day, and being allowed to visit their families, they would not be missed until the time came for their usual appearance in the field, at which period they would be some eighty or a hundred miles away. During the interval I had to keep myself concealed by day, and used to meet them by night to make the necessary arrangements.

From fear of being detected, they started off without bidding their father or mother farewell, and then, in order to prevent the bloodhounds from following on our trail, we seized a skiff, a little below the city, and made our way down the river. It was not the shortest way, but it was the surest.

It was sixty-five miles from Maysville to Cincinnati, and we thought we could reach that city before daylight, and then take the stage for Sandusky. Our boat sprung a leak before we had got half way, and we narrowly escaped being drowned; providentially, however, we got to the shore before the boat sunk. We then took another boat, but this detention prevented us from arriving at Cincinnati in time for the stage. Day broke upon us when we were about ten miles above the city, and we were compelled to leave our
boat from fear of being apprehended. This was an anxious time. However, we had got so far away that we knew there was no danger of being discovered by the hounds, and we thought we would go on foot. When we got within seven miles of Cincinnati, we came to the Miami River, and we could not reach the city without crossing it.

This was a great barrier to us, for the water appeared to be deep, and we were afraid to ask the loan of a boat, being apprehensive it might lead to our detection. We went first up and then down the river, trying to find a convenient crossing-place, but failed. I then said to my company, "Boys, let us go up the river and try again." We started, and after going about a mile we saw a cow coming out of a wood, and going to the river as though she intended to drink. Then I said, "Boys, let us go and see what the cow is about, it may be that she will tell us some news." I said this in order to cheer them up. One of them replied, in rather a peevish way, "Oh, that cow can't talk;" but I again urged them to come on. The cow remained until we approached her within a rod or two; she then walked into the river, and went straight across without swimming, which caused me to remark, "The Lord sent that cow to show us where to cross the river!" This has always seemed to me to be a very wonderful event.

Having urged our way with considerable haste, we were literally saturated with perspiration, though it was snowing at the time, and my companions thought that it would be highly dangerous for us to proceed through the water, especially as there was a large quantity of ice in the river. But as it was a question of life or death with us, there was no time left for reasoning; I therefore advanced—they reluctantly following. The youngest of the Lightfoots, ere we reached halfway over the river, was seized with violent contraction of the limbs, which prevented further self-exertion on his part; he was, therefore, carried the remainder of the distance. After resorting to continued friction, he partially recovered, and we proceeded on our journey.

We reached Cincinnati about eleven on Sunday morning, too late for the stage that day; but having found some friends, we hid ourselves until Monday evening, when we recommenced our long and toilsome journey, through mud, rain, and snow, towards Canada. We had increased our distance about one hundred miles, by going out of our road to get among the Quakers. During our passage through the woods, the boy before referred to was taken alarmingly ill, and we were compelled to proceed with him on our backs; but finding this mode of conveying him exceedingly irksome, we constructed a kind of litter with our shirts and handkerchiefs laid across poles. By this time we got into the State of Indiana, so that we could travel by day as long as we kept to the woods. Our patient continued to get worse, and it appeared, both to himself and to us, that death would soon release him from his sufferings. He therefore begged to be left in some secluded spot, to die alone, as he feared that the delay occasioned by his having to be carried through the bush, might lead...
his sufferings. The poor fellow expressed his readiness to meet the last struggle in hope of eternal life. Sad, indeed, was the parting; and it was with difficulty we tore ourselves away.

We had not, however, proceeded more than two miles on our journey, when one of the brothers of the dying man made a sudden stop, and expressed his inability to proceed whilst he had the consciousness that he had left his brother to perish, in all probability, a prey to the devouring wolves. His grief was so great that we determined to return, and at length reached the spot, where we found the poor fellow apparently dying, moaning out with every breath a prayer to heaven. Words cannot describe the joyousness experienced by the Lightfoots when they saw their poor afflicted brother once more; they literally danced for joy. We at once prepared to resume our journey as we best could, and once more penetrated the bush. After making some progress, we saw, at a little distance on the road, a waggon approaching, and I immediately determined to ascertain whether some assistance could not be obtained.

I at length circumvented the road, so as to make it appear that I had been journeying in an opposite direction to that which the waggon was taking. When I came up with the driver, I bade him good day. He said, "Where is thee going?" "To Canada." I saw his coat, and expressed his willingness to assist us. I therefore plainly told him our circumstances. He at once stopped his horses, and expressed his willingness to assist us. I returned to the place where my companions were in waiting for me, and soon had them in the presence of the Quaker. Immediately on viewing the sufferer he was moved to tears, and without delay turned his horses' heads, to proceed in the direction of his home, although he had intended to go to a distant market with a load of produce for sale. The reception we met with from the Quaker's family overjoyed our hearts, and the transports with which the poor men looked upon their brother, now so favourably circumstanced, cannot be described.

We remained with this happy family for the night, and received from them every kindness. It was arranged that the boy should remain behind, until, through the blessing of God, he should recover. We were kindly provided with a sack of biscuit and a joint of meat, and once more set our faces in the direction of Lake Erie.

After proceeding some distance on our road, we perceived a white man approaching, but as he was travelling alone, and on foot, we were not alarmed at his presence. It turned out that he had been residing for some time in the South, and although a free white man, his employers had attempted to castigate him, in return for which he had used violence, which made it necessary that he should at once escape. We travelled in company, and found that his presence was of signal service to us in delivering us out of the hands of the slave-hunters who were now on our track, and eagerly grasping after their prey. We had resolved on reaching the lake, a distance of forty miles, by the following morning; we, therefore, walked all night.
HENSON DESCRIBES SECOND TRIP TO KY TO FREE SLAVES ON UGRR

breakfast was in course of preparation, we dosed off into slumber, wearied with our long-continued exertion.

Just as our breakfast was ready, whilst half-asleep and half-awake, an impression came forcibly upon me that danger was nigh, and that I must at once leave the house. I immediately urged my companions to follow me out, which they were exceedingly unwilling to do; but as they had promised me submission, they at length yielded to my request. We retired to the yard at the side of the house, and commenced washing ourselves with the snow, which was now up to our knees. Presently we heard the tramping of horses, and were at once warned of the necessity of secreting ourselves. We crept beneath a pile of bushes, close at hand, which permitted a full view of the road. The horsemen came to a dead stop at the door of the house, and commenced their inquiries; my companions at once recognised the parties on horseback, and whispered their names to me. This was a critical moment, and the loud beatings of their hearts testified the dreadful alarm with which they viewed the scene. Had we been within doors, we should have been inevitably sacrificed. Our white friend proceeded to the door in advance of the landlord, and maintained his position. He was at once interrogated by the slave-hunters whether he had seen any negroes pass that way. He said, yes, he thought he had. Their number was demanded, and they were told about six, and that they were proceeding in the direction of Detroit; and that they might be some few miles on the road. They at once reined their horses, which were greatly fatigued, through having been ridden all night, and were soon out of sight. We at length ventured into the house, and devoured breakfast in an incredibly short space of time. After what had transpired, the landlord became acquainted with our circumstances, and at once offered to sail us in his boat across to Canada. We were happy enough to have such an offer, and soon the white sail of our little bark was laying to the wind, and we were gliding along on our way, with the land of liberty in full view. Words cannot describe the feelings experienced by my companions as they neared the shore—their bosoms were swelling with inexpressible joy as they mounted the seats of the boat, ready, eagerly, to spring forward, that they might touch the soil of the freeman. And when they reached the shore, they danced and wept for joy, and kissed the earth on which they first stepped, no longer the SLAVE—but the FREE.

After the lapse of a few months, on one joyous Sabbath morning, I had the happiness of clasping the poor boy we had left in the kind care of the Quaker, no longer attenuated in frame, but robust and healthy, and surrounded by his family. Thus my joy was consum-
Henson describes second trip to Ky to free slaves on UGRR

winks, ed, autobiog josiah henson, 1969

(p. 87) mated, and superadded were the blessings of those who were ready to perish, which came upon me. It is one of the greatest sources of my happiness to know, that by similar means to those above narrated, I have been instrumental in delivering one hundred and eighteen human beings out of the cruel and merciless grasp of the slaveholder.

Mr. Frank Taylor, the owner of the Lightfoots, whose escape I have just narrated, soon after he missed his slaves, fell ill, and became

(p. 88) quite deranged; on recovering, he was persuaded by his friends to free the remainder of the family of the Lightfoots, which he at length did, and after a short lapse of time, they all met each other in Canada, where they are now living.

NOT ON THE PRINTING OF JOSIAH HENSON'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

winks, ed, autobiog of josiah henson, 1969

(p.xxxi) A Note on the Printing History of Henson's Autobiography

The first Life of Josiah Henson, formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada. Narrated by Himself, as ghost-written by Samuel A. Eliot, appeared in Boston in 1849. It has been reprinted once, with different pagination, by The Observer Press of Dresden, Ontario, for Uncle Tom's Cabin and Museum in Dresden. This edition, which appeared in 1965, includes a brief Foreword and the text of the plaque that demarks Henson's house. The 1849 edition appeared in London and Edinburgh in 1851 as The Life of Josiah Henson, formerly a Slave: As Narrated by Himself. The second edition, substantially revised, was retitled Truth Stranger than Fiction: Father Henson's Story of His Own Life, and was published in Boston in 1858 and in London in 1859. As noted in the text, all further revisions were in the hands of John Lobb, who usually listed himself on the title-pages as the editor. The third edition, "revised and enlarged," was Lobb's "Uncle Tom's Story of His Life": An Autobiography of the Rev. Josiah Henson (Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom"), From 1789 to 1876, published in London in 1877. In the same year Lobb's The Young People's Illustrated Edition of "Uncle Tom's" Story of His Life (From 1789 to 1877)
NOTE ON THE PRINTING OF JOSIAH HENSON'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

winks, ed, autobiog of josiah henson, 1969


The fullest version of the Henson narrative to appear during his lifetime was the one which is reprinted here. This, Lobb's An Autobiography of the Rev. Josiah Henson ("Uncle Tom") From 1789 to 1881, was the first edition to be published in Canada, appearing in London, Ontario in 1881. It contained the Stowe, Phillips, Whittier, and Haven additions, but with the 1878 rather than the 1879 introduction, and a Conclusion written by Lobb, although not so designated. This version was the "revised and enlarged" edition. Some slight additions were made to the final edition, Lobb's The Autobiography of the Rev. Josiah Henson ("Uncle Tom") From 1789 to 1883, London, 1890, to include Henson's death, but some of the added matter was cut, so that the Ontario volume remains the fullest. There is also a disputed edition, normally ascribed to Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1852, of the original Henson narrative of 1849, but (see the last footnote on p. xiv) I am convinced that this edition was published in England and that it, therefore, is merely a pirated edition of the London and Edinburgh printing of 1851. Of these original English-language editions, all save those of 1852, 1879, and 1881 are in the British Museum; the provenance of the others is discussed in the relevant footnotes, as is the question of editions in translation (see p. xxv). All but the 1849 edition have a picture of Henson as a frontispiece. The young people's edition includes a tipped-in tintype, usually missing (but present in the British Museum's copy), of Lobb and Henson—the only available picture of the former—and introduces an appendix on Henson's visit to the King Edward Industrial School and Girls' Refuge in 1877 that does not appear elsewhere.

In addition to the 1965 reprinting of the edition of 1849, there has been a reprint edition of the version of 1858, without Mrs. Stowe's preface, and with an introduction by Walter Fisher: Father Henson's Story of His Own Life, New York, 1962. A fragment of the 1858 narrative has been reprinted in Harvey Wish, ed., Slavery in the South: First-Hand Accounts of the Ante-Bellum American Southland . . . New York, 1964, pp. 23-36. The youthful Henson appears on the cover of the 1962 reprinting, while the elderly Henson is depicted in all other editions. The latter picture is also available singly from the Museum in Dresden.

Although the first edition of Henson's memoir bears the imprint of Arthur D. Phelps, the original publishers were to have been Charles C. Little and James Brown, booksellers in Cambridge and Watertown respectively (Boston Directory 1849, p. 190). This is shown by the
NOTE ON THE PRINTING OF JOSIAH HENSON'S BIOGRAPHY

Winks, ed, autobiog of josiah henson, 1969

clearly states that Little and Brown were to publish the manuscript for the author, and that Eliot had written it.

I have made a line-by-line comparison between the manuscript and the first edition and find no changes of importance. There are numerous quite minor alterations—added commas, corrected spellings, the insertion of Roman numerals for the chapters of the Bible, and the substitution of and for &—and the original contains italicized words and insertions which have been regularized in the printed copy. The one omission of substance occurs at the end, where the final line of the manuscript was not printed; there are also changes of nuance by the substitution of other words on pages 17, 23, and 32 of the manuscript, and a garbled Biblical quotation is corrected. The manuscript apparently was read back to Henson when Eliot completed it.

NOTE ON HENSON's BIOGRAPHERS

Winks, ed, autobiog of josiah henson, 1969

A NOTE ON HENSON'S BIOGRAPHERS

winks, ed, autobiog of josiah henson, 1969


1889 ALUMNI RESOLUTIONS CALLING FOR EQUAL RIGHTS; RESCINDING 872
OF 1873-1874 RULES & REGULATIONS REGULATING SOCIAL PRIVILEGES
OF THE TWO RACES.

Resolutions of Alummi, John H. Jackson, President of Alumni, June 20, 1889, Berea, Ky., Board of Trustees, Minutes, Berea College Archives, Record Group 2, Box 1.

At a meeting of the Berea Col Alumni on June 19, 1889, several resolutions were adopted and presented respectfully for Trustees consideration. First, they praised the college; "Second, That we affirm our devotion to the great principle of the equality of man, as enunciated in the recent Baccalaureate Sermon and pledge our ready cooperation in every effort to establish such principle."

"Third, That we deem it important to the advancement of the principle of equal rights by our Alma Mater that no person be clothed with authority in the institution who is not in full sympathy with this principle."

"Resolved, That we, the members of the Alumni of Berea College, relying upon the wisdom of the Faculty and the good judgment of the students, request the Trustees of this institution to rescind the objectionable features of the rules and regulations adopted in (1873-1874), purporting to regulate the social privileges of the two races."

Respectfully,
John H. Jackson
President of the Alumni
During the year 165 white students, 210 "colored." Total 374 with 338 from Ky.


THE PRUDENTIAL COMMITTEE:
"Voted that colored children in the district between 6*18 years of age be admitted to the institution on payment of one dollar for tuition and incidentals for the fall term."

The one dollar policy continued - Apr 4 1891
JOHN JACKSON REIMBURSED FOR EXPENSES FOR RECRUITING STUDENTS (1871)

Bound Minutes "Prudential Committee of the Board of Trustees. Minutes. 1866-1872." Berea College Archives, Record Group 2, Box 1. Dated Berea, Ky., Oct. 7, 1871. Signed J.A.R. Rogers, Sec. (Vol I)

"Mr. Jno. Jackson's bill for expenses from Lex. to Louisville to secure students for the college was allowed."

Jackson a black? yes

BLACKS ADMITTED FOR 1 DOLLAR 1872

Bound Minutes "Prudential Committee of the Board of Trustees. Minutes. 1872-1880." Berea College Archives, Record Group 2, Box 2. Dated Sept 10, 1872, Signed JAR Rogers, Sec.

"Voted to give tuition to all colored children living in the district of the legal school age, tuition & incidentals for the Fall Term for one dollar each."

One dollar policy still in effect, Sept 20, 1877, J.A.R. Rogers, Sec.
Bound Minutes "Prudential Committee of the Board of Trustees. Minutes. 1872-1880." Berea College Archives, Record Group 2, Box 2. Dated Aug. 25, 1874.

Prudential Committee Approved: "On Motion Voted that it is expedient for Bro. Fee to go to Frankfort to attend the Conference of the Colored M.E. Church and that a share of his expenses be paid by the College."

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Bound Volume, Board of Trustees. Minutes. Hand Copy from the Original. Dated June 28, 1894. Berea College Archives, Record Group 2, Box 2 (Index to minutes, 1858-1905)

In response to petition by 26 present and past students (on file with the Bd. of Trustees) the following resolution passed:

"That we desire that there be colored instructors in this college and will endeavor to secure such instructors as soon as practicable."

Undated Speech "Civil Rights" by J. G. Fee, John G. Fee Papers, Berea College Archives, Record Group 1.2, Box 4.

"I have no allusion ... social privileges. Whether that Freedman shall have a place in my parlor or bath tub is a question which will take care of itself -- be settled by Christ: principle or common sense good taste. +

"But whether a man who is a Free Man--a citizen--a voter a tax payer shall have an equal share in public institutions he helps build-help to charter help defend is not a question of taste but a question of simple Justice." Says aware fall elections over. Says aware of the political state.

"I do not insist that the white child in ever district shall be compelled to attend the school where there are colored children-- ? --but I do insist that the colored child whose father has an equal share in the taxes by which the house is erected & schools sustained shall have an equal shre in privileges." Those that can serve in the army should have an equal place in West Point and that the Government see that he is protected--protected from guns & taunts & persecutions to which colored cadets have been subjected." Called for equal rights in travel in railroads "the privilege of traveling as other men." He gave some illustrations of how travel had not been free.

"Let me say to Republicans you cannot ignore this claim of Civil Rights long as secure the cooperation of the Colored man this friends. +

"I know now that scores & thousands of colored men are growing dissatisfied with the Republican party because many are unwilling to cede to the law abiding colored man Civil Rights." Says blacks now voting in local elections for Republicans, but could go to a third party.
letter from Howard S. Fee to John G. Fee "Dear Pa" Jan 15, 1876, Camp Nelson, Ky. John G. Fee Papers, Berea College Archives, Record Group 1.2, Box 2.

H. Fee says he has an increased number of students, but financial situation still bad--will bring in only 37 or 38 dollars; Answering questions apparently from a letter from his father he apparently doesn't know much on "the prospects & Uncle G./abrial/"

called him Uncle in an earlier letter

BLACK CHURCH TEACHERS (c 1823) CLEAR CREEK CHURCH

161/ Says Clear Creek Church has two white teachers (Wm Rice & bro Offutt) "They have also three black teachers, two of them is the property of old brother Castleman, their names are Marlick and James, they mostly teach among their own colour. In their meetings at times I hear there is much noise, but we have lately heard a number of good experiences from the blacks, as the fruits of their labours. Another black man, respectable both in looks and character; his age is perhaps fifty, he is styled both by black and white uncle Phyll--he is tall, his countenance comely and solemn as the grave, his preaching talents are such, that for some time back, by the help of the people, he has obtained his freedom, he travels considerably, and his preaching acceptable wherever he goes." /p 177/ Says Marlick and James can read; have been preachers for a number of years.
letter from William H. Gibson to John G. Fee, April 25, 1876, Louisville, Kentucky. John G. Fee Papers, Berea College Archives, Record Group 1.2, Box 2.

Gibson's address is 403 14 St South of Broadway, Louisville. "I am not prepared to say what effect the action of the Convention will have on our people, but I think that it will do this one thing at least--it will show that we have the same spirit of restlessness, as among the whites--and that when equal & exact justice is not meted out to us, there will arise some bold man as a leader, who will speak for the rights of his people. In reference to the inquiry made concerning, 'Genl Bristow' I have this to say--that I have been acquainted with the Genl for 7 or 8 years and I have had considerable business with him, and I have found him to be reliable--His intercourse with our people whilst Attorney Genl of the U. S. Court of this district, as far as I can learn was satisfactory--I can testify that he used his influence and urged the employment of Colored messengers in the Post office/Department,..." Says Bristow has also given some appointments to blacks "3 in this city & 1 or 2 in Washington." Says he believe Bristow believes "a love of justice for all--irrespective of race color, or previous condition of slavery" Says if nominated "I shall support him heartily--& if not; I shall support the nominee of the republican party...."

LETTER FROM R.G.MORTIMER ASKING FEE ABOUT ATTENDING BEREA (1869) 882-1

Louisville, Ky.,

letter R. G. Mortimer to John G. Fee, May 25, 1869, John G. Fee Papers, Berea College Archives, Record Group 1.2, Box 2.

Mortimer says he entered Ky a few months before, and is doing what he can toward the education of his people; currently a minister at the A ME Church in charge of the Asbury Chapel. Says Bishop (Dr. Payne) wants him to return to Wilberforce Univ. "But I am convinced the best interests of my people require me to remain in Ky." Describes his classical education background; says in 1867-68 he was a freshman at Ohio Wesleyan Univ. Wonders how long it will take him to get a B.A. from Berea.
BRISTOW UNWILLING TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION (May 1876)

Fee had written and asked Bristow his views on education. Bristow sent a $25.00 check for Berea. "... that, while I am unwilling to write or say anything for public use at this time, I have no hesitancy in saying to you privately that my convictions on the subject are strong and decided. If I had the power I would not allow any local prejudice or race etiquette to stand in the way of the education of every child in the Commonwealth. Regarding as I do, the education of the youth of all races as the paramount duty of the State, I would not hesitate to place the facilities within the reach of every child of the State, of whatever color, without reference to other questions, which, to say the least, are of subordinate consequence. I regard all laws discriminating against Colored people an account of Color or previous condition as antagonistic to the spirit of the age, and at war with the true philosophy of government." ....

"Please bear in mind that I do not write this for publication, or even for public use, as I am unwilling to say anything now which indicates a desire to bring myself before the public or to explain my views to the satisfaction of the country."

SAD CONDITIONS CAMP NELSON (1889) TEACHER SICK

Robe says Camp Nelson needs a new teacher badly. Robe says Etta will not take over for Miss Peck who is unable to carry on. "Her head is all crazy this morning." Needs any kind of teacher, to take over Friday, white or black.
SAD CONDITIONS CAMP NELSON (1889) NEED TEACHER

letter from M. M. Robe to John G. Fee, Jan 15, 1889, Camp Nelson, Ky.
John G. Fee Papers, Berea College Archives, Record Group 1.2, Box 2.

Robe says Miss Peck's head is better, but body still in pain. "Do not set any particular time for the school to continue. You know how uncertain the scholars are here. I do not look for them to continue longer than two months." Miss Peck believes it will take from 4 to 5 weeks for her to recover, as it did before. Robe says school must resume next week or they will lose several scholars.

Miss Robe is female head 7 soh (from Ohio)

FEE COMMENTS TO GARRETT SMITH ON CAMP NELSON (1868)

typescript copy of letter from John G. Fee to Garrett Smith, April 9, 1868, Berea, Ky., im copied from G. S. Miller Collection, Syracuse University. No. 980. IN John G. Fee Papers, Berea College Archives, Record Group 1.2, Box 2.

"I have had a protracted and arduous effort at Camp Nelson - 32 miles from this place, trying to get that farm with the buildings, Bro. Schofield was at. I have succeeded. It was not in a safe condition before this time - It is now freed of two claims that neither Bro. Schofield nor I saw. It is now clear at least the part I get - 130 acres I have turned over to trustees, property worth five thousand dollars, the Bureau paying 15 hundred toward this. A good man is there & the school started - One large building 75 feet long & 30 broad 2 stories high - 18 rooms. The two wards 75 by 25 feet each - situated in a fertile region surrounded by a large colored population. We must multiply schools & put education & within their reach." Says school at Camp Nelson is called Ariel.
"Soon after this, colored soldiers were being mustered out at Louisville. I want there and unfolded to groups of soldiers the opportunities for an education at Berea. Angus Burleigh and Gordon Glascoe came to Berea and entered the school."

"In 1822 Augusta College was established in Bracken County, the first Methodist college founded in the United States. This college, the property of both Ohio and Kentucky Conferences of the Methodist Church, quickly developed a reputation for antislavery so strongly that its Kentucky support eroded. Finally the Kentucky Legislature revoked the College's charter in 1849."
I, myself, was a citizen of the State of Kentucky from 1833 to 1840. Slavery existed there, it is true, in a comparatively mild form. But its evils were such that I learned to look at it with unmixed aversion. I learned my anti-slavery lessons from slavery itself and from the slaveholders around me. At that time I knew nothing of Mr. Garrison or his movement, and when I heard of him I supposed, as others did, that he was merely a violent fanatic.

Clarke says he was present in the office of a slaveowner when a letter arrived from a runaway named Milly. "... Mr. Goodwin from Plymouth, who had hired a little girl named Milly. She had grown up with him and his wife, and Mrs. Goodwin had taught her to read and write, to sew, and given her a knowledge of housekeeping. She was at that time seventeen or eighteen years old. The owner of the girl was an English gentleman, named Booth, who had lived in Kentucky for many years. I was sitting in Mr. Goodwin's office one day with Mr. Booth, when a letter came to Mr. Goodwin from his wife, in which was enclosed a letter to herself from Milly. Milly said that she had decided to go away to a free state. Mr. Goodwin read aloud Milly's letter: 'It breaks my heart,' said the letter, 'to leave you, my dear mistress. I shall never find so good a friend in the world as you have been to me, never any one that I shall love so much. But you have taught me many things, and among them the value of freedom. All the education you have given me has gone to make me feel that I have no right to remain a slave when I can be free. I am obliged to leave you. I hope I may some time see you again, but I do not know. I want you to know how grateful I am and always shall be for all your kindness.'" Clarke says he watched the face of the owner of the slave as the letter was being read. The owner had lost $1500 to $2000, but when the letter was completed the owner turned to Mr. Clarke and said if he had been in Milly's place he would have done the same thing.
First, I called Berea America's only thoroughgoing experiment along the lines of inter-racial scholastic equality. I am not forgetting that Oberlin has stood open to the Negro race for two generations and that northern schools generally have opened their doors to them. But the percentage of from two to five percent of Afro-Americans in a student body does not constitute a real group problem or group experiment. There is the problem affecting the few individuals of the dark race, as to whether they shall be snubbed, lionized, or ignored. But they do not have any group power to demand a certain line of treatment by force of numbers, nor do they take the lead in establishing the school atmosphere to which students of the white race must adjust themselves, if they can.

Illustration: How Blacks and Whites Worked Together 1880s, 1890s

Second, in answer to the scoffers as to the possibility of pleasant and mutually helpful relations, let me descend to a few anecdotes, trilling in themselves but helping to show the atmosphere. From 1885 to 1889 I was a member of the then crude Berea College brass band, with a membership mostly colored. Barton was the leader the first season, Radcliffe (colored) the second, Columbus Reed (black) one other year. For the other five seasons "Baseball Hughes" (brown) and I alternated as leaders with perfect good will and cooperation. — When I joined Phi Delta 1907 in 1899 I was the only white member for the fall term. Later there may have been nearly one fourth white members. I was three times elected president by this group. Were I to make a list of former Berea students whom I would genuinely enjoy meeting again, and sitting down for an evening to chat over old times, I would find a majority of them colored; thus much out of my own experience. — — I could speak still more warmly were I to tell of evidences of genuine friendship shown in recent years by many of the former colored Bereans to others I could name.
letter from Ernest G. Dodge to William G. Frost, April 11, 1925, William G. Frost Papers, Berea College Archives, Record Group 3.3, Box 13

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On the white side the old Bereans were even much more conspicuously a picked group. Any white man or woman coming to Berea knew in advance that he must be willing to recite, eat, and worship with a majority of students of another race. They must find for themselves a school life as partners with the colored majority or do without any school life worthy the name. Naturally only those came whose minds were made up to accept the conditions. Some of them were anti-slavery folk from the Ohio River country and further north. Some were local boys and girls who had heard Brother Fee's anti-caste preaching, and who moreover had to get an education here or nowhere. A few were mountainers from further back, but they were the least prejudiced members of their respective communities.

CHANGE IN 1890s IN ATMOSPHERE AT BEREA TOWARD BLACKS

letter from Ernest G. Dodge to William G. Frost, April 11, 1925, William G. Frost Papers, Berea College Archives, Record Group 3.3, Box 13

Fourth, when the school began to grow in the middle nineties and then a majority of mountain whites appeared on the student roll, there was an inward change in the atmosphere of the school. The white man who had come to Berea before that had virtually said to himself, "I am willing to come to a school like that because I am willing to take the better class of colored men and women for my friends and equals." The white man who came in the years just before the Day law was more likely to have said within himself, "I am willing to go to that school because, little as I wish to treat niggers as equals and friends, I think I can to a great extent ignore the minority of them who are there, and keep them pretty nearly outside the circle of my real school life." As I perhaps tried to intimate last night, I have always suspected that what helped to precipitate the passage of the Day law was the influence (perhaps unconscious) of the many white mountain students when they went back to their homes. Unconsciously, perhaps, but none the less really I fancy, a great number of them carried back with them an attitude which meant, "Berea's a good school and surely has taught me a lot, but it's really a shame that I had to stoop to reciting with darkies in order to get its advantages. How nice it would be if my younger brothers and sisters could have the advantages without the disgrace."
Or to put the idea in other words. The influx of hundreds of students from all over the mountains no doubt appeared at the time as a conversion of the mountains to the Berea idea. But in the light of what transpired since, it seems that the appearance was deceptive. It was merely that the mountains decided to tolerate the Berea way of doing things (modifying it by lessening the amount of interracial social mingling) because it wanted the educational advantages obtainable in no other way within the limits of their purses. But white Kentucky as a whole was not converted to the old Berea idea. Berea became so fine a school that white Kentucky began to want it for its own, and through the legislature it took the course which was necessary in order to get it for its own. (But of course here I have gotten ahead of my subject, which was the old times at Berea.)

Fifth and finally, the twenty years of the Fairchild administration was not a unit as regards the race problem. Three main periods may be recognized. The first was from the admission of colored after the war till the middle seventies. The second extended till the election of Hathaway as a teacher in 1884. The third followed that.

The first and earliest period is before my personal recollection. But from things which I have heard I know that the Berea folks were feeling their way along as to the relations which should exist between white and colored students. The idea of an unrestricted "social equality" with possible racial fusion was not then so definitely discarded and frowned down upon as it became later. I am told that two or three of the white youngsters escorted colored girls to public lectures, not once but repeatedly. But within my memory such a thing never occurred, although J.S. Hathaway as a student did once sound out Miss Ella Lawton as to whether she might accept an invitation of the kind. He was not encouraged. In that very early day John Robinson, who was one of the first colored graduates (a man scarcely showing his trace of colored blood) became engaged to a white teacher from Bracken County, a relative of Brother Fee. When she died there was some rumor to the effect that he was engaged to the lady principal. Robinson remained unmarried for many years, managing the Green farm in Bracken County, but finally did marry the white owner of the farm, after to the woman.
During the middle period of the Fairchild regime, say from 1875 to 1884, the relations of the two races were probably more quiet than either before or after. Early experiments in completely ignoring the color line had been discontinued, and a later disturbing element was not yet present. I can, however, remember frequent conversations in the family circle when my own mother referred to the colored as being "so jealous." They were sensitive and ready to see any real or suspected slight.

The election of a colored teacher in 1884 made the situation in several ways more difficult. If it had not been for that it is at least conceivable that the aloofness of the mountain people might have been broken down ten years sooner than it was, and that the final denouement of the whole matter might have been decidedly different from what it was. But many whose prejudice were enough softened to let them accept colored as classmates were not yet ready to accept a colored man as a teacher. This is well typified by the case of Miss Meta Ryan, whose father absolutely forbade her reciting to Tutor Hathaway, yet permitted her to continue in school on condition that she avoid his classes. This went on for several years with her, till it became practically impossible for her to progress further in the course while maintaining the above practice. She then dropped out of school.

Tutor Hathaway was called in 1884 at a salary of $600, which was increased to $750 in 1886 and to $900 in 1888. He fully expected further advancement but it never came, and both he and his colored followers were jealous and dissatisfied. They could not see that he really lacked the qualifications which a full professor at Berea ought to possess. After a while the trustees, though not making him a professor, did vote that he must be invited to the faculty meetings. At the meeting of the board of trustees Rev. A.A. Myers opposed this move, but when it had been carried he then moved that Miss Gilbert also be made a member of the faculty. This was done. Before that the only woman on the faculty had been the lady principal. I remember my own mother expressing her great solicitude over the putting of Tutor Hathaway on the faculty. She said it meant that all faculty secrets would go to A.W. Titus and leak out to the colored community. I often heard her refer to Hathaway as a "snake in the grass." She felt that he was both jealous and sly. I may add that Tutor Hathaway became interested in promoting some publication society located I believe at Lexington. For some years toward the last it was felt that he neglected his Berea work in favor of this enterprise. He went to Lexington frequently, sometimes having to leave classes to substitute.
E G DODGE LAMENTS THE EFFECT OF THE DAY LAW ON BEREAL, UNION CHURCH
ALUMNI ASSN

letter from Ernest G. Dodge to William G. Frost, April 11, 1925,
Wm. G. Frost Papers, Berea College Archives, Record Group 3.3, Box 13.

Well, I must not protract this indefinitely. How far the Kentucky community, outside of an earnest select few, were from being ready to accept the old Berea idea unreservedly is well shown by things that happened after the Day law was in effect. That law compelled the classroom separation, but it did not compel the Union Church to practically withdraw its welcome to colored fellow worshipers, and it did not compel the Berea Alumni Association to practically ignore the fact that any colored were ever graduated from the college, printing in their announcements the number of "white" alumni only. I confess that I have felt and still feel sad and very disappointed at these later developments.

What the final outcome of the race problem in America shall be I do not feel like even guessing today. I can now see both sides to it. But I consider it one of the most vital problems remaining before the country, second in critical importance only to the maintenance of international peace. Old Berea did not solve the problem, but I think it ought always to retain a pride in having made an honest and earnest attempt.

Ernest G. Dodge

CAMP NELSON: FLIER ADVERTISING SCHOOL, WITH LETTERS OF SUPPORT (1876) 898

Printed Flier, John G. Fee Papers, Berea College Archives, Record Group 1.2, Box 4. (unpaged)

NORMAL SCHOOL

To the friends of Christian Education.

At Camp Nelson, Jessamine Co., Ky., the Government during the war erected many buildings; two of these with seven acres of land, have been secured—paid for, and are now in the hand of Trustees, who hold them for school purposes.

Here also is a Church for Christ inviting the fellowship of all his true followers, together with a prosperous and well-attended Sabbath School.

The academy buildings occupy a beautiful site near to the turnpike leading from Lexington to Danville, and about equidistant from each, in a region healthful, fertile, beautiful, and densely populated.

The safety and social well-being of the State and Nation depends upon the education, the Christian education of its citizens.

We desire here to maintain a school that will give thorough training of schools, with a course of study less extended yet calculated to make competent teachers for their own race. As yet, to sustain this school, we must rely upon the benevolent abroad. We call upon our friends to aid us. We need means to meet present current expenses, or what would make more permanent, a small endowment.

OPINIONS OF JUDICIOUS MEN WHO HAVE BEEN ON THE GROUND:

The following is a letter from the President of Berea College, Ky., addressed to the present Principal, H. S. Fee.

"I know of no better location for such a school in Kentucky than Camp Nelson, and if any body can make a success of it, with a moderate outlay, you can.

I should not hesitate to appeal to the public for Twenty-five Thousand Dollars to start with. There are individual men, who, if they understood the merits of the case, would gladly invest that amount in so good and so promising a cause."

Yours truly,

E. H. FAIRCILD.
Soon after the close of the Civil War a small tract of land was secured in Jessamine County, Kentucky, in a boundary then known as Camp Nelson. The design was to plant a church and a school in Central Kentucky, with a sympathizing community. In the sale of village lots the sale of intoxicating liquors was prohibited; also the practice of other known immoralities. Adjacent to the village was set apart a lot of seven acres of land for school and church purposes. To this, since the original purchase, has been added one hundred and fifteen acres of good land—a small base for an industrial department.

On the original plot has been erected a good school room, with a dormitory near by, 40 x 60, three stories high. The entire property is under the control and management of a board of trustees, with a charter from the State Legislature.

In the village is a church composed almost exclusively of colored people—ex-soldiers and their wives and descendents. The basis of the church is simple, comprehensive, apostolic—Faith in Christ, baptism in his name, and the Bible as the guide in all matters pertaining to faith and practice. This was adopted more than
PROBLEMS OF CAMP NELSON CHURCH (c 1890)

The church needs a godly man who can be pastor of the little church, have the supervision of the school and take one or more classes.

The trustees have in a central, fertile, beautiful place laid the foundations for a christian school. They invite co-operation, not on a mere paper projection, but on an actual foundation of lands and buildings.

In order to efficiency the institution needed immediate help. Seeing this, the trustees asked the State Board of Missions of the "Disciples of Christ" to take the enterprise under their care and furnish the necessary means for enlargement. The Board referred the matter to a committee. That committee in a published reply say they find in the deed of conveyance, made more than twenty years ago, a clause saying, "the school shall be open to all persons of good moral character irrespective of color." The same clause is also in the constitution of the school. The committee say that to themselves the conditions are not objectionable, but to others associated the conditions are objectionable, and for this and minor considerations they decline the offer.

We must go forward and look to God through his stewards elsewhere for help.

FEE ON IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOL AT CAMP NELSON;

Our position, that of offering the key of knowledge to every member of the great republic and to the world is not only patriotic, philanthropic, but eminently christian,—in harmony with our Lord's golden rule, "Do unto men as ye would they should do unto you."

The position is not only christian, but also practical, even in the South. The school at Berea, Kentucky, is a beautiful illustration. No institution in all the land, with its seven hundred students, white and colored, male and female, is more pure and harmonious and successful. But we need more than one such school in Kentucky and in the whole South.

In this Jessamine County and the counties adjoining is an immense colored population without schools for adequate training. In the country districts the same is largely true among the white population. This deficiency is especially true for girls and young women among the colored. These young women are to be future teachers and mothers; the first formers of character. How important education should be such as will inspire self-respect. Self-respect is a great stay to virtue and social purity. But in this country race education is on the basis of invidious distinctions; and to the shame of the republican and so-called christian institutions the "Jim crow car" sentiment rides into church and state—a condition perilous to peace and social well being.

The school room is the place where sentiments and habits are formed for future life. Let these sentiments and habits be of mutual respect. Then it will be found true that those who play together and pray together will never fight—engage in wars of extermination. Schools in the South on the christian basis of mutual respect for those of true merit would be a happy solution of the "Southern problem."

As we have shown, such schools can be maintained, even in the South. In a central beautiful place we have...
FEE ON IMPORTANCE OF CAMP NELSON CHURCH, SCHOOL, EFFICACY OF EDUCATION: APPEAL FOR FUNDS

Undated Printed Flier in John G. Fee Papers, Berea College Archives, Record Group 1.2, Box 4.

made another beginning. Will God's stewards lift it into needed efficiency? The principle of the institution is so thoroughly righteous, so vital to national and social welfare, that we feel that good men and women ought to give it an immediate uplift and ample endowment. Such an institution would be to thousands a regenerating and sanctifying force. Can we in any way expend money and effort more wisely? Does the reader believe help will be pleasing to God? Let the readers send contributions or pledges to care of John G. Fee, Berea, Ky., or to Miss Mary M. Robe, Camp Nelson, Kentucky.

If any desire further information, let them correspond with me at Berea, Kentucky, or with Mary M. Robe at Camp Nelson, Kentucky. I am president of the Board of Trustees and speak the sentiments of the board. Mary M. Robe, a white woman from Ohio, is secretary and treasurer of the Board of Trustees. She has been in Camp Nelson some twelve years. Her business tact and general, fervent piety secure to her the respect and confidence of all who know her. We wish more such would come over and help us.

John G. Fee

PROBLEM OF REPLACING PRIMARY TEACHER "ETTA" AT CAMP NELSON (1889) 902

m.m. Robe to John G. Fee, May 16, 1889, Camp Nelson, Ky, found in John G. Fee Papers, Berea College Archives, Record Group 1.2, Box 2

"Dear Bro. Fee, You have perhaps read the decision of the trustees before now. Bro Tracy conferred with me but neither one of them did. He and I agreed in regard to Etta that she ought to be retained somehow as primary teacher. He says she has gained in favor with the majority of the people. They are pleased with the progress their children have made and would be willing to have her remain - a number of them are anxious and are already murmuring. The trustees brought no objection against her as a primary teacher but Bro. C. (symbol unclear) who rules you now on all such occasions, said he had made up his mind what to do - it was time to have a change and give some one else a chance. Now if this is the only reason for not accepting Etta how can I feel that the Lord guided them in their decision. I am of the same opinion as when I wrote you - that considering Etta's faithfulness, self-denial, efficiency in every department of the work, industrious and economic habits, amiability, sweetness of temper and all other Christian graces that it takes to make up a consecrated worker we are running a great risk in not retaining her. There may be teachers who could create a greater 'boom' and while this is necessary the other qualifications I have mentioned must underlie it all if God's work is well done. While we need one who will give prestige to the school she must also be imbued with a love of souls. It may be the ones in view are fully prepared for the work, I pray that they are, but I believe it is always safest to hold on to a good thing as long as you can - in other words 'let
M. M. Robe (?) to John G. Fee, May 16, 1889, Camp Nelson, Ky, in John G. Fee Papers, Berea College Archives, Record Group 1.2, Box 2.

Many of them would be without books to-day if she had not done this - all accommodation - no money in her pocket but much time lost to her. Altho the decision is a disappointment to Etta she is sweet and cheerful over it. Mr. Tracy is very anxious to have her remain with us anyhow whether she teaches or not. Was talking with her about it this evening."

Board of Trustees, Minutes, Berea College Archives, Record Group 2, box 2, Bound Volume, hand copy.

Under date of July 1, 1872/

"The Faculty were requested to meet with the trustees at the afternoon session to discuss the question of social intimacy between white and colored students in the institution but not to vote in regard to it." The board recessed until 2 PM.

"The trustees together with the Faculty met and after prayer, the various resolutions which had been offered on the subject of social intimacy in the school were called up. Bro Candee presented an additional resolution upon the same topic.+

"Each member of the Faculty & Board were requested to give their views upon the subject before them & did so at length.+

"The Board then adjourned till to-morrow morning at 8 A. M.+

"Berea, July 2, 1872.+

"The Board met at 8 A. M. and after prayers proceeded to discuss the question of social intimacy.+

"Prin. Chittenden offered his resignation as Prin. of the Prep. Department.+

"It was moved and seconded that Pres. Fairchilds paper marked No. 3 be adopted. It was then moved and seconded that the paper be amended by striking out all after the word resolved and substituting a paper marked No. 4. It was then moved and seconded that the last paper be amended by striking out all after the word resolved & inserting the following:-- +
prohibited from attending each other to and from social gatherings and public lectures.

"2. That if no obstacle but simply that of complexion exists they should have permission. +

"3. That if in our judgment their going together would expose them to violence, they should be prohibited. +

"4. That if they seem disposed to make an offensive display of themselves it should be prohibited. +

"5. If they would be seriously exposed to the charge of impure motives, it should be prohibited. +

"6. If any seem inclined to seek intermarriage they should be privately warned of the dangers to which they will expose themselves and their parents, especially if the parties are young, should be informed of the indications, and if they seem destitute of discretion they should be removed from the school. +

"But the mere fact that persons of different colors are engaged to be married, is not sufficient cause for removing them, providing they conduct themselves with appropriate discretion. +

"7. In case of a large preponderance of either sex of a single color special caution will be necessary to guard against such consequences as would not arise in a different state of society. +

"8. As far as practicable young ladies should be guarded against receiving habitual acts of special attention from persons whom it would clearly be undesirable for them to marry. +

"9. It does not seem to us that under existing circumstances it is desirable in general for those of either race to cultivate the most intimate social relations with those of the other sex and a different race, especially when the difference in race is quite marked. +

"This last amendment prevailed & the above paper was adopted, Bro. J. G. Hanson voting against it on the ground that he did not think any paper on the subject desirable. +

"During the discussion of the amendment the senue (?) was laid on the table and a resolution offered declaring amalgamation desirable. The motion (resolution) was lost & the amendment taken from the table & passed as stated above."
On March 22, 1794, William Bryant, of Lincoln County, advertised for his negro man, Sam, and offered ten dollars reward for securing him, so that the owner could get him again. This was the first slave advertised in Kentucky. Such advertisements became quite common, not only in this state but throughout the South, sometimes offering rewards for runaway slaves, alive or dead.
Frank L. Williams to John G. Fee, Sept. 7, 1893, John G. Fee Papers, Berea College Archives, Record Group 1.2, Box 2.

"If white students, with eighteen hundred years of civilization behind them need inducements to seek an education, what about the black man, scarcely yet out of the woods of barbarism?"

"Let a live, hardworking, studious young colored man be added to the teaching force at Berea, and Berea will awaken to new life, colored students, ready for college work will pour in from the cities and towns of Ky., and under the guidance of God, the colored people of this State will imbibe the wholesome teaching at Berea, and become a power in this State for breaking down the strongholds of prejudice. A strong colored man, placed at Berea, who is successful in winning young men, will be potent in bringing the two races together. The pupils will admire the successful and magnetic teacher and think less of the color of teacher and student."

"While at the Chicago University this summer, I found white men, students, going forward, and getting on in the most commendable way with colored men."

"I have found, in my connection, with the Louisville School Board, that ability on the part of the colored lowers the barriers between him and the white man."

"I do not ask that a colored man be employed because he is colored; but, being colored and efficient, color should not prevent employment."

"I love Berea, I have a high respect for the men who work there, and I sincerely believe that, in accordance with President Fairchild's prayer, (dedicating Lincoln Hall) distinctions, on account of color, will not be long tolerated at Berea."

Very Truly Yours,
Frank L. Williams
There is much truth in this statement, but it occurs to me as a Kentuckian, and the son of a slave-holder, that a number of circumstances contributed to make the lot of the Kentucky slave much easier than those in the cotton or sugar belt.

In the first place, the nature of the country is better adapted to labor, being for the most part elevated and rolling. As there are no swamps to produce chills and fever, it is a remarkably healthy country, with a delightful and invigorating climate. Then too, in the agricultural portions of the state, instead of vast plantations of thousands of acres, and a small army of slaves, driven from morning until night by a brutal overseer, or still more brutal negro driver, small farms and few slaves were the rule. As a general rule the Kentucky farmer, or one of his sons, managed the farm without the aid of a regular hired overseer, although he would often put one of the slaves in for foreman. This foreman was generally the best worker and most trustworthy hand on the farm, and was expected to lead, not drive the work.

It must not be forgotten that the Kentucky staples, such as live stock, the cereals, tobacco and hemp (she leads the world in the two last), did not yield such immense profits as to tempt the cupidity of the farmers, or require such forced and exhausting labor. We are also inclined to the opinion that this mild form of servitude was largely due to the fact that the average Kentucky farmer was and is a whole-souled, big hearted man. Happy, prosperous, and well-fed himself, he liked to have even his slaves share in his good cheer.

We are inclined to believe what contributed most to alleviate the condition of the Kentucky slave was the constant lashing of conscience. A large number, perhaps a majority of the people of the state did not believe slavery was right. Now, we know this bare statement, unbacked by strong evidence, would not pass unchallenged; but the evidence, is at hand. There is abundant proof that the conscience of the great body of the people was ever sensitive concerning the right of one man to own another.

Patty B. Semple, a correspondent for the Atlantic Monthly, writing of an old Kentucky home in the ante-bellum days, says: "After breakfast, there was always a group of Negroes about the porch, each one armed with a tin cup or plate, and waiting for the daily allowance of molasses, sugar, and coffee to be given out from the store-room, hoping also for some special tidbit from the family table." We do not recall having read any account like that about any other state.

In describing the Blue Grass farmer, she does it so perfectly that we know she must have been there. "He was not a hard master, although perhaps not a particularly indulgent one. A practical farmer, he insisted that the work should be properly done, and to keep the indolent, careless Negroes up to the mark required an immense amount of oversight. His horse was saddled before breakfast, and he was mounted, and about the farm early and late, knowing the old maxim that the eye of the master will do more work than both his hands. He went to bed early, usually rose between three and four o'clock in the morning and was up' his stentorian voice would be heard starting up the hands. His constant companion was a corn-cob pipe filled with Kentucky tobacco, which was always lighted by a live coal, and one of the most common sounds about the place was his call to one of the little darkies, 'Bring me a coal of fire, Polly,' or Lizzie, or Tom, as the case might be. The piece of glowing wood was carried in a pair of short tongs from the kitchen fire, and as he blew away the ashes and applied it to his pipe, he put good-natured, teasing questions to the little Negro who had brought it. These colloquies were the source of infinite enjoyment to him and embarrassment to his victim, who stood uneasily on one foot, twisting the other about and boring into the ground with one great toe, until the tongs were handed back with some extravagant compliment, and the interview ended."
The saddest feature of slavery in this state was the **internal slave trade**. That negroes were regularly raised for the Southern market cannot be denied. That in some cases brutalized white men sold their own sons and daughters, knowing them to be such, goes unchallenged; but these were the exceptions rather than the rule.

The sentiment of a majority of their people being against it, the slave trade was not as large as is generally believed. Sometimes a farmer would have among his slaves one that was unruly and even vicious; such a one was invariably sold South. But the chief reason for which slaves were sold was embarrassment by debt on the part of their master. In this case it often happened that the most valuable slaves on the farm were sold, as in the case of Uncle Tom, for the rascally slave buyers, knowing the master's condition, would have none but the best.

Almost my earliest recollection was the sale which followed my father's death, at the old homestead in Fayette County. I remember after the miscellaneous assortment of farming implements, stock, grain, etc., was disposed of, the negroes were put up on the block and knocked off to the highest bidder. And when Uncle Lewis, the foreman, who had made me whistles and toys, and let me ride with him to the field and back, was put up, and his age was inquired, and his teeth and muscles examined much as they did the horses at the barn, it cut me to the heart. But when I afterwards saw Aunt Ann, my black "mammy," who had carried me in her arms and nursed me on her bosom, and my little black playmates, who were as dear to me as any I ever had, put up and disposed of, the iron entered my soul. Child as I was, I knew that what I that day witnessed was wrong; and as first impressions are the most lasting, I have never for a moment thought differently. My opposition to slavery, thus aroused, has grown with my growth and strengthened with my strength, until now "I loathe, abhor, my very soul with strong disgust" is stirred, whenever I think of it.
After my sister was left a widow, I made my home with her for five years, and managed her farm and other business. Tobacco was the great staple, and in its culture we sometimes had poor whites from Tennessee, and colored people, as tenants or hired hands. But the blacks were infinitely more satisfactory. They had been taught to work in a cruel and exacting school, and the lesson was well learned.

Among the black people on the place was an intelligent mulatto named Griffin Taylor, and his family. He had belonged to a wealthy but hard master; had also been a soldier during the war. He was now getting old, and being afflicted with rheumatism, so that he worked under great pain and disadvantage, and having a large family, he was always hard pressed to make a living. I remarked to him one day, "Griffin, did you not fare better when a slave than you do now?"

"Boss," was the reply, "have you read the fable of the fat cur dog and the lean wolf? Well, in those days I was a fat cur dog; I was fed, passably clothed, and well worked, and if I ventured off the farm at night without a pass I was liable to be well whipped. I was simply chained to the place, a mere machine or animal. Now I am like the lean wolf; I have a hard scuffle to get enough to eat, but I am free to go where I please and no man can stop me. Better a thousandfold liberty with poverty, than plenty with slavery." And this sentiment is practically endorsed by all with whom I have ever talked on the subject.
CHARTER CHANGE STATE UNIV. TO ALLOW THE SENATOR IN EACH SENATORIAL DIST TO SENT A STUDENT TO STATE UNIV FREE.

Catalogue 1883-84, State Univ., Pub at: Louisville, 1884; found in Simmons Bib Col Records, U of L Archives, Record Group 105, Box 1

"The charter of the institute was so amended by the last Legislature as to change the name to State University; also the senator in each senatorial district can send one male student, properly prepared, to the Normal Department free of tuition. Where no male applies, a female may be sent. It is hoped every senatorial district will be represented."

NEW RULES, STATE UNIV., ADDED IN 1883-84 CATALOGUE

Catalogue 1883-84, State Univ., (Lou: 1884) found in Simmons Bib Col Records, U of L Archives, Record Group 105, Box 1

The 1883-84 catalogue (I don't have all catalogues) has some new rules not in the 1881-82:

"12. Any student leaving the city without permission from the President is thereby suspended.+

"13. No student allowed to leave the city during the Christmas holidays.+

"14. Bed clothing, towels, toilet soap, etc., must be furnished by the students.+

"15. Students after once joining their classes shall attend the regular examinations, except excused beforehand by the Faculty. In cases of sickness at home, or personal illness, a doctor's certificate will be required as a reason for not attending any examination.+

"16. Lady students who do not go to their homes during the summer months must stay at the University."
minutes of the First General Association of Colored Baptists in Kentucky
Heard in the First Baptist Church, Lexington, Ky, Aug 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 1869.
found in Simmons Bib. Col Record, UofL Archives, Record Group 105, Box 2

At the Thursday afternoon session the members debated "... suggestions pertaining to the securing of a suitable edifice in view of the theological training of the colored ministry, and the best method to be devised to accomplish the end."

"Brother Burbanks (white) presented a few pertinent remarks relative to the importance of the project in view, and promised his aid in due time, after which a spiraled amount of free thought was expressed by Rev. G. W. Dupee, Rev. R. T. W. James, Rev. R. Lee, Rev. R. Martin and others."

At the Thursday night meeting and a "lively discussion" a report was issued:

"We earnestly recommend the favorable action of the General Association of White Baptists of Kentucky, for their timely proffered services in the securing of a suitable edifice for the Literary and Theological culture of the colored ministry /begin p 8/ of Kentucky, to be established for the time being at Louisville, Ky. Furthermore we recommend that the Messengers of the General Association of Colored Baptists will heartily cooperate in devising the best means for the support of said institution."

MEMBERSHIP: GEN. ASSOC. COLORED BAPTISTS 1873

minutes of 5th anniver. gen assoc bol bap, 1873 found in Simm. Bib. Col Records, u of l archives, rec. group 105, box 2

p 17/ Report states 131 churches in the assn, 12 of which were new; the report estimates 30,000 total members.
We would respectfully recommend the 'Baptist Normal and Theological Institute' be located in or near Louisville, Ky.; to appoint a committee as last year, except that it be no joint Committee, to select the site and other appurtenances. +

The raising all the money to pay off second parties we consider very desirable, and that a general Financial Agent be elected by the Association or Board to travel in and out of the State, to collect money for college building purposes and the General Association, the plans of collecting to be made by him, subject only to approval of the Executive Board."

Who was this aimed at?

A committee on college reported the following:

"We your Committee on College, beg leave to report the following: Owing to our inability to carry out the intention of the last Association, held at Bowling Green, Ky., in regard to conducting a temporary school, in or near Louisville, Therefore, be it +

"Resolved, That the Ministerial Educational interests of the Baptists, of Kentucky, be for the present, identified with the Baptist Institute, at Nashville, Tenn." They promised to continue their efforts for a college.
At the meeting in mid-August 1877 a simple statement:

"Elder Gabriel Burdett, Camp Nelson, Ky., was introduced to the Association, and invited to a seat within the bar."

On motion of Elder C. C. Vaughn, the Executive Board was authorized to take such action as, in their judgment, would be considered best for the purpose of sending one or more students to the Nashville Institute to prepare themselves for the work of the ministry."
H. C. Marrs appeared before the Executive Board May 13, 1878, and said that the Central District Assn had appointed him to collect money for a college. He was endorsed by the Board. It was reported:

"Brother Marrs attended the General Association of our white Baptist brethren at Harrodsburg, and made them conversant with the whole matter, and they approved of his plan and promised assistance, and to prove their sincerity Dr. Helm made a most excellent speech in favor of the movement."

The report says the "... Seminary is a very handsome piece of property, lying high and dry. It is located on the south side of Kentucky Street, between Seventh and Eighth Streets. The lot is 217 feet wide and 375 feet long, extending through the whole square back to Zane Street. It is a brick building in good condition in center of lot. There are two good rooms and a kitchen attached to the south end of the main building. There are eight rooms in the basement, and on the second floor there are four commodious and three small rooms, and a large hall extending through the center of the main building, thirteen feet wide and forty-three feet long, the ceiling fourteen feet high; the large rooms are eighteen feet by twenty-two. There is a good porch attached to the main building on the southeast corner. There are six elegant rooms, and one large hall, thirteen by forty feet, in the third story, and there is one big room on the fourth floor." Plan 3 ft fence around property.
COMMENTS ON 1867, 1868 MEETINGS OF BLACK CHURCHES (BAPTISTS)

minutes of gen assn col baptists, 1880 (sbc, u l archives, rg 105, box 2)

p 9/

"At the third meeting of the Baptist Convention, held in Lexington, August 13, 1867, only fifteen churches were represented at the commencement of the meeting; eight new churches joined during the session, making twenty-three in all. The report shows that twenty-three churches contributed at that session $797.50, including the donations sent to the Treasurer during the year. Four of these churches, on an average, paid $125.00 each, and several of the small churches paid $50.00 each."

"The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Colored Baptist Convention was held at the Fifth-street Baptist Church, Louisville, August 7, 1868. The number of churches represented was twenty-seven; total membership of the twenty-seven churches was 6,260; the amount of the collection taken up was $463.00."

At that meeting they adopted the name "General Association of the Colored Baptists of Kentucky." Says that today the organization has 40,000 members.

COL BAP THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OPENED SEPT 1880

minutes gen assoc col bap 1881

p 19/

"Last year when the Association assembled at Owensboro, we were authorized to secure the services of Rev. Wm. J. Simmons, then pastor of the First Baptist Church, Lexington, as President of the Institute. We succeeded in our effort and on Monday, Sept. 13, 1880, the Institute opened under favorable circumstances, Prof. Simmons being assisted by Mrs. C. V. Parris." During the session 111 students enrolled; and it is already apparent the building is too small. Dr. Simmons and his family are cramped into 2 rooms."
In a report on the progress of the theological institute it was stated that the roof of the main building was raised and another floor added giving 8 additional rooms, but still too few. Had 149 students last year. Says Simmons was invited by the American Baptist Home Mission Society to attend its 15 anniversary in N Y and to address the convention on "What the colored people have done, and what they can not do." The address was given May 24, 1882. Some said they would send money. The white baptists meeting in Hopkinsville vote $400.00 for the school.

Says 192 students entered fall 1882; still very crowded. Spring 1883 first graduating class. Instructors: Prof Wm J. Simmons, A. M.; Prof. C. S. Dinkins, A. B.; Prof. T. H. Brown, Miss Lucy W. Smith, Miss Mary V. Cook, Miss Florence L. Birney, Mrs. Gabrella Halleck, Matron; Miss S. Gertie Water, Teacher of Instrumental Music; Miss E. F. Adams, Missionary.

H. C. Marrs was in first graduating class.
In August, 1871, when the General Association met with the Baptist Church here in Danville, the number of churches connected with the General Association at that time was seventy-two, and the members that composed those churches were 10,352. The number of churches that have joined the General Association in the last fourteen years is 203. The increase of members to the General Association in the last fourteen years is 34,256. The total number of churches that compose the General Association at this session is 275. The total number of members that compose the General Association at this session is 44,608.

Rev. Allen Allensworth now of Cincinnati, O.

During the school year our industrial department has been improved and enlarged by adding a Cook School, a Sewing School, and a Printing School. Examples of the work of the students was sent to New Orleans to be displayed at the "World's Exposition." Pres. Simmons has secured financial support from the Slater Fund--$1,000 last session. State Univ. received but $2,000 from the American Baptist Home Mission Society which is less well off financially.
PROGRESS STATE UNIV THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL, 1879-1880

minutes 18th annual sess gen assoc colored baptists, 1887

p 19/ Says Rev. E. P. Mars placed in charge of the Theological Institute Nov. 28, 1879, and remained in charge until the close of the session.

/p 20/ Says Prof Wm. J. Simmons, D.D., appointed principal of the Theological school in Sept 1880, and served in that capacity for several years. He was promoted to President of State University. /p 41/ Enrollment 1887 was 175, 18 of whom were ministerial students. The May graduates of the "full college course" were Misses Lavina B. Elliott of Louisville, Kate C. Scott of Lexington, Mary V. Cook of Bowling Green, and Lulu C. Osborne of Cambridge, Mass. Also an honorary degree bestowed upon Hon. George W. Williams of Washington, D. C.

C. C. VAUGHN AT 20TH ANNUAL SESS. COL BAPTIST ASSN 1888-89

minutes 20 & 21st gen assn col bap ch, 1888 & 1889

p 7/ Twentieth Annual Sess. "Rev. C. C. Vaughn lined Hymn 800: 'Go Preach My Gospel, saith the Lord.'"
minutes 20th and 21 gen assn col bap ch, 1888 & 1889

This note from 20th session activities:
p 18/ Enrollment 1887-88 194. /p 19/ No aid from the Slater Fund that year. The American Baptist Woman's Home Mission Society of Boston paid the salaries of Miss Mary V. Cook and Miss Ione E. Wood, a total of $800 that year and will do so again this coming year. "The white Baptists of our State have shown a commendable interest in our University, and have pledged themselves to raise quite a large sum to aid us in our struggle."

ALLEN ALLENSWORTH, 1889

minutes of 26th, 21st annual sess gen assn col bap, 1889

p 30/ 21 annual sess activities: "A communication from Rev. Allen Allensworth, Fort Bayard, N. M., was read and filed. The same contained a $1.00 contribution to the Association."
C. C. Vaughan no longer listed as minister, 1889

Minutes 20th, 21st annual sess gen assn colored baptists, 1889

Events: 21 session

P 48/ Allensville has new minister J. S. Watt; no longer C. C. Vaughan

P 26/ C. C. Vaughan delegate from Russellville.

P 24/ Vaughan gave a devotional service, evening session 1st day, then the benediction. /P 31/ appointed to fill a vacancy on Bd. of Trustees.

C. C. Vaughan

Educational Institutions: 1890

Minutes 22, 23, 24th annual sess, gen assn col baptists, 1892

Activities of 22d annual sess:

P 15/ The Committee on Education commended the work of: State University, Baptist Academy in Bowling Green, and Union Baptist Day School in Danville. Simmons offered resignation from Pres of State Univ. /P 21/ State U. had 212 students (largest to date). B.A. graduates 1890: Rice B. Butler, Thomas I. Bryant, and John W. Bass. /P 22/ We regret very much to report the numerous changes in the Faculty for the coming session, but we trust that all things will work together for good and that we will be able to supply all vacancies satisfactorily. Rev. Wm. J. Simmons, D.C., who has served us faithfully for ten years, has resigned to engage in a work which has been near his heart for many years." Rev. C. H. Parrish, A.M., a student, then a teacher, has resigned because of poor health. "Misses Mary V. Cook and Ion E. Wood have also resigned for reasons of a social character. These teachers, during the years of their connection with our work, have been zealous, faithful and efficient, and we desire in this public manner to bear willing and unsought testimony to this fact." Another teacher Miss Lucy W. Smith "...died in the harness and in the full triumph of faith." The new president will be Rev. C. S. Dinkins, D. D., of Marion, Ala. Other Faculty members 1890-91: Prof. C. F. Sneed, A.M.; Prof J. H. Lawson, A.M.; Rev. W. A. Creditt, B.D.; Mrs. L. B. Sneed, A.M.; Miss A. G. Gilber, A.B.; T. I. Bryant, A.B.; Mrs. Mamie E. Steward, Mrs. Jane E. McKamey. Donations: A.B.H.M. Soc of New York, $2,000; A.B.W.H.M. Soc of Boston $300. The Women's Bant Educational Convention is planned...
minutes of 22d, 23rd, 24th annual session gen assoc colored bapt, 1893

from minutes 24th session activities: (Aug 1892)

p 70/ 275 students; Rev. J. H. Garnett President; The Chapel was destroyed last December (1891) a blessing in disguise. New building proposed.

/p 71/ A.B.H.M. Soc of New contributed $2,000; Women's Bap Home Miss Soc of Boston $800; The A.B.H.M. Soc also gave $500 for the new chapel

PROGRESS STATE UNIV. OF COL BAP CONVENTION, 1890-91

minutes 22d, 23rd, 24th ann. sess. gen assoc colored baptists, 1893

minutes 23rd sess. activities:

p 37/

"On account of the changes in the State University at the close of the session of 1889-90, and our care to see that no mistake was made in the selection of instructors, we opened the last session without a President. But after careful examination of all the names mentioned and a prayerful consideration of every phase of the subject, our Board unanimously elected Rev. James H. Garnett, of Sequin, Tex., as a suitable and worthy successor of the lamented Rev. Wm. J. Simmons. After varied correspondence he accepted the position and assumed charge of the work January 1, 1891."

Prof. Chas. F. Snead, Dean of the College Dept., was Pres Sept 1 to Jan 1; enrollment was 250; In the spring there were 2 grads of college dept; 8 from the Normal Dept. Badly in need of space. /p 39/ Plan for a new dorm and remodeling the old one will cost $32,000. Simmons died Oct 30, 1891, at Cane Spring, KY.
Tate's Creek Association, Kentucky

Church
Tate's Creek and African, Madison Co, Richmond, T. J. Drane Pastor, 140 members, 8 baptized, const-1786.

Elkhorn Association, Kentucky (returns for 1851)

Church
Lexington First African, Fayette Co, const-1824, London Ferrell pastor, 1548 members, baptized 77

Church
Lexington Second African, Fayette Co, const-1844, no minister listed, 112 members, 4 baptized

Church
Versailles African, Woodford Co, const-1848, no minister listed, 105 members, 16 baptized.

Long Run Association, Kentucky

Church

Church

Costs of Property for State Univ, Run by Colored Baptists, 1881 (1882)

It affords us great pleasure to inform you that Professor W. J. Simmons accepted the situation tendered him as President of our Institute. The session commenced the thirteenth of September, 1880, and we are pleased to inform you that the patronage and the complete success of our Institute during the past session, has surpassed our most sanguine anticipations. It was crowded with students to its utmost capacity. The students came from the various parts of the State, and a few from other States. From all appearances, there will be a very large increase of students the next session, and we find it highly necessary that we should provide more room to accommodate the students. We are of the opinion that Professor Simmons has proved himself in every way eminently qualified to occupy the position, as President of our Institute. We recommend him to you for your consideration. Please read the following notice, which we inclose, taken from the Home Mission Monthly:

"THE INSTITUTE AND THE HOME MISSION BOARD.—The colored Baptists of Kentucky have been struggling most nobly, for several years, to establish a school for the better education of their youth, preparing to preach and to teach. They purchased an excellent property at Louisville for about $13,000, on which they have paid $2,500, while providing support, though scanty, for the teachers. Rev. William J. Simmons, a well-educated and very energetic colored brother, is at the head of the institution. His management of affairs has been excellent. There is no doubt of his competency to manage the school successfully. During the past year special lectures to the theological students have been given by the Professors in the Theological Seminary at Louisville, and by pastors there.

For several years, the Home Mission Society has been solicited to give this enterprise its moral and financial support, but in these recent years of depression, this did not seem practicable. But at the July meeting of the Board, after hearing fully from Brother Simmons, it was decided that brethren who have done so much for themselves, and who have yet so heavy a load to carry for a few years, deserve our sympathy, our recognition, our aid; and accordingly an appropriation of $1,500 was made for the support of teachers in this school. Mr. C. S. Dinkins, a graduate of the last class at Newton Theological Seminary, and a former pupil at Nashville, is to be associated with Brother Simmons in the school. All the teachers are colored. We hope and pray for their success, so that our brethren in Kentucky may have qualified teachers and preachers, etc."
CONTROL OF SLAVES: SLAVES WITHOUT A PASS TO BE ARRESTED (8-1851)

"Legislative Records of Louisville Kentucky, 1781-1929." Ordinance and Resolution Book, July 9, 1844-July 10, 1854, (Book 1) Microfilm Reel 45, U.H. Archives Project 10

An Ordinance in relation to Slaves.

"Sec. 1. Be it Ordained by the General Council of Louisville that the City Police Officers shall arrest & put in the watch house all slaves found from home without a pass from their master or some good excuse between the hour of half past ten P. M. and the ringing of the day light bell."

"Sec. 2 That if the Master of slave arrested & in the watch house shall before three O clock P. M. of the Succeeding day pay into the Treasury the sum of one Dollar and take the Treasurer's receipt to the Keeper of the watch house the Slave Shall be released, but if the master shall fail to obtain such receipt by three O clock the Officer who made the arrest shall give the Slave ten lashes & discharge him."

"Sec. 3. This Ordinance Shall not apply to any slave found at the home of his wife." Approved Aug. 1, 1851

LOUISVILLE LICENSE FEE FOR SLAVE DEALER (1851)

"Legislative Records of Louisville, 1781-1929." Ordinance and Resolution Book I, July 9, 1844 through July 10, 1854. microfilm Reel 45, U.H. Archives Project 10

An Ordinance +

"Prescribing the price of license for an officer or place for the purchase or exchange or traffic in slaves or for any person or firm engaged in purchasing or vending slaves as a business."

"Be it ordained by the General Council. That the price (purchase) of a license for each officer or place or the person or firm engaged in the business indicated in the title to this Ordinance Shall be $300. and any person who shall do or carry on within the City of Louisville the business licensed by this Ordinance without first having obtained a license therefor shall be fined in a sum not less than $10 nor more than $20 for each day he shall carry on business without license." Approved Sept 27, 1851
The Annual Association apparently had an agreement with the American Baptist Home Mission Society which would donate $7,800 "...to the payment of the mortgage debt due for the purchase of our property." if the Gen. Assn. would raise the money to "...pay the floating debt. We could not come up to our requirements last year, but they waived the conditions, and with the amount contributed for that purpose by the Baptist Women's Educational Convention, the $7,800 with accrued interest was paid, and on the 25th of October the debt was paid, and the Baptists of Kentucky were thus freed from a heavy burden, and the final and complete success of our educational work assured." Enrollment 170 past year, with 18 ministerial students. /p 36/ Three graduates from the College Dept: Miss A. G. Gilbert of Louisville, Miss Alice P. Kelly of Mobile, Ala, Mr. Horace P. Conrad of Louisville.

"The A.B.H.M Society, New York, and the A.B.W.H.M. Society, Boston, have during the past session contributed $2,000 and $800 respectively to our work, and the A.B.H.M. Society has in addition to this given us during the year a splendid set of Natural Philosophy and Physical apparatus, costing $300. These societies have agreed to donate the usual amounts this year for the payment of teachers, and indicate a probability of even doing more."
"An Ordinance, as to prosecution for offenses committed by Slaves."

Whenever by ordinance a fine or penalty is imposed, and the offender is a Slave the Prosecution shall be against Such Slave. The Master of Such Slave may also be served with Process, and the Court may in Such Case, in its discretion, render judgment against the Master for ( 79 ) fine or penalty with Costs, or against the Slave (whether the Master be served with Process or not) for the infliction of so many lashes, not exceeding thirty nine, as the Court may Award." Passed Oct. 17, 1853.

"An Ordinance regulating Assemblies of Colored Persons."

Places and houses for assemblies of Colored Persons may be opened for divine worship from Sunrise until 10 o'clock P. M. on every Sabbath, and from Sunset until 10. o'clock P. M. every Wednesday, and not at other times except by written permission of the Mayor or Marshal, not extending to a later hour than ten P. M. See that the Night Watchman in each ward shall said places and houses are closed by half past ten o'clock P. M. And the day Watchman in each ward shall visit such places and houses on the Sabbath, and see that good order is kept, and that there is no disturbance in the Neighborhood - Any Colored Person who shall be guilty of disorder at any such assembly, or shall be found there after ten o'clock P. M. shall be fined not less than ten, nor more than fifty dollars, or if a slave, shall receive not less than ten nor more than thirty lashes." Approved Nov 5, 1853.
1853 LOUISVILLE ORDINANCE CONTROLLING SLAVE TRADE


p 50/ "An Ordinance in relation to places and offices for traffic in slaves+

"The Price of license for an office or place for the purchase or exchange in traffic in Slaves, or for any Person or firm engaged in Purchasing or vendering Slaves, as a business, shall be not more than Three, nor less than one hundred dollars, and if any Person shall have such place or office or pursue Such business without license Shall be fined not less than $25.00 nor more than $100.00 for each day's offence.+

"No Person Shall have a place or office for the purchase or exchange or traffic in Slaves, except upon the joint resolution of the Council, which joint resolution Shall not be passed except upon the Petition of the applicant which petition shall be accompanied by the written Consent for the opening of such place or office of a Majority of all the persons residing within four hundred feet of such place." Approved Oct 17, 1853

1856 LOUISVILLE ORDINANCE REGULATING THE ASSEMBLING OF BLACKS

"Legislative Records of Louisville, 1781-1929," Ordinance and Resolution Book II, Oct 17, 1853 through March 31, 1862, MF, reel 45, project 10, "U of L Archives.

p 252/ "An ordinance regulating the conduct and assemblages of Colored persons.+"

"Sec. 1 Be it Ordained by the General Council of the City of Louisville That no free person of color shall have a ball, party, wedding or assemblage of any kind of colored persons at his or her house, or on premises occupied by him or her, or under his or her control, without a written permission on each occasion from the Mayor or Chief of Police, under a penalty of not less than ten dollars, nor more than fifty dollars and costs for each offense, recoverable by warrants before the City Court of Louisville, & shall be taxed an Attorney's fee, as in cases of misdemeanors.+

"Sec. 2. Nor shall any slave have a like assemblage at any place other than on the premises where his or her owner at the time resides, without a like written permission from the Mayor or Chief of Police, under a penalty of twenty lashes for each offense, to be inflicted under the order of the Judge of the City Court of Louisville by one of the watchmen or by the Chief of Police.+

"Sec. 3. And in each of the foregoing cases, the free person of Color or the Slaves, as the case may be, shall be arrested on or after the commission of the offense by any of the Police, and imprisoned until the next sitting of the Court, and then be brought before said Court to be dealt with as herein directed."
brought before the Judge of the City Court of Louisville for trial, which persons, if adjudged guilty shall be punished with not less than ten nor more than twenty lashes, if a slave and fine not less than five dollars, nor more than ten dollars if a free person." Approved Dec. 13, 1856.

p 173/ A simple statement that: "Negro Fines $28."
Louisville Citizens Complain of Black Churches in Vicinity of Ninth and Walnut Sts


P. 364/ "A Message from His Honor the Mayor [illegible] setting forth the Complaints of the Citizens in the Neighborhood of 9th & Walnut Streets, in regard to the present existence & continued accumulation of African Churches in their Midst (sic) to their Serious annoyance was referred to a Select Committee Composed of Messrs Monsarrat, Gault and Taylor."

Mayor Authorized to Close Churches; Except on 9-10th Sts, Unless They Are Licensed.


P. 381/ "Mr Monsarrat from the Select Committee to whom was referred the message from His Honor the Mayor in reference to a nuisance in the neighborhood of 9th & Walnut streets occasioned by the [illegible] accumulation of African Churches in that vicinity & reports the following preamble & Resolution in reference thereto, which was read and adopted. Towit--Whereas it is required by the City Charter that no place or house for the Assembly of Colored persons shall be located within the limits of the City of Louisville without the license & Consent of the General Council. Wherefore It is therefore Resolved By the General Council. That the Mayor be and is hereby directed to close up the House for the Assembling of Colored persons, on either streets. But 9th & 10th Streets, until such time as (a blank here in record) Harper, having charge of said house of Assembly, Shall obtain the license and Consent of the General Council."

p 386/ "Mr Monsarrat presented a Communication from James Harper, a free Man of Color and Minister of an african Congregation in the Seventh Ward, in reference to the domestic and religious feuds existing between his and another african Congregation in the Same Neighborhood, and asking the Council to Grant him, and those under his charge the privilege of occupying the house on Green Bet/ween/ 9th & 10th Streets, /begin p 387/ without molestation, as a place of public Worship, which was referred to a Select Committee Composed of Messr Monsarrat, Gault, & Taylor."


p 398/ "Mr. Monsarrat from the Select Committee to whom was referred the Subject of allowing J. Harper and his Congregation the privilege of occupying the house on Green Bet/ween/ 9th & 10th Sts as a place of public Worship & reported a resolution rejecting the petition of said Harper, Whereupon Mr. Jefferson offered as a Substitute a resolution granting to Said Harper the privilege desired by him, and the vote being taken upon the Substitute, it was rejected by the following vote Towit Ayes Messrs McClelland, Jefferson & Taylor - 3. Nays Messrs Atkinson, Gault, Burton, Dunlap, Durrett, Henderson, Gilligan, Monsarrat, and Staveliff, 9. and the vote being then taken upon the passage of the original resolution as reported, it was adopted by the following vote... 11.... 2...." with Jefferson & Taylor voting against it.
"Mr. Durrett from the Committee on Revision to whom was referred an ordinance from the Board of Alderman in relation to Negro Pens & houses in which Negroes are kept for sale, reported as a substitute to the same An ordinance relating to Negro Pens in the City of Louisville which substitute was read and adopted."

"Mr. Jefferson had leave to introduce the following resolution. First Resolved By the General Council that permission is hereby given to Jas. Harper and his congregation to hold public worship in the house recently occupied by said Congregation on Green Street near Ninth Street, until such time as they can secure another house for said purpose and that this grant shall not extend beyond six months from the present time, which resolution was read and adopted by the following vote. Tovit Ayes President Pallard Messrs McClelland, Burton, Durrett, Gilligan, Jefferson, Taylor, and Watkins = 8. Nays Messrs Atkinson Gault Byrns & Starcliffe 4."
"Legislative Records of Louisville, 1791-1929," Common Council Minutes August 7, 1862, MF, reel 31 (Project 10) U of L Archives.

p 359/
"Mr. Kaye presented an ordinance regulating the Conduct and Assemblages of Colored persons which was read. Ordered to be printed and recommitted."

1835 LOUISVILLE RESOLUTION OF NEGRO WORSHIP


p 226/
"Mr. Talbot introduced the following Resolution

To Wit. +

"Resolved that the negroes be permitted to Worship their God without Molestation from any of the City officers, provided they are orderly, and under the supervision of some respectable white man. +

"Mr. Spurrier moved to strike out all of said resolution after the word 'Orderly.' +

"And on taking the question, it was decided in the Negative. +

"The Ayes & Noes were (can't read one word probably answered) and are as follows. +

"Those voting in the Affirmative were Messrs Geigor, McCalisher & Spurrier 3. Those voting in the Negative were Mr. Johnson & Messers Sale, Stowe & Talbot. 4. +

"The question was then taken on the resolution and, and /_sic_/ the same adopted."
"Legislative Records of Louisville, 1791-1929," Common Council Minutes, April 1, 1850, mp, reel 7 (project 10), U of L Archives

p 163/

"The following preamble and Resolution were read and adopted - Whereas a portion of the burying ground used for burying negroes is partly inundated and that portion on high ground being entirely occupied Therefore be Resolved That the Engineers and Mayor be authorized to have such fills and drains made as will put it in a condition for use immediately."

"Legislative Records of Louisville, 1791-1929," Common Council Minutes, Aug. 8, 1853, MF, reel 11 (Project 10), U of L Archives.

p 318/

"Ald. Shanks presented a petition Signed by numerous Citizens of Louisville asking the General Council to remove the negro pen owned by M.O. Garrison on Second Street between Market and Jefferson the same being regarded as a Public nuisance -

"Whereupon Ald Shanks in compliance with the prayer of Said Petition reported a resolution abating said nuisance which was adopted-"
Ald Shanks by special leave introduced an Ordinance in relation to Negro Pens and houses in which negroes are kept for sale which was read first time. On motion the Charter Provision and rule requiring same to lay over, was suspended by a vote of two thirds of the members elect. Second reading of same dispensed with and it was passed by the following vote:

"Yea Mr. President Speed & Mess Weatherford, Shanks, Lithgon, Kalfus, Delph & Howard 7 Nays none."

By Aldermen
Ald. Delph by leave introduced an ordinance in resolution to places and offices for traffic and trade in Slaves, which was read first time. On motion the rule requiring same to lay over was suspended by a vote of two thirds of the members elect. Second reading dispensed with & same passed."

"Legislative Records of Louisville, 1781-1929," Board of Aldermen, Minutes, October 3, 1853, MF, reel 11 (Project 10, U of L Archives.)
"Mr. Thompson introduced a resolution requesting mechanics and artizans to take young negroes as apprentices, which was amended and then rejected by the following vote: Yea, Mr. Thompson, 1. Nays. President Brown and Messrs. Maxwell, Rubel, McClaran, Hubbard, Rudd, Gies, Baird, and Bunce, 9."

"Legislative Records of Louisville, 1781-1929," Board of Aldermen Minutes, Oct 10, 1853, MF reel 15 (project 10), U of L Archives.

p 431/

"An Ordinance relation to places & offices for traffic and trade in Slaves having been amended by the Common Council on motion was concurred in & passed as amended -"
1865 ALDERMANIC CONCERN ABOUT FREE NEGROES IN LOUISVILLE (INFLUX) 961

"Legislative Records of Louisville, 1781-1929," Board of Aldermen Minutes, May 4, 1865, MF, reel 14 (project 10), U of L Archives.

p 33/

"A message was received from the Mayor calling attention to the influx of Free Negroes into the city, which was ordered to be filed and Alderman Baxter and Hubbard were appointed a from this Board to confer with Genl Palmer upon the subject."

1883 COUNCIL SUGGESTS BLACKS ON POLICE FORCE; FIRE DEPT 962

Mr. Conner

"Legislative Records of Louisville, 1781-1929," Board of Aldermen Minutes, Jan. 11, 1883, MF, reel 13 (project 10), U of L Archives.

p 21/

"Mr. Conner submitted a resolution requesting that colored citizens be represented in the Police and Fire Department, which was referred to the Committees on Police and Fire Department, which was referred to the Committees on said departments."
"Legislative Records of Louisville, 1781-1929," Board of Aldermen Minutes, March 31, 1892, MF, reel 20 (Project 10), U of L Archives

"Mr. Grainger presented a number of petitions in reference to establishing a School of Reform for colored girls, which was referred to the joint Finance Committee and Committees on Public Charities."

5th st bap ch, minute book I, found in church safe. (Louisville) (Apr 1, 1842 - Dec 1866)

"In accordance with previous arrangement the Colored Members of the 1st Baptist Church in Louisville Ky., with the full consent of said 1st Church, met for the purpose of being organized into a separate & distinct Church to be known as the Colored Baptist Church of Louisville."

"The following Brotheren from the respective Baptist Church in this City presented themselves as Committees, sent by invitation to act as Presbiters (? in the present (?) Case. +


"Brother Henry Adams, formerly the Pastor to the Colored Members of the 1st by invitation of the Committee, took seat with them. +

"Brother W. C. Buck was called on to act as Moderator, and Brother Shebe Clerk. +

"The portion of the minutes of the 1st Church dated February 1842, setting forth a full and hearty consent, to the objects of this meeting, was called for & read. The above record from the minister of the 1st Church is found on Page 8. It was then moved and unanimously resolved that the persons thus dismissed, desire now to be constituted a Baptist Church." They went on to a Confession of Faith, pages 1-4/ Church Covenant pages 4-5/ Rules of Decorum pages 5-8/ A copy of the minutes of Louisville First Baptist Church in Louisville.
5th st bap ch, minute book I, found in church safe (Fauville)
Dated April 1842

p 8/ Apparently blacks asked at last business meeting to form church. "That they find nothing in the laws of the state forbidding the organization of Colored Churches, in the same manner as other religious societies are organized with this reservation, that as Slaves cannot hold estate either in their own names, or in trust, it is necessary, that the Trustees and other officers of such Church be free persons."
The 1st church then made some suggestions:

"1st If the proposed separate Constitution should take place it would probably be advisable that such a committee should continue to exist between the First Church and the proposed new Church, as would protect the Colored Brethren from molestation in times of excitement, and save them from present or future laws prohibiting assemblies of slaves in certain cases. This could be accomplished by the appointment of a standing Committee of visitation or supervision composed of members of the First Church, who should watch over the interests of the Colored Brethren, attend their meetings when necessary, advise with them, and attend to their general welfare; leaving them to manage their internal affairs in their own way. The existence of such a Committee or board, would have the effect of shielding the Colored Church from suspicion and difficulty, if difficulties should ever occur, as well as afford them the means of being wisely and faithfully informed of their rights and duties under the law."

The second point was to help the black church get representation in the general association.

p 10/ The third suggestion was that it might be good for the black church to state that if the church demise, the property revert to 1st church.

p 10/ Another unnumbered recommendation:

"The Committee are pleased to witness the prosperity of the Colored Branch of this Church, especially since it has been under the ministerial charge of its present excellent and faithful Pastor, brother Henry Adams, and recommend that the First Church cordially join in all arrangements secure its prosperity and perpetuate its usefulness." signed on behalf of the committee, M. Braymen, Chairman (spelling of chairman's name unsure)
Henry Smith excluded for disorderly conduct. May 22, 1842: Bro. H. Adams called as pastor for another year at a salary of $600. Wm Colgan, Clerk. June 26, 1842: Restored Andrew Cousins and Mille Buckner & George White to fellowship. "The Case of the French & Thomas families was settled and the parties agreed to say no more about it." Excluded Ellen Morton disorderly conduct; Kesler Carter & Betsy Word for falsehood & fighting. /p 14/ Spet 28, 1842: Wm Cousins restored. Henry Simmons presented a letter from a church at Little-flock, Bullitt Co. and received. Peggy, servant of Dr. B. F. Hall received to watch-care until letter obtained from church at Lexington. Andrew Lewis nominated Deacon. /p 15/ Millie Hite presented letter from Elizabethtown, Ky. Oct 23, 1842: Robert Jones restored upon application. He had been excluded for buying a lottery ticket, but publically confessed error. Fanny Williams excluded for fighting made proper "acknowledgements & pledges" restored. Edy Herran and female Glover restored after confession. Bro.: "Bullett applied for liberty to marry again (his wife yet living) was laid over until next meeting. John Smart excluded for "sundry things unbecoming a Christian...." /p 16/ "Adam Kalfus was charged with drunkenness, & it appearing to the satisfaction of the Church, that he was in the habit of drinking to /sic/ much; on motion & Second he was excluded." Several cases taken up, confessions made, and fellowship continued. Decided to have semi-monthly meetings. /p 17/ Unice Adams asked to join, but no letter, Excluded but allowed to join on testimony of those who knew her. Sophia Stewart excluded for disorderly conduct. Garland Page restored to fellowship. Nov 27, 1842: Hetty Fry excluded for unchristian life; Mary Grayson for swearing.
Minute Book I, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 28/ minutes July 23, 1843: Case of Wade charged with "going to the races & drinking" but Bro. Wade absent so laid over. /p 29/ Aug 27, 1843: Bro. Sorrell's case of refusing to pay a debt taken up and laid over. /p 30/ Bro. Hoffman excluded for joining the Presbyterians. Ellen Gray excluded for disorderly conduct on report of deacons. Sept 14, 1843: Robert Sorrell excluded for refusing to pay Jane Ross $8.00 for a bedstead he sold belonging to her. Eliza Lewis excluded for disorderly conduct. /p 31/ Sept. 24, 1843: Nancy Bland dismissed for "keeping a disorderly house." John Meriweather dismissed for "playing Cards on his own Confession." /p 34/ Oct 22, 1843: Nancy Bland excluded "for keeping a disorderly house." A committee of 3 was appointed to look into the case of Bro. Bland. /p 35/ "On Motion bro Bland was put under censure of the Church, for leaving without permission of the moderator according to the rules of decorum." /p 36/ Nov 30, 1843: expelled Lewis Brooks for attending a ball; Francis Johnson (a female) for disorderly conduct. /p 37/ Dec 14, 1843: Allen Carter received by letter from Clear Creek Church. Fanny Winters to be excluded unless "she would confess her wrong." she came forward and said she had done no wrong and was excluded. Sister Francis Johnson, Glover Pope & Kitty Fountain excluded. Dec. 24, 1843: Sarah Swinigrim & Lucinda Breckinridge excluded.

Minute Book II, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 14/ "On motion of brother Welch it was resolved to build a house of worship.+

"On motion & second the Deacons in Connexion with brother Adams & Hewett were appointed a Committee to make suitable enquiries for a lot & and be ready to report at next meeting."
REPORT INCOME BLACK LOUISVILLE CHURCH 1842

Minute Book XI, Fifth Street Baptist Church Louisville (found in safe)

p 14/ Total amount collected Aug 1, 1841 to Sept 18, 1842 is: $1057.94
To this added, collected by me as agent: 426.61

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Paid for Gallery: $587.50
Contingent church expenses: 264.05
Last year's salary: 600.00

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$1451.55

cash on hand $33.00

COLORED BAPTIST CHURCH LOUISVILLE PURCHASES LOT

Minute Book XI, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 17/ Nov. 10, 1842 regular meeting; H. Adams moderator

"The church agreed to purchase a lot on Seventh Street between Chesnut & Broad on which to erect a house of worship. price agreed on was twelve hundred & Eighty dollars."
CASE OF SECOND MARRIAGE: Col Bap Ch, Louisville, 1843

Minute Book I, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)


"Bazzel Lee was excluded for marrying a second wife, while the first was living."

"This case may require looking into again, according to the view taken of it by the Church, as his first wife married before he did."

TREASURER'S REPORT: 5TH ST BAP CH, LOUISVILLE, 1843

Minute Book I, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 24/ Minutes: May 28, 1843

Income from Feb 19, 1843 to May 21, 1843: $ 184.21

67.07 paid out

$ 117.12 left

276.97 apparently on hand

$ 394.09

signed H Adams Trea.

p 25/Apparently paid $ 94.62 toward the price of the lot.
Minute Book II, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 11/ May 22, 1843: Bro. H. Adams called as pastor for another year at salary of $600. Wm Colgan, Dlerk. /p 24/

"When on motion of brother Morris, Elder H Adams was rechosen without a decent voice. The congregation voted with the church, /p 24 (2d page 24/ as they had contributed to his support."

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CHURCH FEUD OVER SLANDER; COURT LIKE PROCEDURE, 1843 LOUISVILLE COL. BAPTIST CHURCH.

Minute Book I, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 24 (2nd of 2 24's)/ June 8, 1843. "Ellen Snead charges that Jane Ross has slandered her by circulating a report that she was pregnant, and named the following as witnesses.+

"Eliza Lewis, Celia Siddle, Betsy Harris, Cornelia Barber, Mr. Brooks and Margaretha Burton. +

"Jane Ross being Called, Came forward and admitted that she had made such charges, and plead justification in their truth. She called the following witnesses. Winney Burrell, Fanny Lewis, Viney Eliot, Richard Churchill, and Harriett Gibbs. +

"After hearing several witnesses whose statements were taken down in writing, the Church adjourned, until tomorrow night." J M Hewett, clerk, H Adams moderator. /begin p 25/ June 9, 1843 meeting:

"After a careful hearing of all the witnesses on both sides, it was resolved that Sister Ross had not produced Gospel evidence to sustain the report she had put in Circulation against Sister Ellen Snead." adjourned.

June 19, 1843 meeting; "The Deanons reported Jane Ross for exclusion on two charges. 1st for circulating an evil report against a member of this church which she failed in addressing the proper evidence to sustain.+

"2nd For her Conduct in the affair of Sister Snead; if what she stated be true she acted unchristian like, and of course if untrue, she should not be held in fellowship." +

"This report was received and on motion a committee was appointed to wait upon her and examine into the matter. "

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CHURCH FEUD OVER SLANDER: COURT-LIKE PROCEDURE, 1843 LOUISVILLE

COLORED BAPTIST CHURCH (5TH ST)

Minute Book I, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

The church cannot with justice to herself disregard. /begin p 26/ Secondly:
The witnesses in her behalf did not afford any satisfactory evidence of
her innocence.+

"The report was received and on motion and second adopted.+"
"So that she stands excluded." adjourned

5TH ST LOUISVILLE CHURCH: MEMBER DISMISSED APPEALS TO CHURCH

Minute Book I, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 26/ June 25, 1843:
"The Deacons Reported Martha Carter for exclusion, for disorderly
Conduct. +
"An appeal was made from their decision to the Church; After a
patient (?) of the matter the Church by unanimous vote sustained the
report, so that she stands excluded."
Minute Book I, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

July 13, 1843, case of Henry and Ortho Burton "taken up, and then laid over...." July 23, 1843:

"The case of Henry and Ortho Burton, from Semimonthly meeting was taken up. Henry Burton is charged with publicly insulting the Church and subsequently unchristian Conduct.

"On motion and second Henry Burton was excluded from the fellowship of this Church under the above Charge.

"Orthoay Burton is charged with using unchristian language in threatening to whip and otherwise mal-treat several members of this Church.

"On motion and second he was under the above Charges, excluded from the fellowship of this Church.

"Mrs Henry Burton was areined /sic/ on a charge of falsely testifying in the Case of Jane Ross. It being clearly shown that she had falsely testified, on motion and second she was excluded from the fellowship of this church."

H ADAMS: MODERATOR WANTS TO BE ALLOWED TO CALL MEETING AT ANY TIME REGARDING PURCHASE OF THE LOT

Minute Book I, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

July 23, 1843:

"On motion the moderator was authorised to call a meeting of the Church at any time he may think it necessary, with reference to the purchase of a lot on which to erect a house of worship."
Minute Book I, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

**COLORED BAP CHURCH LOUISVILLE SENDS DELEGATES TO THE ASSOCIATION 1843**

"On motion and second it was resolved to appoint, W. Colgan, J. H. Bagby, Elder Sears & C Vanbus Kirk delegates to the Association."

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**CHURCH FINANCES: COL BAP CH LOUISVILLE, 1843**

**ADAMS OFFER TO BUY LOT**

Minute Book I, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

This treasurer's report was read and adopted.

Cash collected from May 21, 1843 to Sept 18, 1843: $ 179.59

Paid out same period 49.60

Balance $ 129.99

"This added to 394.09 makes the total amount paid on the present years salary 524.08. Signed H. Adams Treas.

"On motion and second the following resolution was adopted."

"Resolved, that the salary of the pastor be paid out of any monies in the hands of the Treasurer." 

"On motion and second Resolved to embrace the offer of brother Henry Adams, who proposes as follows, that if this Church will raise five hundred dollars immediately he will furnish the Church with five hundred more, making one thousand doll being the Amt wanted now as first payment, on the lot on fifth street by the lst Baptist Church: he further proposes to take the lot bought by this Church of Bayless off their hands and become responsible for the coming payment on said lot."

"On motion it was resolved to hold a call meeting of this Church tomorrow night for the purpose of electing trustees for this Church, in making the purchase of lot on fifth street." Hewett, clerk; Adams moderator.
COLORED BAP CH ELECTS TRUSTEES (WHITE AND BLACK) TO BUY LOT, ERECT CHURCH (1843)

Minute Book I, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 33/ Sept 25, 1843, Called meeting:

"The object of the meeting was stated by the Moderator to the appointment of Trustees, to Contract for this church, and purchase a lot, and in her behalf to superintend the erection of a house of Worship & for her, and as her agents, to make such Contracts as may be necessary to carry out the above objects; and to Continue in office so long as this Church may think proper, or they are disposed to serve.

"On motion and second the following members of the 1st & 2d Baptist Churches were selected, and unanimously elected to act as Trustees for this Church. Jess (?) Delph John Rust, J.S. Halbert, Arther Peter and Francis Hagan." adjourned; Hewett clerk; Adams Mod.

1843 HENRY ADAMS AUTHORIZED AS AGENT FOR COLORED BAPTIST CHURCH

Minute Book I, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 34/ Call meeting, Oct 13, 1843:

"On Motion Resolved, that brother Henry Adams be, and is, hereby Authorized for and in behalf of this Church to borrow a sum of money not exceed five hundred dollars, for the use of this Church, and to sign the name of this Church to a note or notes, and to get the use of the money on the best terms he can." adjourned. Hewett, clerk; Adams, Moderator
DISCIPLINARY CASE NANCY BLAND, LEWIS BLAND, COLORED BAPTIST CHURCH
Louisville, 1843

Minute Book I, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 31/ Sept 24, 1843: Nancy Bland dismissed for "keeping a disorderly house." On motion this Case was referred back to the Deacons, her husband being implicated. /p 34/ Oct 22, 1843 meeting.

"The deacons presented Nancy Bland for exclusion, for keeping a disorderly house. The report was unanimously adopted, and she stands excluded. +

"On motion a committee of 3 was appointed to examine into the case of bro Bland. G Lewis, H Shisoss & Burrell Cole, said Committee+

/ begin p 35/

"On Motion bro Bland was put under censure of the Church for leaving without permission of the Moderator according to the rules of decorum.+

"Brother Dangerfield Williams & Peter Morton, appointed to notify
bro. Bland of same." Nov 30, 1843 meeting;

"The case of brother Bland was taken up, when the committee reported that they have made diligent enquiry into his case and they were of the opinion that he is in no way to blame for the conduct of his wife.+

"In regard to the censure of the church passed on him for abruptly leaving while the church was in Cession, he stated that he felt no ill will to the church or any of her members, that he left without thinking of the proper / begin p 36/ decorum in such cases. The vote of censure was removed, and he pardoned."

LETTER TO COLORED BAP CHURCH FROM CINCINNATI CHURCH, 1843

Minute Book II, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 36/ Nov 30, 1843, minutes

"A letter was read from the church in Cincinnati, making inquiries about two of their members. From enquiry it was found that they had been or were then living in a disorderly manner; and the Pastor was directed to so inform them."
CHURCH ALMOST ALWAYS FORGAVE THE EXCLUDED WHEN THEY PRESENTED THEMSELVES AND CONFESSED

Minute Book I, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

In the 1843-1844 period the church heard numerous cases involving people who were excluded from the fellowship for various "sins"; when these people presented their cases, the fellowship either exonerated them or forgave them; only occasionally did they exclude someone who confessed, and that usually after the process had been completed several times.

1844 PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS REGARDING RELATIONSHIP OF COLORED BAP CHURCH TO 1ST BAP CH

Minute Book I, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 41/ Feb 25, 1844 minutes:
"Whereas this church after its constitution asked the First Baptist Church in this city to appoint a committee as a protection from molestation should such protection ever be needed by us, also for consultation when necessary.+
"Now as there has arisen a difficulty in the mind of the Chairman of said Committee respecting the purposes for which said committee was appointed, and as he has laid his difficulty before the first Church and that church has appointed a Committee, to meet with a committee from the Colored Baptist Church, to decide for what purposes such a Committee should exist. Now as there seems to be a probability of unkind feelings being created in the minds, at least of some of the members of the First Church, which we by no means desire to produce, Therefore +
"Resolved, that we entertain the same feelings for the first Baptist Church now that we did when we were Constituted a separate Church +
"Resolved That we wish the continuance of a standing Committee from the First Church if it will be so kind as to continue one, as an expediency under existing circumstances; for the special object of protecting the Colored Church molestation and injustice; And with this express understanding that the existence of such a committee shall in no way whatever impair the independence and rights of the Colored Baptist Church, as a locality..."
1844 RESOLUTIONS OF COLORED BAPTIST CHURCH ON GROWING DIFFERENCES WITH WHITE FIRST BAP CH.

Minute Book #1, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

Mr. Morris be appointed a committee to meet the Committee from the First Baptist Church, and to confer with that Committee, on the subject of a standing Committee from the First Baptist Church, for the protection of the Colored Church from molestation.

1844 RESOLUTION ON RECEIVING MEMBERS FROM THE BEAR GRASS CHURCH

Minute Book #1, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 42/ Feb 25, 1844 minutes:

"In as much as this church agreed more than two years ago to receive into her fellowship any of the members from the Bear Grass Church who had lost fellowship by the division of that Church, and as many of them have refused to accept of that invitation, And to unite with any regular Baptist Church, +

"Therefore, Resolved, That this Church regards all these refusing to join any orderly Church as disorderly persons, and not entitled to any Church privileges whatsoever." They also denounce any other church which might take these people in.

1842 invitatoin
P 43/ March 14, 1844

"Brother Harry Miller came forward and acknowledge that he had frequently drank to much but would so no more; on motion he was forgiven. He gave his name to the temperance list."

P 44/ March 24, 1844

"A door for membership being opened Brother Artoborn, formerly a member of the Bear Grass Church, presented himself and was Received into fellowship."
On motion and second, the resolution making William Colgan Moderator of this Church during the absence of the Pastor was reconsidered, and on motion it was annulled.
**1844 REPORT OF COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED TO TALK TO 1ST BAP CH ABOUT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHURCHES**

Minute Book #1, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 45/ March 24, 1844

"The Committee that was appointed to confer with a committee from the first Church in regard to the standing Committee appointed by said First Church as a Committee of protection & advise when asked, reported that they had attended to that duty, had laid the matter before said Church and that she agreed to continue said standing Committee with this express understanding that said committee is for protection alone."

[Signature]

Hewell, Clerk; Adams, Moderator

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**1844 TREASURY AUDIT REPORT; LOU. COL BAP CH (FOR LOT TO BUILD)**

Minute Book #1, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 47/ April 28, 1844

"Your Committee appointed to Audit the Treasurers accounts for lot purposes, beg leave to report that they have attended to that duty carefully, and found them Correct, and showing as follows."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>for lot</td>
<td>$1,564.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paid out</td>
<td>$973.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>$590.98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. Morris
W. Johnson
Jas Kelley

the committee
April 28, 1844. HENRY ADAMS REHIRE; LOU COL BAP CH

Minute Book 91, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 48/ minutes April 28, 1844 / "On motion resolved to go into the election of Pastor; which resulted in the election of Henry Adams, by unanimous vote; and his salary fixed at six hundred dollars per annum."

1844 RESOLUTION QUESTIONING FORMATION OF ANOTHER BLACK CHURCH

Minute Book 91, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 48/ April 28, 1844, preamble and resolution adopted:

"As this Church has been informed that a certain minister intends to establish a second Colored Baptist Church in this City forthwith; Now while we would be pleased to do anything in our power to promote the cause of Christ yet we believe such a movement in the bounds and under the sanction of this Church at the present time, and under existing circumstances would be hazardous and likely to produce much mischief to the Baptist Cause among the Colored community in this place; Therefore:

"Resolved. That in the opinion of this Church for us to encourage or sanction such a measure at this time would be inexpedient and unwise."

"Resolved, that any member or members of this Church who shall hereafter engage in any measures of this kind under existing circumstances will be regarded by the Church, as acting contrary to good order."
Minute Book #1, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 49/ April 28, 1844. The church decided to put the pastor's salary and all other church business on a calendar commencing Jan 1, 1844, and this procedure to be followed in the future.

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Minute Book #1, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 50/ May 26, 1844. One Dudley C. James presented himself for membership, explaining he had been a member of a church 10 years earlier when he left New Orleans without a letter. Received.

Not sure where he had been living.
Minute Book II, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 50/ May 26, 1844

"Brother Samuel Stewart came forward and stated to the Church that the Pastor had mocked him and treated him unkindly in so doing. The Pastor denied doing any thing of the kind. Stewart said that a member heard him do it, and named several, among the deacons, Patterson, Burrell, Churchill, Logan, and others. They being called by the Church separately, stated that they were present at the time Stewart spoke of, but that they heard nothing of the kind, that Stewart was excited but that the Pastor was cool & collected and did in no way that they saw evince unkind feeling.

"On motion and second a vote of censure was passed on Brother Stewart for the manner in which he brought this matter before the Church, as too (?) his disregard for the order of the Church, while the investigation was in progress."

"It appeared in the comm (?) of the investigation that he had been talking of this matter to members of this church, that he had been see members of the Whites among others the Revd Mr. Sears, thereby doing both the Pastor and the Church a serious injury, by besserring (?) the dignity of the first, and the justice of the last, the further consideration of his case was laid over."

p 53/ June 13, 1844 minutes: Samuel Stewart case continued: Excluded, reasons

1st Stewart had missed communion and spoken against a portion of the church.
2nd he refused to attend deacon's meeting to settle the matter.
3rd he regularly brought the matter to the church himself
4th his accusation against the moderator was false.
5th he injured "the Church with the white population of this City."

Minute Book II, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 51/ May 26, 1844

total collected Jan 1, 1844-----May 19, 1844=

paid out $ 420.42

88.00

bal 332.42

p 52/

$ 332.42

after paying last year's salary on hand 61.65

394.07

salary up to Jan 1, 1844 325.00

bal 69.07
Minute Book #1, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

June 23, 1844. The Church set up a seven-man business committee to screen business matter to be brought before the church. Members were warned not to make any matters coming before the committee public before they were brought before the church under penalty of censure.

Minute Book #1, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

June 23, 1844. A number of members were appointed ("requested") agents "for the Church, in collecting money to pay the debts of same."
Minute Book #1, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

Aug 25, 1844. Caesar Douglass presented a letter from Trammells Creek Church in Green, Bounty, Ky and accepted.

Sept 21, 1844. Corbin Eliot received by letter from Jefferson Co., Ky, Pleasant Grove Baptist Church

LOUISVILLE COLORED BAPTIST CHURCH TREASURY REPORT May 19-Sept 8, 1844

Minute Book #1, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

Sept 12, 1844.

| collected | $380.75 |
| paid out  | 82.00   |
| Bal       | 298.75  |
| carried over | 69.07 |
| total     | 367.82  |
S PATTERSON BECOMES CLERK; MINUTES SPARCE

Minute Book Q1, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

Dec 1844 - Nov 1845

A. Lewis Dec 1845, sparse

A Morris, clerk, Feb 1846, sparse, thru Apr 1846.

S Patterson May 1846 -?

A Morris Aug 1846 -

Sol. Patterson Oct 1846 -

S Patterson Jan 1847 - After a period of time Patterson's minutes

1845 MEMBER RECEIVED FROM BEAR GRASS CHURCH

Minute Book Q1, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 87/ Dec 27, 1846. George Commodore from Bear Grass church.
NEW ALBANY INDIANA CHURCH ASKS PASTOR, DEACONS TO PARTICIPATE IN ORDNATION OF MINISTER

Minute Book #1, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 97/ Sept 9, 1847. "A letter was read from New Albany (Galatian Church) requesting this church to send its Pastor and Deacons, to assist in the ordination of a preacher, on move & second the request was granted;..."

MEMBER QUESTION FOR PREACHING WITHOUT PERMISSION: LOU COL BAP CH

Minute Book #1, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 100/ Dec 26, 1847. Bro. Jerry Taylor "...was called forward to give his reasons for preaching without the authority of the church; and after he was convinced that he should have obtained permission from the church, he was requested to appoint a time when he would preach in the church that the brethren might hear him and judge of his gift."
March 10, 1848. "The committee appointed to inquire into the duties of this church respecting poor members who die without means to bury themselves, presented the following report, we the committee appointed to investigate the subject of burying the poor members of this church, beg leave to report, We believe that it is the duty of this church to give such assistance as may be really necessary in burying such members as have no means to bury themselves, and who have no one to bury them." approved. "On motion and second the following Brethren D. Churchill, D. C. Jones and John Collins were appointed a standing committee to decide in all cases of application for assistance how much shall be appropriated for each case."

March 12, 1849. "The Deacons presented for the Church's consideration the propriety of recommending public service at the old church, & proposed the following plan for its being done & attended to That the preaching brethren be allowed to attend to service twice a month either themselves by turn, or to send a substitute in their place, & also that said brethren be responsible for the order of their meetings. The prayer meetings were placed under the supervision of the deacons by turns."
May 10, 1849. XXXXX called for a "branch church in Jefferson or Brunerstown the Pastor with Brother Churchill & Cousins was appointed to the matter & report to the Church."

June 14, 1849, no decision on branch churches.

May 10, 1849. "The Church resolved to Procure a pair of Gum Elastic Baptismal pants for the use of the pastor."
The pastor made a financial report in minutes July 22, 1849. Says that there is about enough money in the treasury to pay for the lot and 3/4 of the pastor's salary "... and as he had been unable from family affliction to minutely examine all the books accounts, he could not state definitely respecting all the particulars, but as the trustees had examined subscription list & fund that the rise of $1500.00 had been paid in this with the other available means was thought to be efficient to pay the balance of the meeting house debt, which was the rise of $2100.00 and moreover as part of the church was determined to call to account those members who did not pay their subscription which under the circumstances the Pastor thought would endanger the Church peace. He in consideration of all the facts, agreed to take the money in the treasury and the debts due her and pay off all of her debts & ask no more on his salary during the year 1849."

Dec 7, 1849. At the business meeting a number of resolutions passed: 1--A committee set up to look into raising the floor of the church for added space, and cost thereof. 3-- Recommending several methods of raising funds. Asked every member to give not less than 5¢ per week. "2. That every member able to subscribe /begin be required to subscribe not less than $3 per year." 4. And that any member refusing to comply with the spirit of these resolutions shall be regarded as unworthy of the confidence of this church." signed by 19 leading members including the pastor.
1849 CHURCH MEMBER CHARGED WITH DISORDERLY HOUSE: REPLY

Minute Book II, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 122/ Dec 20, 1849. "...Br Jas Carter, called upon to answer to the charge of he keeping a disorderly house he stated that he had no control over his house being a slave. He was given one month to reform & moralize."

1850 NOTE ON MINUTES (1845-1850)

minute book II, Fifth Street Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 123/ A note on the minutes says that imperfections in the minutes for the past 5 years due to that the notes had been kept "on slips." The slips of paper too often mislaid, but XXX the writer thought the minutes were substantially correct.
p 128/ June 27, 1850. Resolution passed:
"Resolved, That the trustees of the First Colored Baptist Church, are authorized and hereby empowered to offer for sale, & sell to any person who will buy, the Lot & Meeting house owned by this church situated south of Broadway on the Old Flat Lick road & give a quit-claim title for twelve hundred dollars or a warranty title for fifteen hundred dollars cash, or payment secured."

p 124/ Jan. (no day) 1850. The question of how much to pay the church clerk came up. The clerk recommended that the church pay him between $20 and $25 dollars upon being asked. The church decided to pay his $22 per annum. The clerk was Sol. Patterson
1850 LOU COL BAP CH RESOLVED TO START A BRANCH CHURCH

Minute Book #1, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 142/ Nov 14, 1850.

"1st Resolved that so soon as it can be done consistently with
duty and good order we will establish a branch to this church to worship
in the Old Meeting house beyond Broadway."

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1850 RESOLUTION OF FRIENDSHIP CONCERNING SISTER COL CHURCH IN LOUISVILLE

Minute Book #1, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 142/ Nov 14, 1850: "3d Whereas there are various opinions and reports; respecting the relations between this church and the colored branch of the First Baptist Church which we believe has been and continue to be, prejudicial to the cause of religion among us - We also believe that much of the evil arising out of the case is owing to a want of correct information on the subject - Wherefore Resolved that the only cause of difficulty between the two churches was the improper conduct of Br George Wells their former pastor; & as God in his providence has seen fit to remove him out of the way; we on our part can see no good reason why the churches should not be on friendly & Christian terms; And that our position may be fully known -- Resolved, that we hold that body in the same relation with us that we do all other regular Baptist churches."
Minute Book •I, Fifth Street Bapt Ch, Louisville (found in safe) see p 149/ Oct (no day) 1850. When a delegation of deacons was sent to Geo. Morris, it would not appear before the church "unless the church would send a golden chariot after him."

p 145/ Dec 16, 1850. PREAmble and Resolution passed: "From the information we have of the Union Baptist Church in Cincinnati its present condition requires ministerial help - and as we desire to do whatever is best and most for the glory of God. + "Resolved; That we most heartily consent for Bro. H. Adams, or Pastor to divide his time between this Church and the Cincinnati Church in accordance with the agreement of the Cincinnati Church. And that we will accept the services of Bro, E. Campbell, to fill the place of our Pastor during his absence at least for one year if necessary." Considerable discussion went into this motion.

H. Adams moderator July 1851 S. E. S
Bro. E. Campbell moderator July 1851 Aug 1 Oct
1850 LOUISVILL COL BAP CH GIVES MONEY FOR AFRICAN MISSIONS

Minute Book II, Fifth Street Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 145/ Dec 16, 1850.

"Resolved that Bro, H. Adams our agent be authorized to Pay to the Baptist Mission Board for the African Mission a part of our Mission funds and report to the church the amount thus paid &c."

1851 LOU COL BAP CHURCH BUILDINGS TO BE USED FOR SCHOOL, EXHIBITION

Minute Book II, Fifth Street Baptist Church (Louisville) (found in safe)

p 172/ Oct 8, 1851

"The Reverent Mr. Revels made application to the Church for the use of the School House then occupied for a Prayer meeting."

"On motion and Second the Ch granted it to Him."

"Mr. J. S. C. Murray made Application to the Church for the use of the meeting House on 5 st to hold an Exhibition For two Nights."

"On motion and Second it was granted him With the understanding that there be Consultation With the Proper authorities of the City."

Patterson, clerk
E. Campbell, mod.

apparently that Bldg already being used as a sch house!
1851  LOU COL BAP CHURCH DECIDES TO BUILD BASEMENT

Minute Book •I, Fifth Street Bap ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 174/ Nov 10, 1851: The church decided to enter into an agreement to repair the meeting house on 5th st between Walnut & Chesnut sts; to raise the floor and fix a basement. Each member was again asked to subscribe $3 per yr; and five cents a week. Patterson, clerk; Campbell, mod.

1852 HENRY ADAMS AGAIN CALLED TO BE MINISTER: LOU COL BAP CH

Minute Book •I, Fifth Street Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 176/ Dec 8, 1851: "... on motion & second the Church appointed a Committee of Two who should inform Brother H. Adams of ...."his being chosen minister. Previously, a committee has been set up to discuss choosing a minister: "We the Committee In our opinion Believe Brother H. Adams Are the most suitable Adopted to our Condition As a Church of Independence And people of Colore In a City Like this As Such We therefore doe by these present him To the Church For his Consideration with a Sallery of Eight Hundred Dollars per Anum."
Jan 14, 1852: A committee was also to talk to Bro E. Campbell about being minister of Col Bap Ch.

Feb 11, 1852: It was agreed that E. Campbell would also serve as minister for $465.00 per annum.

Solomon Patterson, clerk and trustee, placed $30.00 on the table at the business meeting and stated that in three months he had collected this as rent on the old meeting. (Apparently the total was $35.00, with $5.00 expenses for lawyers)
1853: LOU COL BAP CH: RESIGNATION OF E CAMPBELL: RETURN H ADAMS

Minute Book I, Fifth Street Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 211/ Dec 9, 1852: E. Campbell offered his resignation as "best under Existing Circumstances," and it was accepted as of March 31, 1853. Campbell was highly praised for his Christian activities. H. Adams returned as pastor on April 1, 1853.

/p 216/ Adams accepted offer, provided Bro. E. Campbell could continue until Adams could return to Louisville.

/p 218/ It appears on April 13, 1853, the church offered Adams $800.00 per year; he said he would take $700.00.

1853: RESPONSE TO COURIER ATTACK ON H ADAMS; COL BAP CH

Minute Book I, Fifth Street Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 224/ April 22, 1853, Friday Evening. A called meeting dealt with an attack on Rev. H. Adams. J. J. Delph elected moderator, C. C. Hull, clerk. By request an article was read from the Louisville Courier, signed 'J. M.' which contained an attack upon the Character of Eld. Henry Adams, the pastor of this church.+

"It was then moved and carried that the Trustees and Deacons have leave to make a statement in relation to the assertions, contained in the article from the Courier, prejudicial to the character of our Pastor.+

"The statement of the Trustees and Deacons having been read by the clerk, it was adopted by the Church, with but one dissenting vote.+

"On motion the Deacons were authorized to have the Statement published; the cost of publication to paid from the Church Treasury."
1853 BRO ADAMS TO BE ALLOWED TO ASSIST E CAMPBELL AT HIS CHURCH IN CINCINNATI

Minute Book II, Fifth St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 238/ May 11, 1853: The church went on record of allowing Adams assist E. Campbell in his church in Cincinnati.

Adams, mod; s patterson, Clerk

1855 COL BAP CH LOUISVILLE; TO SEND AGENT TO OTHER STATES TO ASK FOR HELP IN REPAIRING MEETING HOUSE

Minute Book II, Fifth St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 231 (2d pagination)/ July 14, 1855:

"Brother Benjamin Duke - the informant (?) A motion and second were made that the Church Take into Consideration the subject of sending out Efethern into Diferent States to ask assistance thereof in money To Complete the Repairs on our meeting house- or meet the Claims of the Present Debt."
p 232 (2d pagination)/ July 19, 1855:

"By motion and second the Committee that were sent out to attend the Money matters to be obtained by Agents Made their Report - As follows They Recumended Bro H. Adams - As a proper one Also Brother E. Thoms As a proper one these Brothen Were Choosen As proper Persons Also Brother John Collins Senior Added on. +

"Bro E. Thoms Drew off. +

"Bro H. Adams. Proposed to Receive one Forth of all that he might Collect To which it Were a greed to By the Church.+ "Brother John Collins Seniro - offered his Service By the month $15.00 Expenses paid - it were appved."

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p 240 (2d pagination)/ "Brother Henry Adams Made Application To his Church For the use or Loan of him money To meet the payment of his life Insurance. The Explanation Were giving to the Church Why Such a loan Were taking And the Cause of taking this Course He Said Also that some Churches paid the Insurance of their pastor Gratis But that He did not ask it of his Church under Circumstances That the money he used should be returned so soon as the Repairs Could be finished - By these Explinations The church By motion and Second Adopted it as a Resolution."
1857 REQUEST OF LOU COL BAP CH TO START A CHURCH IN THE OLD MEETING HOUSE

Minute Book I, Fifth St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 316 (2 pagination)/ Dec 16, 1857: A request was made to the Colored Baptist Church to "Send a Delegation of Brethren for the purpose of Organizing A Church in that House." The request was accepted with pleasure.

1864 BENJAMIN DUKE MADE A TRUSTEE OF THE CHURCH

Minute Book I, Fifth St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p not shown/ April 13, 1864:
"On motion Brother Benjamin Duke Were made Trustee to be Connect with the Former Trustees and to have power To defend the property of the Church So fare as he may be Concerned."
1865: LOU BAP CH TAKES UP ISSUE OF FREEDMEN FAMILIES

Minute Book II, Fifth St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

no page/ Feb 7, 1865/

"New Business were called for the subject of the freed men's families presented itself. When upon motion the Church took up the subject and after an investigation of the matter the Church by motion a greed that the Society should administer to the wants of the family of the freed men as they may deem it expedient." Adams, mod; Patterson, clerk

NO MENTION OF CIVIL WAR BY LOUISVILLE COLORED BAPTIST CHURCH

Minute Book II, Fifth Street Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

no page/ Civil War Years

Interestingly, the Louisville Colored Baptist Church did not mention in its minutes the fact that the Civil War was going on, nor did it mention any issue involving slavery.
1865 Trustees of Louisville Colored Baptist Church become
Trustees of Day School

Minute Book, [I, Fifth St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)]

no page May 19, 1865/ "On motion it was Resolved by the Church that the
Trustees of the Church should be Trustees of the day School held in the
fifth street Meeting House in the Basement there of Trustees."
S Patterson, Clerk; H. Adams, Mod.

DEFINITION OF DISORDERLY CONDUCT IN LOU COL BAP CH (1850 Resolution) 1036

Minute Book [I], Fifth St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 500 (back of book)/ Dated Aug 15, 1850. In the back of the minute book were a list of all resolutions passed, but only on those.

To be restored when guilty of disorderly conduct, one must have proof of reformation. The resolution described disorderly conduct as "violations of the Moral law."
Minute Book II, Fifth St. Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

no page/ July (no day) 1866/ "Whereas the Condition of Our people has under gone a great Change Respecting the Marriage Relation Since all are made free Wherefore Resolved that this Church will Hereafter Recognize only those Marriages that have been legalized by law This Rule that not affect the Church Relation of those members who were Living together as man and wife before the first of Jany 1866 untill the limitation of law takes Effect upon Such Illegal Marriages."

1866 LOU COL BAP CH SENT DELEGATION TO FRANKFORT

Minute Book II, Fifth St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

July 1871 (no day) (no page)

The church voted to send a delegation to Frankfort and pay their expenses.
A member of the York St Bap Ch was excluded and came for membership of the 5th st bap ch. A committee was set up to look into it.

Oct 18, 1866/ "The Committee that were a pointed in the Case of Brother John Buckner. A member of the So Called York St. Church Returned and Made their Report to the Fifth St. Baptist Church Stating that they had been Refused information in the Case of Brother John Buckner."

"Bro Adams was born in Franklin Co Georgia December 17th, 1802. He was Converted at the age of 15. And baptized in 'Little River' by Rev Meade White in March 1818. He was licensed in 1820, to preach within the limits of his own church, and that license was extended to all other places in 1823. He was ordained Oct 29th 1825. He was elected pastor of this Church in 1829. He was married to Miss Margaret Corbin, when about 40 years of age, who with his children still survives him, about two years since the church retired him from active work upon an annuity, Having refused positively to receive his resignation. As long however as he was able, he would visit the Church, though he was not able to preach, he would sit, and say a few words of Comfort and Counsel to his flock. He was present for the last time at the Communion in July last. During his ministry in this City he Baptized over 1500 persons. He was an ordained minister 47 years, and pastor of this church 41 years. He bore his last illness with great patience and Christian fortitude. He died as he had lived, anxious for the better Condition of his church, for the amelioration of his race, and for the Conversion of his Children."
Oct 7, 1873 (nopause) / "We sang for the Dedication of the *Central Colored School* recently built at a cost of $25,000. It is situated on the South East corner of 6th & Kentucky, Containing 10 Recitation Rooms, A Chappel & Principal office. It is well arranged for school purposes. Its dedication was one of great importance to our people on account of it being the first one of the kind ever built in the State for general education. The Dedicatory services were attended and participated in by some of the most prominent men of the City & State. Among whom I might mention, Hon John M Harlin, Hon B H Bristow & Solicitor Gen U S, Rev J H Heywood, Hon Chas D. Jacob, Mayor of Louisville, Hon Jas Speed, & Atty Genera, U. s. Prof W H Anderson, Principal Male High School. Prof Geo Chase Prin Female High School, Bishop Daniel A. Paine of the AME Church, & President of Wilberforce College, B. F. Camp, Esq, President Board of Trustees. Geo H Tingley, Esq Supt Public Schools, Clark O. Smith Esq, Chairman, Building Com, Gen W. L. Jackson, Judge of Circuit Court, Zack T. Sherby Esq. And many others, who showed by their presence, that they were in Harmony with the movement to provide good educational facilities for the Colored people of this City & State. The Exercises were of a pleasant and agreeable Character. President Camp presided. Address were made by Mr. C. O. Smith, who turned the building over to Pres Camp who responded, and he in turn - turned the keys & the care of the Building over to the 'Board of Visitors' of the Colored Schools, consisting of Messrs. Marshall Woodson, Geo W. Brown, Horace Morris, Jessie Merriwether, A. J. Bibb, Wash Martin, Geo Taylor, John Morris & Napoleon Bonaparte; The keys were accepted in behalf of the Board by Mr. Horace Morris who made a very pleasant speech, who in turn - turned them over to Mr. J W. Maxwell, the Principal. Addresses were also made by Mayor Jacobs, Judge Jackson, Hon B H Bristow, Hon Jas Speed, Bishop Paine, & Mr. Sherby. At the Close of the exercises, Mr C O Smith, offered a Resolution, Tendering the thanks of the meeting to the Choir for their music, which was unanimously adopted. And the meeting quietly dispersed; feeling that the ends for which the school was intended, would be consummated in due time."
Fifth Street Choir Record, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

no page Thursday, Sept 3, 1874/ "The Dedicatory Exercises of the new Eastern Public School, Corner Jackson & Breckinridge sts, took place at 3 o clock - And per invitation We sang some of our best music, There was quite a large audience present. Among whom were some of our most respected Citizens, addresses were made by Dr E O Brown, Pres Board of Trustees, W H Bartholemew Principal 8th Ward School, Horace Morris Esq - Chairman Board of Visitors, Major Phillip Speed, Hon John M Harlin, Rev D A Caddy, Pastor Green st Baptist Church, Rev E. W. Sehon, P. E. Methodist Episcopal Church, & Rev E P Humphry, Pastor College st Presbyterian Church, all of whom congratulated the Colored people - upon the Completion of another building to be dedicated to the cause of Education and advised /sic/ them to make good use of it, in obtaining an education sufficient to prepare themselves for the race of life, and Complimented us highly for the manner in which we rendered our music."

LOU COL BAP CH; 1ST QUARTER FINANCIAL STATEMENT (1888)

Minute Book, Apr 1888-Nov 1905, Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville (found in safe)

p 2/ April 11, 1888/

Total paid out for quarter for pastor's salary: $195.00
sexton 90.00
organist 30.00
organ boy (pumping) 6.00
charity 1.00
mission work 5.00

total income 752.70
total expense per quarter (Jan-Mar, 1888) $612.37

$140.33
Minute Book, Apr 1888-Nov 1905, Fifth St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 5, April 18, 1888/ The Church minutes show that the pastor's appointment would expire May 1, 1888; The committee reported it desired the reelection of Brother Frank, at a salary of $75.00 per month. Agreed upon.

"UNIVERSITY SOCIETY" TO USE CHURCH FOR MEETING (1888)

Minute Book, Apr 1888-Nov 1905, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 18/ July 18, 1888/ "On motion the use of this house was given to the University Society /sic/ to hold a meeting on the 26 inst at 8 o'clock, P.M."
Minute Book, Apr 1888-Nov 1905, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 21/ Sept 12, 1888/ "A motion were made to send Elder John H. Frank as a messenger to the National Convention which meets at Nashville next week. A greed to,..."
The church organized committees to canvas the enite neighborhood, looking for non-regular members, new members, but also "To look after the sick and administer to their temporal and spiritual wants."

"We recommend the Church to grant the Board of Trustees and Executive Board of the General Association the use of the Church building for the Jubilee service in the interest of the State university on motion the recommendation were granted and the House will be used the 17,18,19 of Jan ...."
We recommend the Church to grant Mr. McClearmon the use of this House to give a lecture on the Second Thursday night in next March, subject Astronomy, and one half of the proceeds received at the door will be given the Church, a greed to, ..."

"That the rule of the Church referring /sic/ to members answering to rumors be so amended, as to allow members to make voluntary statements before the Church as they may desire as at present, but no member will be required to answer to any rumors unless some member of this Church presents the same to the Church, and before doing so, shall visit the member, report whom the rumor is circulated, and when the matter is reported to the Church, the person upon whom information the action is based, be also reported." adopted.
FINANCIAL REPORT, 5TH ST BAP CH, LOUISVILLE, 1889

Minute Book, Apr 1888-Nov 1905, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 53/ May 8, 1889/ 1st quarter report

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PASTOR JOHN H FRANK REELECTED, 5TH ST BAP CH, LOUISVILLE, 1889

Minute Book, Apr 1888-Nov 1905, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 59/ June 12, 1889/ Elder Hohn H. Frank reelected as of May 1, 1889, at a salary of $75.00 per month.
p 65/ Aug 7, 1889/ "...the Pastor as a Delegate to represent the Church as our messenger at the National Convention Convention /sic/ when it meets at Indianapolis Sept 10, 1889 agreed...."

Under same date and page Pastor and Q B Jones delegates to General Assn meeting in Louisville.

p 76/ Oct 9, 1889/ "The committee appointed by the Church to look out for a suitable location to establish a mission Church stated that they had found a good and cheap piece of Property located on Cable Street in Butcher Town, and that said House and Lot could be bought for $2150 five hundered dollars cash and the balance on time." A committee was appointed to look into the matter. /p 77/ Oct 15, 1889/ The church decided to by the property for a mission. "And on motion the Trustees of the Church was appointed to negotiate with the Trustees of the Fourth and Walnut Street Baptist Church in relation to buying the Cabel Street Property as early as practicable to establish our mission Church." /Nov 6, 1889/ /p 79/ Negotiations began with the Walnut St Bap Ch for the Cable street property. A discription of theproperty /p 80/ cost of theproperty, with interest accruing. /p 81/ Upon hearing all the figures and costs, the 5th St Bap Ch decided not to purchase the property.
FREEDEMON'S BANK DEPOSITORS TO MEET IN 5TH ST BAP CH LOUISVILLE (1890) 1056

Minute Book, Apr 1888-Nov 1905, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 95/ Feb 19, 1890/ "On motion the depositors of the late Freedmons Bank was granted the privilege to meet in this House at 8 o'clock P.M. Tuesday the 25 inst."

ORPHANAGE FOR BLACKS, LOUISVILLE AREA, in 1890 1057

Minute Book, Apr 1888-Nov 1905, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 95/ Feb 19, 1890/ "A motion was made to take up a collection and buy a carpet and cover the floor in the House at the orphans House. An Amendment were adopted that the money collected at Fifth Street Baptist Church from the Union Band Society, and the Sons and Daughters of Bethel, shall be appropriated to put a new roof on the House at the Orphans Home."

/April 16, 1890/ p. 103/ Bro"Napoleon Bonaparte was elected as representative to assist in taking care of the orphan Home."


March 12, 1890/ The deacons recommended aid for old folks home: "We recommend the Church to donate $25.00 to the Old Folks Home, and make the payments, by installments, and we further recommend the Church to elect one representative from this Church to superintend the Old Folks Home, a greedy to, and on motion Rev John H. Frank was elected as a Messenger to superintend the Old Folks Home."

"Application were made for the use of this House to hold a meeting next Sunday evening at 3 o'clock for the benefit of the Old Folks Home, a greedy to,..."

Feb 11, 1891/ Church will try to raise $25.00 for Old Folks Home this Wednesday.
PASTOR FRANK RETURNED AS MINISTER, 1890

Minute Book, Apr 1888-Nov 1905, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 105/ May 14, 1890/ John H. Frank rehired at a salary of $100.00 per mo.
but when themotion called for a 1 yr appointment, the one yr was struck
and the word permanently inserted.

ORPHAN HOME BOARD MEETS AT 5TH ST BAP CH (1890)

Minute Book, Apr 1888-Nov 1905, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

Deacons

July 9, 1890/ p 113/ The "...recommend the Church to grant the
Board of directors of the Orphans Home the use of this House on every
second Thursday Night in each Month to hold their monthly meetings, and
on motion the application was granted."
The church agreed to allow State Univ use the church bldg to inaugurate a new president.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT, 5TH ST BAP CH, LOUISVILLE 1ST QUARTER, 1891

- total expenses 1st quarter, 1891: $616.36
- total income: $719.50
- total with brought forward: $799.91
- bal on hand Apr 1, 1891: $183.55
In 1829 Walnut Street Baptist Church (white) granted black members limited autonomy at their 8th and Market St locality. Henry Adams became minister of black group in 1833 as "First African Baptist Church" later 5th St Bap Ch. Acquired land for bldg in 1833 at 5th and York Sts deeded by one Stansbury (deed book K.K., pp 33, 37) Congregation worshiped there until 1845, when it purchased from the First Christian Ch (white) a building on Frist St between Walnut and Chestnut for $5,000. Some members refused to move and formed a church known as the York Street Baptist Church, the Rev. W. W. Taxtor pastor, 1845-1883. In Oct 1883 the York St Bap Ch reorganized and took the name Calvary Bap Ch. Rev Andrew H. Heath, a member of the church, succeeded Henry Adams as pastor until his death in 1886. Heath was succeeded by Rev. John H. Frank who served for 50 years.

5TH ST DEACONS PROPOSE IMPROVING APPEARANCE OF CHURCH (1870)

Minute Book II, Jan 3xxx 1870-Feb 1877, 5th St. Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 12/ May 11, 1870/ The Deacons and Trustees suggested the cleaning and preparation of the church commencing with the vestibule "Carpet taken up and mended or made new this should be done for taste and credits sake of the church..." also to build a storage shed behind the church to make the appearance better by hiding supplies and stoves, etc.

Q B. Jones Clerk

p 13/ June 8, 1870/ Took up question of cleaning again; brothers to give $2.00 and sisters $1.00 to help build "Little House" for storage of stoves and lumber. /p 14/ The church decided to take a free will offering to make changes.
Minute Book II, Jan 1870-Feb 1877, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

P 17/ July 13, 1870/ The church agreed to raise the sexton's salary from $25 per mo to $30.00 per month.

p 21/ July 21, 1871/ salary increased made retrospective to Feb.

FINANCIAL REPORT: 5th ST BAP CH, LOUISVILLE (1870)

Minute Book, II, Jan 1870-Feb 1877, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 50/ Feb 15, 1871/

total collected during year $3,119.53

paid H Adams, back salary 1869 613.00

paid H Adams on salary 1970 620.00

/p 51/
paid Rev. A Heath last year on Elder Adams acct 345.00

total paid Adams and Heath 1578.00

(p 96/ Jan 10, 1872/ Total paid out $4,175.65)
RESIGNATION OF H ADAMS, 5TH ST BAP CH, LOUISVILLE, 1871

Minute Book, Jan 1870-Feb 1877, 5th St Bap Ch, Louis, (found in safe)

p 56/ April 19, 1871/ Rev. Adams submitted his resignation. It was referred to a committee of 15 or more. /p 58/ May 10, 1871/ Report of the committee studying resignation of H Adams. "Whereas, the Health of our beloved Pastor Elder Henry Adams has so failed, that it has unfit him for the Pastorial Duties of the Church, and that as he has asked the Church to relieve him of those Duties, therefore be it, + "Resolved, that this Committee recommend the Church to accept of the Resignation of Elder /p 59/ H. Adams and give him a pension of Five Hundred Dollars yearly, as long as he shall live, and one Publick collection." the meeting adjourned until Wednesday night 25 instant. /May 15, 1871/ Motion ot accept resignation of H. Adams approved.

/May 29, 1871/ p 63/ A resolution retained"Elder Henry Adams as our Pastor during pleasure from the 30th of June next and that he be relieved of all the duties of the office that he may feel unable to perform..." /p 64/ "On motion the Church a greed to give Elder H. Adams one Annual Publick Collection on one Sabbath in June."

REV A. HEATH CALLED AS MINISTER OF 5TH ST BAP CH, LOUIS. (1871)

Minute Book, Jan 1870-Feb 1877, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville

p 59/ May 15, 1871/ Rev A. Heath called as pastor at an annual salary of $700.00 /p 62/ May 29, 1871/ Heath responded that he would accept the pastorate under two conditions: 1) That Rev Adams' name still be listed as first pastor; with Heath as second pastor, 2) that the church pay him $700 per annum plus house rent. /p 63/ After some haggling the church decided to pay Heath $900.00 per year, and Heath would pay his rent.
Minute Book, Jan 3, 1870-Feb 1877, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 104/ Jan 29, 1872/ The church adopted a program whereby each person was expected to pledge at least $3.00 per annum. The church would print up tickets; 2500 $1.00 tickets, 500 $.50 tickets, which will be used as receipts for dues they collect. /p 105/ The collectors will be sent after dilinquent accounts and will get 10% of what they collect. A note in the margin of page 107 says this program was repealed Dec 13, 1900.

DEATH OF HENRY ADAMS (1872) 5TH ST BAP CH PASTOR FOR YEARS

Minute Book Jan 1870-Feb 1877, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 147/ Nov 13, 1872/ A very long resolution was passed in honor of Adams, who died on Sunday, Nov 3, 1872, at 2:15 P M. /p 148/ Great minister, parent, leader. "Resolved, that Elder H. Adams, was one of God's noble specimens of a Pastor, He was full of zeal for the cause of Christ, he was an untiring laborer in the Lords vineyard, punctual in all of his appointments at Church, and he was instrumental in bringing many souls from darkness to a marvelous Light in Christ Jesus, who will shine as Stars in his Crown in Heaven."
A resolution was passed that the church would hold a social once a month that members might get to know each other better.

FINANCIAL REPORT JAN 1873, 5TH ST BAP CH, LOUISVILLE

Minne Book Jan 1870-Feb 1877, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

p 161/ Jan 8, 1873/ total bought in 1872 $3467.63

total paid out 1872 $3467.49

paid out for repairs to Meeting House $922.75 (total cost $2267.21)

(carpets cost $1000.48)

salary of A Heath 875.00
" " sexton 360.00
Paid Adams back salary 228.00
" " on annuity 250.00
" " his public collection 117.85

p 162/
still owe heirs H Adams $422.64.
p 205/ Nov 26, 1873/ "On motion the Church ordered two Boxes to be placed in appropriate places, one of them to be set on the Table in the first Story every Friday Night and the other Box to be arranged in some suitable place in the second story for the purpose of giving all of our Brethren and opportunity to contribute in /p 206/ Said Boxes for the benefit of our Poor Members when they are sick, The committee appointed to visit the sick made a very respectable report ...."

May 6, 1874/ It was reported that the church books did not balance and the matter was referred to a special committee. Several errors were found, all totaled they were sizeable: $208.45 for 3 months. The category Sundry or Sundries seemed to house the errors, so the Committee urged that the category be abolished and that the records spell out each item purchased. The Committee: "... the Treasurers accounts are so messed up, we find it imposable to close or balance the account under existing circumstances...." They recommended that on May 1 all amounts collected be paid to the church and all bills be presented in an effort to straighten out the books. The idea was to start new books.

Apparently the system of collecting money employed opened up problems.
The Finance Committee recommended the pastor's salary be raised to $1200.00 per annum.

The deacons recommended that $250.00 be donated to support the missionary cause in Africa. Adopted.
SOME 5TH ST BAP CH MEMBERS FORM ANOTHER CHURCH (Cr West & Walnut) 1078

Minute Book, Jan 1870-Feb 1877, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

Sept 2, 1874/ p 261/ A number of members (about 12) wrote a letter to the 5th St. Bap. Ch., and said they had rented and were repairing a house on the northwest corner of West and Walnut streets to organize a Baptist Church and "... earnestly solicit your cooperation ...."

Sept 31/ Letters sent out to those joining the church.

Nov 25, 1874/ called Olive Baptist Ch.

An application from the Olive Baptist Church asking for assistance received. It was decided that "Sunday Morning at 11 A.M. Services was the time set to take up a collection for the benefit of the Olive Baptist Church."

5TH ST CHURCH DISCUSSED GIVING A SCHOLARSHIP TO A STUDENT AT SCHOOL IN NASHVILLE 1079

Minute Book, Jan 1870-Feb 1877, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

Oct 13, 1874/ "The application of Brother Minor Morgan asking the Church to give him one scholarship at the Nashville School, was taken up and referred to the next meeting."
TREASURER, MISSIONARY SOCIETY, ACCUSED OF TAKING MONEY

Dec 16, 1874/ p 298/ "The Executive Board of the Missionary Society met with the Deacon Board in the behalf of the society made a statement to the affect that Brother Burgas Martin while he was acting as Treasurer of the Society, appropriated and used for his own personal benefit some Three Hundred Dollars of the money of the Missionary Society without the consent or knowledge of said Society, and of which he has failed to replace or give satisfaction for the same."

May 12, 1875/ p 333/ "The case of Brother B. Martin for appropriating $300 of the Missionary Society money to his own individual use while he was Treasurer of said Society..." referred to June meeting.

June 9, 1875/ p 339/ When brought before the church... he came forward and informed the Church that the charge were correct, and that he had made one payment on said debt, and given his note for the balance, and that he would pay the remainder at his earliest convenience." A motion agreed to gave Martin until December 1875 to pay themoney he took.

Dec 8, 1875/ Brother B. Martin failed to meet payments on money he took. A committee sent to see him. /Dec 15, 1875/ Martin "...stated that the times had been very hard with him and he had met with Considerable Laws (loss), and he had not made any More Money then It Taken for him to live. He asked the Church to bare with him awhile longer and he would pay the hold Det." The Church agreed to give him six more months. /July 12, 1876/ Case of Burjist Martin: "...he informed the Church that the times were so hard, and his business so dull, that he had not been able to pay the Society any money but he intended to pay the whole of it just as soon as possible..." Church granted him 6 more months. /March 14, 1877/ still doesn't have money, but plans to pay. Referred to next meeting.

TREASURER, MISSIONARY SOCIETY, ACCUSED OF TAKING MONEY

March 14, 1877/ Still doesn't have money, but plans to pay. The church referred the matter to the next meeting. /April 11, 1877/ "The case was first presented to the Church December 16, 1874, and the case has been called up for action 7 times. A note was submitted and read from Brother B. Martin informing the Church that his business at the present time prevented him from being present. A motion was made to exclude/sic/ Brother B. Martin from the Church, and after a lengthy discussion both pro and con the motion to Exclude from the fellowship of the Church was adopted." /May 23, 1877/ An application was received from B. Martin asking a review of his case claiming he had been illegally excluded, the reasons being: 1) he had acknowledged his wrong 2) that he had given a note 3) that he had made a payment. The church then reviews all the minutes involving the case. The Church reaffirmed the exclusion, appending to the record the following explanations: 1) he took the money for his own use from the society 2) the church had granted on 4 occasions totaling 2 extra years, extensions, during which he failed to make a payment 3) he had acted "unbecoming a Christian" in "the whole matter."
Jan 14, 1875/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total collected</th>
<th>4th quarter</th>
<th>$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>year</td>
<td>3267.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st quarter</td>
<td>789.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2d</td>
<td>914.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>784.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

June 17, 1875/ Church set up a committee to buy an organ. The committee recommended buying a 2d hand organ from the Presby Ch for $300, saying it would take about $160 to repair it, giving an organ with 18 stops and 580 pipes. The committee was empowered to carry out this purchase.
FINANCIAL STATEMENT; 5TH ST BAP CH, (1875)

Minute Book, Mar 1877-Mar 1888, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)
Jan 19, 1876/

Income 1st quarter $ 637.90
2d 555.70
3rd 1178.50
4th 729.80

Total 3101.90
brought forward 138.20

$110.20 in Freedman's Bank & lost by theft.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT; 5TH ST BAP CH (1876)

Minute Book, Mar 1877-Mar 1888, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)
Feb 6, 1877/ ANNUAL STATEMENT

BAL from last report $ 35.00
income 1st quarter 820.75
2d 652.00
3rd 649.50
4th 522.45

Pastor pd 300.00 per quarter 2644.70
Minute Book, Jan 1877-Mar 1878, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

July 17, 1878/ "A communication from the orphan Home Society, requesting the Colored Pastors of the Churches in the City, to Preach one Sermon a month, and take up a collection for the benefit of said Society once a month after the regular collection has been taken up, the request were entertained and the and /sic/ the following plan for raising the money were submitted and read and on motion it was adopted. The communication herewith presented from the committee of the orphan Home Society is presented to the Churches for her consideration, and the Church is requested to have a charity box placed at the Door of the Church for the purpose of receiving contributions for the orphans at anytime that contributors may feel disposed to give something for the support of the orphans Home Society. This is recommended in place of having a collection taken up once a month after the regular collection."

Minute Book, Mar 1879-Mar 1888, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

Sept 11, 1878/ Church resolution said anyone visiting the following would be excluded: 1) the theater 2) the circus 3) visiting Minstrels 4) dancing 5) dealing in Lottery Tickets 6) "attending the Black Crook"
FINANCIAL REPORT, 5TH ST BAP CH, LOUISVILLE (1878) 1087

Minute Book, Mar 1877-Mar 1888, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

Jan 8, 1879

Expenses
1st quarter $ 606.29
2d " 528.14
3rd " 552.20
4th " 539.91

Total 2226.54

Income
1st quarter $ 648.75
2d " 570.35
3rd " 552.55
4th " 502.70

Total 2274.35

the treasurer urged the church to continue giving $10.00 to Orphans home

RESOLUTION TO ALLOW FUNERALS BEING PREACHED IN CHURCH FOR EXCLUDED MEMBERS

Minute Book, Mar 1877-Mar 1888, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

Feb 12, 1879

"Whereas there is a standing rule of the Church which prohibits the Funeral services of any Excluded member from being preached in the Church, and whereas, from the information that has been obtained, said rule was in to meet a trouble which then existed at the time it was passed, which does not exist at this time, and their being no good reason for the continuation of the rule, therefore the Church is recommended to repeal said rule." apparently accepted.
May 12, 1880/ The trustees reported that the church building insurance was $11,000 and due June 11, 1880; they suggested the insurance be raised to $12,000. The premium at $11,000 was $168.00.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT, 5TH ST BAP CH, LOUISVILLE (1880)

Jan 12, 1881/

income  1st quarter $  661.44
         2d     "     608.90
         3rd     "     612.20
         4th     "     665.28

          total with bal brought forward 2563.05

expenses 1 quarter 665.23
               580.23
               662.00
               656.85

                   2554.31

8.74 on hand Jan 1, 1881
various minutes indicate that the church kept a poor fund; that the church decided from time to time to give assistance to members who were in financial difficulty.

Nov 9, 1881/ The church passed a resolution to support "...the Normal and Theological Institute located in this City..." which was greatly in debt. "Wherefore be it resolved, that this Church and congregation will give liberally for said purpose, and that collections, and any other means for the purpose of raising moneys may be had as may seem best and we promise to contribute in hold not less than one Hundred Dollars for this Associational year, and all the moneys collected and contributed in any way by this Church is to be credited to the Church, and first to make up the said one Hundred Dollars, however no meeting or collection of money for the Institution is to interfere with the regular services of the Church."

March 15, 1882/ Church borrowed the $100.00 to aid the school in desperate financial condition.
CONCERT FOR OLD FOLKS, 5TH ST BAP CH, LOUISVILLE (1881)

Minute Book Mar 1877-Mar 1888, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

Nov 9, 1881/ The use of the church was granted for Nov 16,17, 1881, for a concert for Old Folks.

Feb 8, 1882/ Use of church for old Folks concert in the interest of the Poor Fund, and Queen Ester Court."

CHURCH USED FOR EXHIBITION (1882)

"Profesor Jacob C. Havely (Hazely) a Native Borned African made some remarks respecting his Country. He asked the Church to grant him the use of the Meeting House for the purpose of giving and Exhibition on Tuesday Night the 14 inst...." granted.
BOOK HOLDERS REPORT (1882)

Minute Book, Mar 1877-Mar 1888, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville

Mar 21, 1883/ Book Holder No. 1  $32.25
No. 2  50.75
No. 3  95.50
No. 4  60.00

$238.50

CHURCH AIDED IN BURYING THE DEAD; 5TH ST BAP CH, LOUISVILLE (1883)

May 9, 1883/ I have seen previous references to the cost of burying someone. The last I saw before this was, I think, $17.00. The committee appointed to see the undertakers and make arrangement with them to bury our Poor deceased Members, reported that the Undertakers were a unit in the price, for one Hack Horse, Coffin and Digging the Grave $25.00." J H Taylor was placed in charge of burying.
June 25, 1884/ A series of resolutions dealt with rumors throughout the city and the state that 5th St wanted to get rid of its minister. The church resolved that it was aware of the rumors, and to set them straight, the resolutions of support for the pastor were made. They did not "...wish to exchange him for any other minister, and as we believe God has given him to us, we will try and keep him as long as we can agree," After the resolutions, a public invitation was given for anyone "...who had attended private meetings for the purpose of calling another Pastor, to come forward and speak their sentiments....." No one came forward.

Sept 10, 1884/ The church recommended that John H. Frank preach a trial sermon in preparation for license.

Oct 8, 1884/ License granted.
Oct 13, 1886/ It was proposed that an assistant pastor be selected to aid the infirm A. Heath, who with the Board agreed that the assistant should be John H. Frank, to begin Nov 1, 1886. Elder Heath will allow $300.00 per year to be paid out of his salary for the salary of the assistant. The church assistant at $40.00 per month, and that he be John Frank, voted down. adjourned. /Oct 20, 1886/ There was some support for Elder Bassett of Indiana as asst pastor, but that was laid on the table. Finally a motion for John Frank as assistant pastor approved by a large majority. /Nov 10, 1886/ The church called for the ordination of John Frank.

Feb 21, 1887/ Died Feb 19, 1887 at 7:53 A. M. "... a Man of fair literary attainments, acquired under many disadvantages, ... spotless in character." Then a half a page of high praise.
Minute Book, Mar 1877-Mar 1888, 5th St Bap Ch, Louisville (found in safe)

April 13, 1887/ The church recommended that no action be taken in calling a minister permanently, but that John H. Frank who "...has given the Church general satisfaction as the assistant Pastor, we recommend that he be continued as Pastor of this Church for one year, at a salary of sixty five Dollars per month from May the first 1887." agreed on.

Prot. Epis Church, The Colored Episcopal Mission, Louisville, Apr 6, 1861

"A few persons have contributed the sum necessary to buy the Old German Lutheran Church on Green, between Ninth and Tenth streets, for the use of this mission." Additional money will be needed to make further improvements. Correction: Money for these improvement acquired and improvements made. But still need $750 for rent on ground and insurance. The purpose of the church was to form a "separate and distinct congregation" for blacks. The trustees were to be "chosen by the contributors." The broadside is signed by William I. Waller, Missionary of St. Mark's Episcopal Colored Mission, Louisville. April 6, 1861.
The colored Baptist Church originated in 1833 under the leadership of Joe Graves and John Balsell (white) with John Ward and Ziah Black (black). The first pastor, Rev. Henderson Williams, "a great preacher in his day," served the church for 4 or 5 years beginning in 1838. Next minister unknown. Then came Rev. James Monroe in 1845, who served 19 years. Q. B. Jones came into the church during his ministry. Rev. Robert Martin was the next minister, who preached 20 years. Rev. Martin resigned to take a church in Kansas. Rev. George W. Patterson of Midway, Ky., came for 3 years. The Rev. Eugene Evans of Bowling Green came in the winter of 1887.

The Corinthian Baptist Church (formerly the Independent Baptist Church), was organized at its present location August 31, 1876. It grew out of the First Baptist Church (black). Rev. James H. Parrish of Louisville became the first pastor Oct 12, 1876. Rev. C. C. Stumm became the pastor on Oct 12, 1879, a wise choice. Rev. Reuben Strauss came in March 1882, but lasted only a few months, to be replaced by Rev. James M. Mason who remained until May 1884. Rev. E. Richey was called in Oct 1884, Rev. R. H. C. Mitchell in August 1884. Mitchell played an important part in reestablishing harmony between the First Baptist Church (black) and the Independent Baptist Church. The second big accomplishment of Mitchell was the erection of a new church building in 1887. Rev. Wm A. Creditt, a graduate of Lincoln Univ. and then a professor of language at State Univ. was called in Dec 1890. Creditt "brought to the church a degree of Christian culture and refinement" not present apparently before. "During 1891, the first year of his administration, there was raised $1,660.75, averaging over $100 per month. His masterly sermons and dignified character brought large audiences to church each Sunday."
The A.M.E. church was founded in 1839 with its first building on Lewis Street. The building was given by Mrs. Triplett, a generous hearted white lady, to her faithful servants, Benjamin Dunmore and Benjamin Harlan. 1st pastor Rev. George Harlan who came in 1840; succeeded by Moses Pitman, then Rev. Aaron Green, Rev Reuben Thomas. About 1850 Rev. Henry Henderson came; then Rev Jacob Williams, Rev. Henry Hensly, Rev. Leroy Brannum. This took the church to the period of emancipation. Rev. William Brown was the first pastor after freedom. skip several. /p 25/ In the early 1870s "...the Rev. Alfred Newman and Rev. J. C. Waters. Afterwards, came the Rev. B. F. Lee, who afterwards went to the front in his church becoming President of Wilberforce University, Editor of the Christian Recorder, and later a devout and valued member of the Board of Bishops, ...." A long list of ministers after Lee. He served less than a year.

Founded 1880 on Third Street between Murray and Fowler sts. Rev. S. P. Lawson first minister, staying 3 years, followed by a series of ministers.
strattan, ed, that business of mine, 1879

p 39/ "Address of Colored Citizens of Kentucky. To the liberty-loving and philanthropic people of the Northern States." The address is dated May 22, 1872, and signed by 8 black Ky. leaders: Elder W. W. Taylor of Fifth and York Street Baptist Church in Louisville; R. G. Mortimer, pastor (Asbury Chapel) A. M. E. Church in Louisville; Rev. James Thomas, Pastor First Baptist Church, Russellville, Ky.; Rev. George D. Loving of Bowling Green; Austin Hubbard, Barber, 131 Fourth St, Louisville; Rev. A Heath of Fifth Street Baptist African (Adam's) Church, Louisville; William B. Gibson, Teacher at Quinn Chapel, A. M. E. Church.

"Since the benefits incident to the munificent appropriation of government money to the Freedman's Bureau are likely to be lost in the ultimate abandonment of that enterprise and the ends proposed to be attained by it, it has become a question of grave import to ascertain what measures could be safely substituted to fill the vacuum, and present an effectual remedy whereby the colored population of the country may retain their equilibrium in the scale of religious progress and national usefulness." The next paragraph talks about the number of blacks who "... have been thrown in a measure upon their own resources and inclinations...."

"Yet if the fostering care which the Freedman's Bureau seemed to vouchsafe had been continued in full vigor, the wants of this large number of the human family might not now imperiously demand immediate relief, or some substitute, or that other means should be brought into requisition whereby respectable trades, avocations and useful callings may be taught to the young and the superannuated, the blind, the deaf and dumb, idiots and lunatics, may be furnished with proper sustenance."

"The 'Children's Home and Polytechnic Academy at the Falls of the Ohio' will meet the exigency of the case more effectually than any known work that has hitherto been undertaken, and supply a self-evident want. This is an original movement, a pioneer of its kind, almost wholly without rivals, and is the most opportune national undertaking that has been inaugurated of late years. Should the good people of the North bestow upon it the liberal endowment which its founders anticipate, more tangible and lasting benefits will follow than we can now undertake to compute. It is in contemplation to give it sufficient capacity to accommodate from eight to ten thousand inmates; and as soon as its working operations are fully and thoroughly systematized, it is estimated that no less than five
strattan, ed, that business of mine, 1879

/ p 40 contd/ able-bodied adult thus turned out, fitted for usefulness, will add at least one hundred dollars, or produce that sum annually to the nation's common resources, over and above that which they might otherwise produce if left without such training and aid. Indeed, its benefits will doubtless be above pecuniary computation.

"It will also form a part of the grand mission of this institution to develop the children physically and intellectually, to teach them to choose habits of industry, morality, temperance and honesty, and to impart to them a good English education, and to train them in the art, trade, or useful calling to which their qualification, tastes and talents seem best adapted."

"No doubt the Polytechnic School, when once put into full operation, will be able to defray its own working expenses, and if funds can be raised from your bounty in amounts called for by the charter, an annual income in the shape of interest will be realized sufficient to meet all the current expenses of the almshouse and collegiate departments. We now make a sincere appeal to your praiseworthy generosity for donations, and feel assured that no elaborate argument is necessary to gain your cordial cooperation and patronage, and that our appeal for liberal donations will not be made in vain." followed by names given at first of note.

BRIEF HIST PORTLAND MEMORIAL BAPTIST CHURCH, LOUISVILLE

port mem. bap ch, through it all, 1866-1977, 1977

SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL INFO ON HENRY ADAMS, LOUISVILLE

geo d wilson, century of negro ed in louisville, n d WPA project

appendix/ Opened school for blacks in Woods Alley in 1841. It grew in size to require 4 assistants and moved to Fifth St Ch.

BEFORE ALLEY  is between Walnut & Madison
between 9 + 10th Sts

BIOGRAPHICAL INFO ON WILLIAM H. GIBSON

appendix/ geo d wilson, century of negro ed in louisville, n d, WPA project

appendix/ Born Baltimore, Md., educated in private school, came to Louisville in 1847; associated with Mr. Robert M. Lane's school for 6 mos, then opened a school in the basement of Fourth St Methodist Epis Church (Asbury Chapel). Except for a brief period during the Civil War, he operated a school in Louisville. Active in first and second educational conventions of 1867 and 1868; at the second convention chosen president of a State Board to divide the state into school districts under the supervision of the Freedmen's Bureau. In 1870, with public schools created, became a railway mail agent; prominent in fraternal organizations.
BIOGRAPHICAL INFO ON JOHN D POPE, LOUISVILLE

geo d wilson, century of negro ed in louisville, n d, WPA project

appendix/ Placed on the school board committee for colored schools, 1870. Fought for equal salaries, schools, etc.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFO ON JOHN MILLER MAXWELL, LOUISVILLE

geo d wilson, century of negro ed in louisville, n d, WPA project

appendix/ Central school at Sixth and Kentucky was the first school constructed by Louisville (after passage of Jan 1873 law allowing black city schools?) and J. M. Maxwell was appointed principal; he did not begin his service there until 1875, however, first taking a position in the pension office in Washington, D.C. Born in Fayette Co, Ohio, graduated from Xenia, Ohio, high school, principal in Zanesville, Ohio, for two years, then principal of colored schools in Xenia; attend Howard while in Washington, but did not graduate. Central was not a "high school," but designated a "secondary school." "In 1876 he sought and secured permission to establish an advanced class beyond the eighth grade which he himself taught and which was known as the 'A' grade." In 1882 he had a genuine high school (3 year). He remained principal until 1893.
FIRST BLACK SCHOOL IN LOUISVILLE (1841)

On December 7, 1841, the first school for Negroes of which there is record was opened by Rev. Henry Adams in Woods Alley (the alley between Walnut and Madison) between Ninth and Tenth Streets with an enrollment of five pupils. Over a period of years the enrollment increased to such an extent that the services of four additional teachers were necessary and Annie Lee, Mary Jones Richardson, James M. Priest and J. C. Corbin, who was later State Superintendent of Schools in Arkansas, were added to the staff. In 1864 the school was transferred to the Fifth Street Baptist Church and continued to operate until public schools were available for Negroes.

Cites Louisville Library Collection, p 50 as source.

ST MARK'S SCHOOL IN LOUISVILLE, 1865

It seems well authenticated that at least two schools were opened in 1865. One of these was operated by D. A. Stoker in St. Marks Episcopal Church (now Church of Our Merciful Savior) on Greene Street near Ninth. Later Rev. J. S. Atwell was pastor of the church and principal of the school. He was held in high esteem and upon his resignation to accept a call to elsewhere the Louisville Courier stated: 'The Rev. J. S. Atwell, has resigned the charge of the above church to accept a call from St. Stephen's Church, Petersburg, Virginia. Mr. Atwell has labored very faithfully for the elevation of his race, both morally, intellectually, and spiritually. His interest in schools cannot be denied.'

'We learn that a complimentary concert is to be given tonight as a mark of respect to, and appreciation of the labors of Mr. Atwell as the late principal of the schools connected with the mission.'

'According to one account this St. Mark school subsequently removed to Madison Street between Tenth and Ninth and was taught by the Roxborough sisters. In 1865, also, a school was opened in Jackson Street M.E. Church. By 1866 the school enrolled over one hundred children. The first teacher was a Mrs. Cook (white) from the Methodist Episcopal Church in the North, who actually organized the school. No fees were paid by the pupils and the teacher's salary was paid by the Northern Methodists. In 1866 Prof. Henry Merriweather of Louisville became the teacher. He taught until 1871 when he resigned to be succeeded by Miss Julia Author, a Negro, who taught the school until its final dissolution in 1887.'
geo d wilson, century of negro ed in louisville, n d, WPA project

p 24/

"In 1865 or 1866 W. H. Gibson, who had been teaching refugee children in Indianapolis, Indiana, during the war, returned to Louisville and resumed his instruction at Quinn Chapel. Belle Goins taught a private school in 1868 to 1869 on Center Street, north of Walnut, and then at the corner of Thirteenth and Magazine, and later at the rear of a home on Magazine Street west of Thirteenth. What was known as a ele-. /p 25/ mosynary school was conducted by Rev. W. W. Taylor in 1869 in 'Baptist Row' which was a part of East Madison Street. Another school was conducted in the same square by Aunt Pendy, the Rev. Mr. Brooks and Jesse Davis.+ 

"During this period the first separate work among Negro Catholics was instituted by Father J. Lancaster Spalding. As assistant at the Cathedral he conducted special services for Negroes early in the year 1868. The following year he began the construction of the St. Augustine Church and school on Fourteenth near Broadway Streets. Dedicatory exercises were held on April 30, 1869. The school itself was under the direction of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth. About sixty children were enrolled in the first year."

source 1st P: Flemingsburg Kentuckian, p.50
source 2nd P: The Record, Official Publication of the Diocese of Flemingsburg, Oct 27, 1936, Section 2, p. 25

ABOLITIONIST PROPAGANDA IN FLEMINGSBURG, 1838

C Eaton, freedom of thought-struggle in the old south, 1964

p 208/ "Occasionally some of the abolition publications managed to pass the blockade and reach their destination in the South. The editor of the Flemingsburg Kentuckian, for example, noted that about a dozen copies of the Emancipator had been sent to citizens of his village, and that he had received a copy marked 'Read, calmly reflect, and be convinced!'"

source Flemingsburg Kentuckian, Mar 30, 1838.
"Despite the unfortunate experience of Birney, Kentucky remained the most liberal state in the South during the decade of the 1830's. At Louisville, the Western Messenger, a literary and religious magazine edited by James Freeman Clarke, took a sane antislavery stand. Clark published extracts in his magazine from the writings of William Ellery Channing showing the moral terpitude of slavery. He himself declared slavery to be a monstrous evil, and maintained that he would devote his life to the great cause of emancipation, if by so doing he could hasten that event one year. Nevertheless, he did not believe that slaveholders should be condemned as sinners for continuing to hold slaves under the conditions that existed in Kentucky. In the August, 1836, issue of the Western Messenger, he asserted that liberty of speech in regard to slavery prevailed in Kentucky and that 'we are not afraid of discussing this or any other subject here.' In later days he affirmed that the people in Kentucky, while he was a resident from 1833 to 1840, did not think that there was anything improper or dangerous in discussing the subject of slavery fully. The Kentuckians at that time were in the habit of declaring that their state would be the first to emancipate."

"A few years after Birney left his native state, a limited discussion of slavery occurred in the Kentucky press as a result of an agitation for the calling of a constitutional convention. The advocates of this measure were chiefly those who desired a modification of the Constitution to permit gradual emancipation. The Lexington Observer, pointing out that some of the most enlightened men of the state believed slavery to be a great moral and political curse, demanded a full, free, and manly discussion of emancipation in order to allay the restlessness in the public mind. The Flemingsburg Kentuckian and the Paris Citizen published a letter from a Bourbon County slaveholder, urging that the proposed constitutional convention should follow the example of New York and Pennsylvania and adopt a system of gradual emancipation, followed by the colonization of the freed Negroes. The editor of the Flemingsburg Kentuckian wrote editorials in favor of gradual emancipation and admitted both anti-slavery and proslavery articles to his columns, for he wished 'to see the subject fully and fairly discussed and presented to our readers in as impartial a light as possible.' He believed that if Kentucky emancipated her slaves, she would set an example that other Southern states would follow. Nevertheless, he violently resented any innuendo that he was an abolitionist. The move to summon a constitutional convention was finally voted down by the people, who were urged to this course by Henry Clay."
"The suppression of the True American revealed the great power of the proslavery faction in agitating a Southern community into acts of intolerance. In the final act the driving out of the obnoxious paper was accomplished with the approval of the great body of citizens. Yet this unanimity of feeling was carefully worked up by a clique of interested persons, bitter political and personal enemies of Cassius Clay. Prentice, the editor of the Louisville Journal, believed that after Clay had promised to exercise caution in discussing slavery, the people of Lexington would not have molested him or his premises had not a small faction been actively engaged in inciting the mob to violence. Clay himself did not believe his opponents were sincere in maintaining that his paper would incite the slaves to revolt. 'I regard the idea of insurrection in Kentucky, where there are about six whites to one black,' he said, 'as ridiculous and only used by the slaveholders as a bugaboo, to maintain the ascendancy of their power in the state.'

"After the destruction of his paper, Clay volunteered to fight in the Mexican War, hoping to restore his prestige so that he could work more effectively for the great reform. Upon his return, he became a candidate for governor on a platform of gradual emancipation and received five thousand votes. He was supported in his candidacy by an antislavery newspaper published at Lexington and Louisville, entitled the Progress of the Age. His ardent efforts for the antislavery cause brought him such popularity in the North that he received over a hundred votes for Vice-President in the Republican convention of 1860."

"Despite the suppression of the True American, Kentucky continued to be an arena of Southern antislavery newspapers. In 1847, the Examiner was established at Louisville by John C. Vaughan, a South Carolinian, and F. Crosley, a Kentuckian, for the purpose of advocating the cause of emancipation. Although the editors worked valiantly for the election of antislavery delegates to the constitutional convention of 1849, their editorial policy was dominated by common sense and the spirit of moderation. They warned the advocates of emancipation during the campaign to be 'extremely careful to keep aloof from angry and embittered controversy, which always confirms the prejudices of the opponent. Be gentle, discreet, and yet firm. Do not hazard any wild propositions. Keep attention fixed on those evils which result from slavery and are sufficiently manifest in every section of the state. Let slavery in the abstract, as it is called, alone, and talk of slavery as it exists around us.' But the efforts of the Examiner to bring about emancipation were fruitless, for, although ten thousand votes were case for the election of antislavery delegates, not a single candidate was elected. James Freeman Clarke explained this failure by observing that the Democratic and Whig parties in Kentucky at that time were nearly equal in strength and engaged in a bitter rivalry. Both parties were afraid to touch the dangerous issue of emancipation. Shortly after the convention met, the idealistic Examiner perished for want of financial support."
"In 1858 a Northern mechanic, named William Bailey, printed a quixotic paper, the Free South, at Newport, Kentucky. In its editorial columns he urged the nonslaveholding whites of Kentucky to use their votes to exterminate slavery. On December 31, 1858, he issued a stirring call to battle: 'Working men of Kentucky, think of yourselves! See you not that the system of slavery enslaves all who labor for an honest living. You, white men, are the best slave property of the South, and it is your own votes that make you so. Bailey would have starved had he not received support from the abolitionists of the North. He had resolved, however, to remain at his post in 'the enemy's own territory,' but after the John Brown raid a mob broke into his printing establishment and wrecked his presses.'

"Food crops and pasturage permitted the handling of large acreage by small personnel; and in tobacco and hemp culture there was little advantage in largeness of scale. Kentucky therefore did not develop great plantations nor import hordes of slaves to till them. Only two or three counties, in fact, ever had more Negroes than whites in the population. But earnings per hand were always greater than on the leaner lands of the seaboard States, and some thousands of proprietors became sufficiently well-to-do to cultivate amenities."
BIOR OF ALLEN ALLENSWORTH


p 1/ Allensworth born a slave April 7, 1842, in Lou, Ky. Says: sold "down river" at 12 in 1854 for having attempted to learn to read and write. Successfully fled slavery and worked as a nurse attached to Union army, & rose from first class seaman to petty officer. Honorably discharged April 4, 1865. Worked in commissary at navy yard at Mound City, Mo., 2 years. In 1867, with brother, opened 2 restaurants in St. Louis. Attended Ely Normal Sch as an adult. Ordained a minister at 5th St Bap Ch, Lou, pastorate in Ky & Ohio. Married Josephine Leavell of Lou, 2 daughters, Nellie & Eva. On April 1, 1886, Pres. Cleveland appointed Allensworth chaplin of 14th Infantry with rank of Capt. Allensworth retired, lectured on self-help programs; Lived in L.A., Calif. after retirement.

HARSH ATTITUDE TOWARD BLACKS IN KY (1867)


An attempt has been made in Lawwill's sub district to get Lawwill to teach the blacks to become better slaves and to "look upon their late masters as the most chivalrous people the world ever saw. Magnanimous, brave, honest, just, and with the Heaven born gift to beat, whip, and kill a negro at pleasure."
When the Lower South seceded, Prentice wrote virile editorials in favor of Kentucky's remaining in the Union. No editor in the ante-bellum South showed greater skill in maintaining the delicate balance between discussing such a dangerous subject as emancipation in a slave state and preserving at the same time the influence of his paper unimpaired. After Prentice had rebuked the people of Lexington for suppressing the True American he announced that he would discuss the question of emancipation when he judged the time ripe for it, and when such discussion should serve the public interest. On October 8 he wrote an extended editorial in which he undertook to show the inexpediency of discussing slavery at that particular time. He pointed out that the effect of the suppression of the True American was to close men's minds in Kentucky against the free discussion of slavery for a long time to come. Intelligent observers sympathetic to emancipation had expressed the view that the Lexington affair would tend to prevent the free discussion of slavery for five years. So aroused were the people that Prentice believed it would be impossible for him to discuss emancipation in Kentucky within the next five years.
In meditating upon the situation Prentice arrived at a very striking theory of the freedom of the press in a slave state. He announced that he would not engage in the discussion of emancipation until the people themselves called for it. This policy was not dictated by fear or pecuniary motives, but by the need of preserving the unity of the Whig party. His mission, he wrote, was to uphold Whig principles, to cement and strengthen as far as possible the ranks of the Whig party. Consequently, the Louisville Journal was silent on the slavery question from 1845 to 1849.

In this latter year an agitation in favor of emancipation occurred prior to the assembly of the constitutional convention of 1849. At first Prentice refused to permit the discussion of the problem in the columns of his paper, but later he lifted his ban. He explained that there could be no harm in discussing emancipation as a simple social question. Fanaticism arose when slavery was discussed as a moral evil or when the argument rested on the postulate that “all men are created equal.” Prentice affirmed again and again that slavery would disappear gradually by “the slow process of public opinion and the gentle influence of moral causes.” The instruments of this silent revolution were to be: (1) public opinion, (2) the press, (3) the religious teachers, and (4) the fact that slave labor was more expensive than free. Believing that time would cure the evil, he opposed the agitation of a question which would fill the state with strife and discord. This note of resignation expressed the orthodox point of view of that “truly conservative party,” whose chief Southern leaders were Henry Clay, John Bell of Tennessee, and Willie P. Mangum, and George Badger of North Carolina.
The failure of Cassius Clay and George Prentice to persuade the people of Kentucky to tolerate a free press revealed, first, the irresistible power of wealth and the vested interests in the Old South, and secondly, the unreasonable fear of servile insurrection. The approach of the two men to the problem of reform was in vivid contrast—Clay was the bold and outspoken radical, ready to take desperate chances, while Prentice was the thoroughly realistic conservative who felt that no real good could be accomplished by tilting against the strongly intrenched dragon of slavery. Slavery benefited only the small upper class, while five sixths of the people were injured by it. The majority of Kentuckians looked upon slavery as a real evil, yet an active and able minority dictated public sentiment in the state. They made it dangerous for a man to express independent views on slavery in a public speech or newspaper. Their resolute and implacable hostility to antislavery reformers caused an editor who hoped to have any influence, or aspired to be a party leader, to pause before incurring the charge of being unsound in regard to the inviolable institution.

This group was immensely aided by the fact that the South suffered from a pathological fear of servile insurrection. The common people could be easily thrown into a panic by the term “abolitionist.” The stereotype of the abolitionist hurling firebrands into a magazine was used time and again to rally the common people against the critics of slavery. Thus, on the ground of insuring the public safety, freedom of the press was denied to the mild opponent of slavery, who was often purposely confused with the dangerous fanatic.
KY BLACKS GIVEN SOME AID IN GOING TO KANSAS, MID-1870s (1877)

p 12/ "Bryan Mullanphy, the only son of a well-to-do merchant," and having no heirs had written a will in a St. Louis bar which said that his half million dollars he would leave would go to aiding "...travelers who were stalled at the 'Gateway to the West.'" Most people assumed that the fund would be used for white Europeans, and it was for the most part. "Yet, there were cases on record where money had been advanced to colored settlers who, in the past few years, filtered out of Tennessee and Kentucky, bound for Kansas homesteads." The fund was run in the late 1870s by Theodore Leaveille, a former innkeeper who received $2000 a year to manage the daily affairs of the agency. /p 54/ The Liberal Republican newspaper, the Topeka Commonwealth, argued that Kansans had a duty in aiding the 1879 immigrants as they had done in some instances before: "There was precedent for it, he reminded readers. For two years the people of Topeka and of Shawnee County had given a certain amount of assistance to Negroes moving westward. He referred to those who had come out of Kentucky and Tennessee in search of Kansas farmlands, some of whom were located in little colonies farther west." /p 63/ Topeka was a "distributing point for black immigrants coming out of Tennessee and Kentucky."

30 KY BLACKS FORM COLONY NEAR HILL CITY: NICODEMUS, JOINED BY OTHERS

p 76/ The black colonies in Kansas were led by blacks and whites, with the inspiration for the colonies often coming from whites such as Rev. W. R. Hill of Indiana who laid out Hill City in the fall of 1876 and who sought additional population in order to build up his area. In July, 1877, about thirty Kentucky Negroes, who came via Topeka, provided the seed for the new colony near Hill City. In the autumn of 1877 another three hundred fifty arrived, strengthened by a contingent of one hundred fifty who came in March, 1878. Later that year, two more groups, one from Missouri and another from Kentucky, joined the others." The town was apparently named Nicodemus. W. R. Hill took credit for founding this colony. "He had collected a five-dollar locating fee from each family, two-dollars of which he paid to the government as a filing charge. Although Hill is said to have taken little part in the government of Nicodemus, he had no intention of letting the newcomers acquire any political power. When asked about such a possibility, he was said to have remarked: 'We will have to make concessions to the niggers and give them a few little offices, but when we get the county seat at Hill City, the may go to ---.' Despite this prediction, Negroes became a political force in the county, gaining a number of important offices."
"In 1878 an effort was made to establish a black colony in Hodgeman County, about twenty-five miles north of Dodge City. The most convenient rail connection was at Kinsley (Edwards County), on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe line; contemporaries sometimes referred to the settlement as the Kinsley Colony. There were 107 members of the original group, all from Kentucky, who were reinforced by an additional 50 later in the year. Being about thirty miles from Kinsley, they tried to start a closer town of their own, named Morton City after Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, but the task of town-building, while trying to eke a living from the tough Kansas sod, was too much. After erecting a frame building, intended as a store, and a few sod huts, they abandoned the project."

"These colonists took up some fifty homesteads and a few timber-culture claims, upon which they constructed dugouts and soddies to shelter their families. Typical of the settlers was Lafayette Green, who lived in a fourteen-by-fourteen-foot dwelling that was five feet underground and two feet above, covered with some pine boards to keep out the weather. By the spring of 1879 he had only eight acres under cultivation, six in wheat and the rest in corn and a little garden. Although well water was available by digging about twenty feet, Green had hit solid rock at thirteen feet, and he had to carry water a mile to make his coffee. Nor was his domestic life very happy. Green's wife was sick, and their six children were all back in Kentucky, where they would remain until he had enough money to send for them. The small piece of property that he owned in Kentucky had attracted no buyers, and he was afraid to leave his new location for fear of not complying with the provisions of the homestead law. Lafayette Green had been very anxious to go West; now he was there, trapped.

The others were not much more fortunate. Those who had mules plowed a few acres and managed to plant a small crop. Others knifed a single furrow into the tough mat that covered the land, and tried to grow corn in these slits. A few brave souls chopped out little circles of sod by hand and watched in vain for corn stalks to sprout from the prairie. Before long they encountered further difficulties. As other settlers before them had learned, a minimum amount of cash was needed in order to make improvements and to buy food. Part-time labor was the traditional solution to this problem, and one means of earning money was to work in nearby towns. However, in this case such settlements were too far away. Harvest-time wages paid by neighboring white farmers brought from seventy-five cents to a dollar and a half a day, but such work was seasonal, and these farms often were some distance away on a thinly settled frontier.

Distance, that deceptive western trap, assessed its penalties in other ways. Coal hauled by wagon from the railroad demanded from seven to ten dollars a ton, a price that was burdensome to the poor of any color. Blacks, along with neighboring whites, scouted the countryside for buffalo chips deposited by passing herds. These, along with brush, twigs, or even dried grass, were burned in a desperate effort to coax out a little heat. Cupboard staples were equally expensive to bring in from any distance, and so
KY COLONISTS IN KANSAS SEE THEMSELVES AS QUITE DIFFERENT FROM DEEP SOUTH MIGRANTS

Despite this association between the organized colonies and the exodus excitement, they were of separate origins, and it is even logical to argue that the exodus effectively killed the colony movement. The black colonists themselves were the first to make the distinction between the two groups, and even today if one talks to the descendants of those Kentucky Negroes who settled Nicodemus, he will be told in terms of great clarity that they were as different as black from white.

SUCCESSFUL KY BLACK MIGRANT TO KANSAS (1879-1880)

A few of the arriving blacks who stayed achieved a degree of success that surpassed that of many of their white counterparts. Perhaps one of the most notable examples was Junius G. Groves, of Edwardsville, Kansas. Born a slave in Kentucky, in 1859, he came out to Kansas in 1879 with a large group of black immigrants. Starting off with less than a dollar in his pocket and then working on a farm at forty cents a day, he progressed to share cropping and finally to the position of landowner. By 1900 he possessed one of the largest potato farms in the Kaw Valley, had land upon which one thousand fruit trees grew, and owned town property that, a few years later, was valued at eighteen thousand dollars. In 1903 Groves produced 72,150 bushels of potatoes, enough that Booker T. Washington dubbed him 'the Potato King.'
"Most of the inefficient officials, it seems, were Negroes; most of the dishonest ones were white. There was a belief, often expressed after the failure of the bank, that when a white cashier had embezzled the funds and involved the accounts of a branch, a Negro official would be put in his place to serve as a scapegoat when exposure came."

"Cashier Hamilton at Lexington, Kentucky, a graduate of Oberlin, was also a preacher and a Sunday school superintendent. He did not steal from the bank itself, but from the depositors by drawing out on forged checks the money of those who seldom came in with their pass books."

"Hamilton, the Lexington embezzler, was also allowed to accept an Indian agency." That is, he went out west; etc etc etc /p 66/ Hamilton's shortage at Lexington was $5,000.
"Between 1866 and 1868 the Freedman's Bank considered many plans for expansion, some of which were premature and others quite unrealistic. When the Louisville branch was established, plans were begun for still another Kentucky branch. Lexington, so the argument ran, was the next most important place for the Bank's operation, for it was located in the center of a large former slave district, had a sizable population of respectable black people, and would receive soldiers' money which would otherwise be squandered on drink."

"Blacks to a large extent believed that their own progress was associated with the appearance of the Freedman's Banks; that is, they wanted the banks to look nice and and be properly located. "Most branch offices were located in the white business district. For example, the second Louisville office, refurbished by Negro mechanics, was situated in a new building near the post office, and at this location enjoyed an immediate increase in business." "The Lexington branch moved into the building formerly occupied by the Fayette National Bank;..."
LOUISVILLE FREEDMEN'S BANK OFFICIALS TO VISIT BLACK TROOPS TO SECURE DEPOSITS

p 30/ The secretary of the Freedman's Bank, upon learning that the black troops were to be paid, "...alerted all the cashiers in the states in which the troops were stationed, urging them to secure as much money as possible from the soldiers. Writing to the Louisville cashier, for example, Alvord expressed the hope that at the local regiment's final payment the cashier could visit the camp to accept deposits."

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS SAVINGS BANK, 1866; LOUISVILLE BANK FIRM

p 37/ "By late 1866 Bank officers were searching for ways of keeping the Bank afloat." This led to talk of closing unprofitable branches. When recommendations were made, however, the Louisville branch was listed with 7 others as to "be continued with no cut in expenses."

p 18n/ "Therefore, the Louisville branch, which opened in August, 1865, might well be considered the third branch to go into operation."

p 74/ "The location of the Louisville branch--next to a Democratic newspaper's office--resulted in trouble during political campaigns,..." The date of the source for this conclusion was June 10, 1869.
INFLUENTIAL ADVISORY BOARD AT LOUISVILLE FREEDMAN'S BANK HAD A MAJORITY OF BLACKS

One of the best and most influential advisory boards was at Louisville. In January, 1866, the board, composed of seventeen Negroes and seven whites, met in full session to recommend the resignation of the cashier because of his inability or unwillingness to devote his full time to the Bank's work. In October the committee met to nominate a new cashier. There is little information on the board's activities during the next few years, but in 1870 President Alvord reported that he had met the very intelligent committee at the Bank, and that it had resolved to make renewed efforts to encourage depositors throughout the city and state. In these years the board was reduced to fifteen members (all but three of them Negroes) for greater efficiency. The Louisville Courier-Journal in 1874 wrote that the Freedman's Bank in Louisville had accomplished a good deal under the leadership of the advisory board and its chairman, the Honorable Bland Ballard, president of the Kentucky National Bank. When the Louisville branch was examined in 1874, all its financial affairs were in order."

Uses of Withdrawals by Louisville Blacks from Freedman's Bank (1865-1870)

"Although the freedmen often used their withdrawals to purchase land, homes, and business improvements, they seem to have expended still more on consumer goods. For the period 1865-1870, Horace Morris at Louisville recorded 416,000 spent for land (30 purchases averaging 75 acres each) and indicated that this figure would have been higher had rich landholders been more amenable to selling to freedmen. Fifty homes (about $25,000) had been purchases; $75,000 had gone for seed, teams, agricultural implements, mechanic's tools, and shops, and $50,000 for other business purposes. Ten thousand dollars had been spent for education and for 'caring for distressed humanity.' The largest part of the withdrawals was used for other important purchases for personal and family comfort; how much had been 'squandered' Morris could not say."
"In general, the cashiers' replies indicate that large amounts were spent for purchases of land and homes and for farm and business improvements. In 1867 the Louisville cashier estimated conservatively that $92,000 in drafts were spent in the following ways: $35,000 for homesteads; $12,500 for mechanical and business improvements; $30,000 for seeds, implements, etc., for those working on shares; and $15,000 for education."

Source: H. H. Burkholder to Alvord, Oct 24, 1867, Bank Letters, BRFAL
Sperry was an army paymaster and major from Illinois, interested in black soldiers. Sperry was selected as the "first special agent to do field work among the soldiers." by the Freedman's Bank. His job was to collect any money from soldiers he could; frequently army officers and chaplains would collect the money for Sperry and have it for him when he arrived in camp. Sperry carried a letter of introduction from the President and the Secretary of War. He had maintained a very close association with the Freedmen's Bureau, which enhanced his reputation with the blacks. "...Sperry's business was basically transient; he followed the black soldiers wherever they went.... Extant Louisville bank records contain certificates of deposit by Kentucky soldiers written from many scattered Texas locations."

"Standing at the paying tables, he enjoyed an enormous advantage in influencing black soldiers, almost all of them ex-slaves, who had probably just received more money than they had ever possessed in their entire lives. In March, 1866, he sent ... $14,000 from a Louisville regiment. Sperry and the Freedman's Bank made it possible for Private James Martin, Company I, 117th USCT, to transfer $149 safely to the Louisville branch and consequently to his family. Private Martin and thousands of others like him enabled Sperry to forward $120,000, a moderate fortune in those days, to the central office and its branches before he returned in mid-1867." His work benefited thousands of black soldiers, while helping the struggling bank.
ARIEL ACADEMY, CAMP NELSON, 1869-75; reopened 1882 Elem Sch

p 298/ Ariel Academy was associated with the Am. Miss. Assn. from 1869 to 1875 when the school was suspended; reopened as an elementary school in 1882.

HOWARD SCHOOL, LEXINGTON, & AMA ASSN

p 298/ Drake says associated with the American missionary Assn. from 1869 when it was suspended in 1875, but reopened in 1882. Azel Hatch was the principal after 1887.
Drake says that the Freedmen's Bureau was specifically forbidden by law to give grants to religious groups. But the Freedmen's Bureau frequently built buildings on land owned by religious societies such as the AMA, and then rented the buildings from the societies. Thus O. O. Howard, head of the Freed. Bureau, could aid the societies financially. In 1868 $25,000 was given to Ely Normal in Louisville in this manner; the government erected the building at the cost listed.

The Freed. Bureau built Howard Hall on Berea College Campus, the "... first real college building on Berea's campus."
The peak years of the A.M.A.'s common school effort were 1867 and 1868 when over five hundred missionaries and teachers were sustained in the southern field. In these years some two thousand teachers were supported annually by all the benevolent societies in the North, and of these over seven hundred were sent by the various freedmen's aid societies of the American Freedmen's Union Commission.

By the early seventies more and more Southerners came to support the idea that Negro education was a necessity, and many began to look with positive favor on the work of the A. M. A. A Lexington, Kentucky, 'gentleman' talking to J. A. R. Rogers noted that bi-racial Berea College was becoming generally respected in the Bluegrass region.
p 1/ "Marse Bogie owned about 200 acres of land in the eastern section of the county, and as far as I can remember there were only four slaves on the place. We lived in a one-room cabin, with a loft above, and this cabin was an old fashioned one about hundred yards from the house. We lived in one room, with one bed in the cabin." Says parents slept in the bed; he and his sister slept in "trundle bed." Remembers that his mother's parents were from Garrard County; that is remembers grandparents of mother.

p 3/ "There was no church for slaves, but we went to the white folks church at Mr. Freedom. We sat in the gallery. The first colored preacher I ever heard was old man Leroy Estill. He preached in the Freedom meeting house (Baptist)." He says he learned to read and write after the Civil War.
We did not work on Saturday afternoon. The men would go fishing, and the women would go to the neighbors and help each other piece quilts. We used to have big times at the corn shuckings. The neighbors would come and help. We would have camp fires and sing songs, and usually a big dance at the barn when the corn was shucked. Some of the slaves from other plantations would pick the banjo, then the dance." His memory on this is vague. Remembered grandfather.

Says the slaves lived in log cabins; there were 30 to 40 on a 400 acre plantation. "The cabin I was born in had four rooms, two above and two below. The rooms above were called lofts, and we climbed up a ladder to get to these rooms. We slept on trundle beds (?) which were covered with straw ticks. /sic/ Our covers were cast-off clothes. When we got up in the morning we shoved the trundle bed back under the big bed."

the double quotes indicate that these were direct quotes from the former slave.
'Some boy would ring a great big bell; called the 'farm bell' about sunrise. Some went to the stables to look after the horses and mules. Plowing was done with a yoke or oxen. The horses were just used for carriages and to ride. My work was pulling weeds, feeding chickens, and helping to take care of the pigs. . . . I never did earn any money, but worked for my food and clothes. . . . We ate all kinds of wild food, possum, and rabbits baked in a big oven. Minnows were fished from the creeks and fried in hot grease. We ate this with pone /begin p 6/ corn bread. We had plenty of vegetables to eat.' /p 7/ says they had no overseer.

"When the news came we were freed every body was glad. The slaves cleared up the ground and cut down trees. Stayed with Marse Cleveland the first year after the war. Ha-ve /sic/ heard the Klu Klux Klan ride down the road, wearing masks. None ever bothered me or any of Marse Cleveland's slaves."
p 3/ "The other line of effort in some way qualifying as historical evidence was that which produced the eyewitness accounts of ante-bellum slavery. Such accounts were both hostile and sympathetic in nature. It is perhaps best that each kind be given equal weight, as evidence in the judicial sense must always be, and the best presumption probably is that none of these observers was lying about the facts as he saw them. Different facts impressed different people, of course. ... much is gained and not much lost on the provisional operating principle that they were all telling the truth." /p 3n/ "Kenneth Stampp made one side of this point in an article published in 1952. The traveler in the South who viewed slavery with an entirely /begin p 4n/ open mind was rare indeed," he said, 'but it does not necessarily follow that the only accurate reporters among them were those who viewed it sympathetically.'" The Stampp comment is in an article "The Historian and Southern Negro Slavery," AHR, LVII (April 1952), 615. Elkins goes on to say: "One must not only fully indorse this proposition but also reverse it; it does not follow that the only accurate reporters were the unsympathetic ones either."

p 9/ "I didn't sleep in the cabins with the rest of the negroes; I slept in the big house and nursed the children. I was not paid any money for my work. My food was the same as what the white folks et. In the summer time we wore cotton and tow linen; and linsey in the winter. The white folks took me to church and dressed me well. I had good shoes and they took me to church on Sunday. My master was a preacher and a doctor and a fine man. Miss Mat sho was hard to beat. ... We had no overseer or driver." /begin p 10/ There were only a few slaves in the family. "My Mistus taught all the slaves to read and write, and we set on a bench in the dining room. When the news came that we were free General /sic/ Gano took us all in the dining room and told us about it. I told him I wasn't going to the cabins and sleep with them niggers and I didn't." "There was no jail on the place and I never say /sic/ a slave whipped or punished in any way. I never saw a slave auctioned off."

a household slave; possibly away from every day activities of field hands.
In discussing clothing, etc., Mayfield said "The material had been wooven by the slaves in a plantation shop. The flax and hemp were raised on the plantation. The younger slaves had to 'wingle it' with a wooden instrument, somewhat like a sword, about two feet long, and called a swingler. The hemp was hackled by the older slaves. The hackle was an instrument made of iron teeth, about four inches long, one-half inch apart and set in a wooden plank one and one-half feet long, which was set on a heavy bench. The hemp stalks were laid on these benches and hackled herds were then pulled through and heaped in piles and taken to the work shops where it was twisted and tied (?) then woven, according to the needs. Ropes, carpets, and cloth clothing were made from this fiber."

Our cabins were usually one room with a loft above which we reached by a ladder. Our beds were trundle beds with wheels on them to push them under the big beds. We slept on straw ticks covered with Lindsey quilts, which were made from the cast-off clothes, cut into squares and stripes." Bert said he could "just remember his grandparents."
"Marse Stone had a big sugar camp with 300 trees. We would be waked up at sun-up by a big horn and called to get our buckets and go to the sugar camps and bring water from the maple trees. These trees had been tapped and elderwood spiles were placed in the taps where the water dripped to the wooden troughs below. We carried this water to the big poplar troughs which were about 10 feet long and 3 feet high. The water was then dipped out and placed in different kettles to boil until it became the desired thickness for 'Tree Molasses'. Old Miss Polly would always take out enough of the water to boil down to make sugar cakes for us boys. We had great times at these 'stirrin' offs' which usually took place at night."

"The neighbors would usually come and bring their slaves. We played Sheep-meat and other games. Sheep-meat was a game played with a yarn ball and when one of the players was hit by the ball that counted him out. One song we would always sing was 'Who ting-a-long? Who ting-a-long? Who's been here since I've been gon? A pretty girl with a josey on'."
"On Christmas each of us stood in line to get our clothes; we were measured with a string which was made by a cobbler. The material had been woven by the slaves in a plantation shop."

"My old Mistus Mag taught me how to read from an old national spelling book, but I did not learn to write. We had no church, but the Bible was read to us on Sunday afternoons by some of the white folks. The first Church I remember was the Old Fork Baptist Church about four miles from Lancaster on the Lexington Pike. The first preacher I remember was Burdette Kemper. I heard him preach at the old church where my Mistus and Master took me every Sunday."
The negroes would talk among themselves, but never carried tales to the white folks. I never heard of any trouble between blacks and whites. On Sunday's we would hold prayer meetings among ourselves."

"I received the first news of freedom joyfully. I went to old man Onstott's to live. I lived there two or three years. I think Abe Lincoln a great man. He did not believe in slavery and would have paid the southern people for their slaves if he had lived. All the slaves on Morse Stone's place were treated well."
FAMILY, LIVING CONDITIONS OF SLAVES (Narrative) 1167

p 18/

"As a child he lived with his mother, brothers, sisters, and grandmother. Their quarters were in the yard of their master; and they were as comfortable as any slaves - with plenty to eat and clothes to keep them warm."

"Will was just a boy at that time, and he cut wood and carried it in; and did other chores around the house such as help to milk and feed the stock. Their food was plentiful and they ate all kinds of vegetables, and had plenty of milk and butter, fat meat, and bread."

"The family all wore home made clothing, cotton shirts, heavy shoes, very heavy underwear; and if they wore out their winter shoes before the spring weather they had to do without until the fall."

There were 230 acres on the farm, 6 slaves, the owner was Lewis Oates and his sister. He described his owner as wealthy: lived in log cabin with weather board sides, 2 story.
"After the war had closed, Will's grandmother walked from Monticello to Camp Nelson to get her free papers and her children. They were all very happy, but they were wondering what they were going to do without a home, work, or money. But after Will and his mother and grandmother got their freedom, the grandmother bought a little land and house and they all went there to live. Of course, they worked out for other people and raised a great deal of what they ate. Will lived there until he grew older and went out for himself; and later moved to Mercer County where he now lives."

Her mother belonged to Pleas Blevin; her father was Arch Robinson and lived in Madison Co. "Harrison Brady bought me from Ole Miss Nanch Graham and when Mr. Brady died and his property was sold Mrs. Brady bought me back; and she always said that she paid $400 for me. ... I was the only child and had always lived at the big house with my mistus. I wore the same kind of clothes and ate the same kind of food the white people ate. My mother and father lived at the cabin in the yard and my mother did the cooking for the family. My father did the work on the farm with the help that was hired from the neighbors. I was too young to remember much about the slave days, but I never heard of any slaves of the neighbors being punished." She went to the Baptist church.

The interviewer says the lady was lucid.
GENERAL NARRATIVE ACCOUNT OF SLAVERY

G P Rawick, ed, am. slave; composite autobiog, xvi, 1941 (1972) narrative of Edd Shirley (M4465, WPA project) birth not given, currently lives in Tompkinsville, Ky.

p 23/ Says 97 when being interviewed, still working as a janitor to support his family. "My father was a white man and my mother was a colored lady. I was owned three different times, or rather was sold to three different families. I was first owned by the Waldens; then I was sold to a man by the name of Jackson, of Glasgow, Kentucky. Then my father, of this county /Monroe Co/ bought me." He remembered his mother's father who lived to be 115 years old.

TREATMENT OF SLAVES IN SLAVE NARRATIVE

G P Rawick, ed, am. slave; composite autobiog, xvi, 1941 (1972) narrative of Edd Shirley (M4465, WPA project) birth not given, age 97, lives in Tompkinsville.

p 23/

"Some slaves were treated good, and some were treated awful bad by the white people; but most of them were treated good if they would do what their master told them to do."

"I once saw a light colored gal tied to the rafters of a barn, and her master whipped her until blood ran down her back and made a large pool on the ground. And I have seen negro men tied to stakes drove in the ground and whipped because they would not mind their master; but most white folks were better to their slaves and treated them better than they are now."
p 23/ "After their work in the fields was finished on Saturday, they would have parties and have a good time. Some old negro man would play the banjo while the young darkies would dance and sing. The white folks would set around and watch; and would sometimes join in and dance and sing."

p 25/ "We would have beans, cooked in a big kettle in the back yard, cabbage and potatoes, with corn pone bread, baked in a big oven in the yard and plenty of good buttermilk to drink." He also talked of fishing and hunting for food. "The possums were skinned and cooked in a big kettle hung over the fire, then taken out and put in a big oven...."
REACTION OF SLAVES TO FREEDOM: REMAIN ON OLD PLACE

p 26/
"We were glad when the news came that we were free, but none of us left for a long time, not until the Woods family was broken up. My father hired me out to work for my victuals and clothes, and I got $25.00 at the end of the year."

p 24/ says about 20 slaves on farm of 3 or 400 acres, living in 3 or 4 cabins.

METHOD OF SELLING SLAVES RECALLED IN NARRATIVE

p 38/ Says born in Manchester, Ky.; owned by Dan White. "Master White was good to the slaves, he fed us well and had good places for us to sleep, and didn't whip us only when it was necessary, but didn't hesitate to sell any of his slaves, he said, 'You all belong to me and if you don't like it, I'll put you in my pocket' meaning of course that he would sell that slave and put the money in his pocket."

"The day he was to sell the children from their mother he would tell that mother to go to some other place to do some work and in her absence he would sell the children. It was the same when he would sell a man's wife, he also sent him to another job and when he returned his wife would be gone. The master only said 'don't worry you can get another one'.

no explanation for absence of double quotes at the beginning of the 2d paragraph.
RESPONSES OF SLAVE TO ANNOUNCEMENT OF FREEDOM

Says she worked as a housekeeper for Susan Lovell, for whom she was named when the war ended. "She told me I was free after the war was over. I got happy and sung but I didn't know for a long time what to be free was, so after the war she hired me and I stayed on doin' all the cookin' and washin' and all the work, and I was hired to her for four dollars a month."

MEMORIES OF HOSTILE MASTER

Says she was born at Hawesville, Ky, on the Ohio River. Her people were slaves of Nolar Barr. She says that Barr was a very mean man. That her mother worked in the big house and that she, her sister, and her father worked in the fields. "He had a big farm, and owned a lot of slaves, and when the old master got mad at his slaves for not working hard enough he would tie them up by their thumbs and whip the male slaves till they begged for mercy. He sure was a mean old man. I will never forget him as long as I live." Says she married and moved to Louisville shortly after the war ended.
NARRATIVE ACCOUNT OF BEING SOLD: MEAN MISTRESS

p 57/ Born near Gordonsville, Ky, Christian Co, a slave of Charles Cammack. "My mother and me war put on de block in front of d Courthouse in Hopkinsville and sold to Mr. Newt. Catlett and we brung $500.00. Marse Catlett lived on the corner of Seventh and Clay Streets, Hopkinsville, Kentucky. Wen I was older the white folks had me foh to nurse dar chilluns. I noes wen de war broke out marse had a store and den marsa took me to his wife's kinfolks down in de country till freedom war declared den my stepfather com an' got me. Of course I hed ter work and den I went ter nurse foh Dr. Farleigh and nussed his daughter Madge. De white folks wont good to me. My mrs. mistre was a good man but my missus wont no good woman. She ust'a box my ears, stick pins in / begin p 58/ me and tie me ter de cedar chest and whoop me as long as she wanter. Oh, how I did hate dat woman."

THE SAGA AND ESCAPE ATTEMPTS, TRIALS OF PETER BRUNER

p 88/ When 10 yrs age taken by master to Irvine; his master was cruel and he was given a poor diet (cornbread, fat meat, & water) by his master John Bruner. He apparently then became the slave of John Bruner, brother of his former owner.

"Peter endured torture as long as he could and finally decided to escape. He went to richmond, Kentucky /sic/ on to Lexington. On his way he made a contract with a man to drive his horses to Orleans, but was caught while in Lexington. On his way they caught him and took him to jail and he remained until his master came for him. This did not down him, for just as soon as he could he escaped again, and this time got as far as Xenia, Ohio, but was again caught and brought back. This time he was severely beaten for three hours. / begin p 89/ +

"When 17 years old, Peter was hired out to Jimmy Benton, who was more cruel than John Bruner, but was again brought back. It was then that he tried again to escape. This time he went through Madison Co. near Sugar Creek. This was about the year 1861, when the war had begun. Again he was caught and taken back, but this time by Joe Bruner. He escaped several times, but never could seem to get anywhere. Once when he and another slave, Phill, escaped they were caught and made to walk the entire distance barefoot. After this Peter, was chained each night to a chair. One morning while eating his breakfast he heard a knock at the door and on opening it he found a
Mary and her twin sister were slaves born in Washington County, Kentucky, near Lexington, belonging to Bob Eaglin. When Mary was about fourteen years old she and her sister was brought to the Lexington slave market and sold and Mr. Lewis Burns of the same County purchased her. Mary doesn't know what became of her sister. Five or six years later she was again put on the block and sold to a Negro Trader but Mary does not remember this trader's name. While here she was kept in a stockade and it was several years before she again was bought by a white man. Mr. Thomas McElroy near Lexington bought her and she remained his slave until the slaves were freed."

"Coal Mine Slaves: In 1836 large numbers of slaves were brought into Caldwell and worked by the owners of the ore mines, which necessitated extra patrols, interfered with local workmen, and so on. The taxpayers complained to the Legislature and an extra tax was allowed to be levied for the benefit of the county. In other books we find that the owners of the slaves who worked in these mines was President Andrew Jackson who brought his slaves from Nashville to the iron and load coal mines in Caldwell and Crittenden counties; he is said to have made several trips himself to these mines."

HISTORIANS AND THE SLAVE NARRATIVES (Blassingame)

Although examining practically all kinds of accounts written by white eyewitnesses, they have largely rejected those written by former slaves. Ulrich B. Phillips led the way in 1929 in his Life and Labor in the Old South when he declared that 'ex-slave narratives in general . . . were issued with so much abolitionist editing that as a class their authenticity is doubtful.' Most scholars have followed Phillips in refusing to read the accounts of former slaves. Only three of the sixteen state studies of plantation slavery published between 1902 and 1974 draw even moderately on slave testimony. Among the general studies of slavery, only Frederic Bancroft in Slave-Trading in the Old South (1931) and Eugene Genovese in Roll, Jordan, Roll (1974) use the testimony of former slaves extensively.

BIOG INFORMATION ON THE EDITOR OF HENSON'S BIOGRAPHY (1st ed)

Says many of the editors of slave narratives had little or no connection with the abolitionists. "This was especially true of Samuel A. Eliot, David Wilson, and Isaac Fisher. Eliot, the editor of Josiah Henson's first narrative, was a graduate of Harvard College and the Harvard Divinity school and served in the Massachusetts General Court, as mayor of Boston for three terms, as treasurer of Harvard from 1842 to 1853, and in Congress from 1850 to 1851. He was the first president of the Massachusetts Academy of Music and contributed articles to the North American Review and the Christian Examiner."
LETTER FROM ESCAPED SLAVE (APPELLANTLY) TO SLAVE FRIEND (1854)

written from Chatham, Canada West, March 8, 1854, to "Dear Mille"
Robert Brown was apparently a slave in the Orlando Brown family; Orlando
Brown was a lawyer and editor of the Frankfort (Ky.) Commonwealth from
1833 to 1844. /info on Orlando Brown from p 28n/ Millie apparently a slave.

"I again write to you having written two or three before and have had
no answer as yet I begin to feel very uneasy. I am now living in Chatham
Canada West and I am doing very well and enjoying excellent Health. I have
heard that you have been sold to a Man by the name of Harry Todd and have
gone to the Mountains I address this letter to Lander Brown In hopes
that you may recieve if he will be kind Enough to forward it to you with
as little delay as possible. I wished to be remembered Kindly to Mason
and Lander and hope they are well and are doing well I have seen
Frederick and Henry Hart they are both doing well and in good health.
Give my love to Emma Grey, Lucy Jane, Nancy and Horace /,/ Booker and
Harriet Campbell.+

"If Mr. Brown will sell my wife and child for $750 I will give it to
him willingly and want him to answer this letter as soon as possible and
let me /know/ if he will take that for her I will send it to him give
my love to all inquiring friends." "Yours Truly Robert Brown"

SLAVE NATHAN WISHES TO MARRY SLAVE OF ORLANDO BROWN IN LOUISVILLE

"Dear Sir /Orlando Brown/:+
"Nathan a slave belonging to Mrs. G. M. Bibb has asked me for a letter
of recommendation because he wishes to obtain your consent that he may
marry your servant Letitia.+

"It affords me pleasure to say that Nathan lived with me a long time
and that his conduct always entitled him to my respect and confidence. I
think him one of the most trustworthy and faithful servants that I ever saw.+

"P.S. Mrs. Bibb would be very sorry to see them married & separated. If
you expect to let your woman remain here on hire or to sell her to
someone here she would be glad that you would let your views on the
subject be understood. Please do write to me or to Mrs. Bibb on the
subject. G. Duncan."
SLAVE NATHAN WONDERS IF ORLANDO BROWN WILL SELL WIFE TO SOMEONE IN LOUISVILLE (1841)


"Nathan has come to me and begged me to write to you in his name. He says now that a new year is about to commence he is anxious to know what disposition is to be made of his wife. He says to avoid the necessity of changing about as hired servants have to do he would look out for a good master and prevail on some of his friends to buy his wife if you are willing to sell her. And he entreats me to ask you to let him know your views touching on that subject.+

"If a good master living here could be hunted up by Nathan and you would be willing to sell her to some resident of Louisville that she would feel safe with he wishes to know for what price you would sell her.+

"He says he knows you would not sell her except to consult her good & that he would be unwilling for her to change masters if you move here and that he would be unwilling to incur the hazard of a change unless it were pretty certain that she would get a good & permanent home by the change." ******

"He wishes to know who as your agent here will have the hiring of his wife that he may confer with him in relation to the house she is to get for the next year—or whether you expect to come down—He says that she does not wish or ever expect to find a better master than you have been and that his desire to know what you would take for her grows out of his apprehension that possibly the house she would get as a hired servant might not be as good as that she might get if allowed to look for a master."

LYDIA MARIA CHILD'S EVALUATION OF LEWIS CLARKE (1842)

J.W. Blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977. (Taken from an article in the National Anti-Slavery Standard, Oct 20, 27, 1842, as recorded by Lydia Maria Child.)

"Mrs. Child said that she heard from L Tappan that a fugitive would speak in Brooklyn. She went and was "... seldom ... more entertained by any speaker. His obvious want of education was one guaranty of the truth of his story; and the uncouth awkwardness of his language had a sort of charm, like the circuitous expression, and stammering utterance, of a foreign tongue, striving to speak our most familiar phrases. His mind was evidently full of ideas, which he was eager to express; but the medium was wanting. 'I've got it in here,' said he, laying his hand on his heart; 'but I don't know how to get it out.'"  /p 158/ Child refers to Clarke as "ignorant but naturally intelligent." /begin p 163/ "I have taken this imperfect sketch from memory, and may, perhaps, in /begin p 164/ some instances, have confounded facts together, which should have been kept separate. I believe, however, that it is very nearly as he uttered it.---L.M.C."
LYDIA MARIA CHILD COMMENTS ON LEWIS CLARKE'S IDEAS OF FREEDOM AND HIS FAMILY (1842)

j w blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (taken from an article in the National Anti-Slavery Standard, Oct 20, 27, 1842, as recorded by Lydia Maria Child.

p 151/
"The fugitive informed us that his father was a soldier in the revolution. Though he was quite a little boy when separated from his parents, he remembered hearing his father tell about fighting battles for freedom; and that he thought all the while that he was to have a share in the freedom, as well as the white folks. But in that, he found himself mistaken. 'He thought it was a hard case,' said he; 'and I, that come after him, had reason to think it was a hard case, too. My grandmother was her master's daughter; and my mother was her master's daughter; and I was my master's son; so you see I can't get but one-eighth of the blood. Now admitting it's right to make a slave of a full black nigger, I want to ask gentlemen acquainted with business, whether because I owe a shilling, I ought to be made to pay a dollar?'

"I was very much struck with the fact, that he seemed to think much less of the physical sufferings of the slave, than of his moral and intellectual degradation."

HENRY CLAY'S TROUBLES WITH OVERSEERS AND RUNAWAY SLAVES

c eaton, h clay and art of am politics, 1957

p 76/ "There were troubles with overseers, with runaway Negroes, with mortgages on the plantation, with numerous deaths in the family, and with the visitation of plagues. In the summer of 1833 cholera struck the Bluegrass for the first time. Nearly five hundred citizens of Lexington died, including many of Clay's friends; but fortunately the white and black family at Ashland escaped."

/p 120/
"Yet there was another side to this idyllic picture, the story of runaways and of the authority of the overseer. However well treated, many of the slaves wished to be free. Clay did not in the vigorous period of his life hesitate to try to capture runaways. On the other hand, in his old age, when his servant Levi left him at Buffalo, he was philosophical. 'I will take no trouble about him, as it is probable that in a reversal of our conditions, I would have done the same thing.' In another case "Black Lotty," or Charlotte, born on the eastern shore of Md of a slave mother who was liberated. Brought to Lexington, Clay bought Lotty from a tailor. /p 121/ Clay took her to Washington with him, and allowed her to visit her family in Md. In Feb. 1829 Lotty sued Clay for her freedom. Clay won in Sept 1830, and ordered her returned to Ky by force saying "'her conduct has created insubordination among her relatives here.'" Then in 1840 Clay emancipated Lotty. Both Clay and his daughter praised her highly.
HENRY CLAY'S MAJOR-DOMO: CHARLES, SLAVE AGE 30; DESCRIBED IN 1845
BY A TRAVELER

C. Eaton, Henry Clay & Art of Am Politics, 1947

p 64/
"Major-domo of the mansion was Charles, Clay's favorite slave and his valet whenever he went to Washington. Charles was the perfect servant, a kind of second master of household to Mr. Clay, and enjoys the greatest trust and confidence. To him can the keys of the wine-cellar be given without fear and on all occasions where help was needed, Mr. C. called for Charles. Charles brought us wine, Charles was at the door, at the carriage, at the gate, everywhere in fact, and as polite and civil as a man asking for office. He is a fine looking middle-sized negro, about thirty years old and I do not believe he could be drawn from Mr. Clay except by absolute animal force, so great is his devotion to him." 

/p 122/ Clay emancipated Charles in 1844, but Charles remained as a servant at Ashland.

HARSH ATTITUDE OF HENRY CLAY'S CHILDREN TOWARD SLAVES (1814)
FROM AMOS KENDALL'S DIARY

C. Eaton, Henry Clay and the Art of Am Politics, 1957

p 65/ Amos Kendall, a New Englander, and a recent Dartmouth College graduate, was hired by Mrs. Clay to tutor her children in 1814 while Henry Clay was in Europe negotiating the Treaty of Ghent. Kendall described the children as uninterested in Latin and "...constantly fighting with each other. When the tutor tried to discipline Thomas, the boy fought his schoolmaster like a tiger, cursing him and calling him 'a damned Yankee rascal.' In his journal the New Englander noted the evil effects of slavery on the rearing of Southern children: May 29: 'Yesterday, Mrs. Clay being absent, Thomas got into a mighty rage with some of the negroes, and threatened and exerted all his little power to kill them'; August 23: 'Hearing a great noise in the kitchen, I went in and found Theodore swearing in a great rage with a knife drawn in attitude to stab one of the big negroes.'"
Clay employed an overseer at Ashland, and like most Southern planters he frequently changed his overseers. "Letters from the Clay family indicate that the overseers treated the Negroes well and that some of the overseers treated the Negroes well. ... Others, however, were guilty of serious neglect of the plantation during the master's absences." A foreign visitor in 1819 commented on the poor condition of Clay's farm, and in 1833 Clay hired his son as overseer to replace one who had done little work and let the farm run down. The blacks, Clay concluded, were not working properly.

Clay's attitude toward slavery may be characterized as a practical acceptance of the institution and a theoretical opposition to it."
Mr. Howard said he was born a slave in the interior of Kentucky, and worked for his master until he was about eighteen years old, and then got permission to work for himself, paying his master for this time. He thus earned enough to buy himself. He had a girl on a plantation, and wanted to marry her, but could not until he had raised a thousand dollars, when he bought her, and made her his wife. She was ignorant, and he sent her to Oberlin, but she could not learn much. His daughter is now at Oberlin. The father of his wife was once a slave, and bought his wife’s three sisters. (This man’s house, was exceedingly pretty; it was well furnished, and had a piano.)” Apparently the last comment in parenthesis the opinion of the interviewer.
J W Blassingame, ed, Slave Testimony, 1977 (American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview with J. W. Lindsay, 1863, in Canada. Lindsay was a slave in Tennessee)

p 403/ "The most affecting sight I ever saw in my life, except that of those old people on Lookout Mountain, I saw in Louisville, Ky., one Sunday morning. I saw a new boat, and a great many colored people round, and I drew near to see what was the matter. Directly I saw the slaves coming down. Sometimes a young girl would come, looking like she might be 16 or 17, with a little bundle, & the tears streaming, or a young man, about the same age. And the people kept gathering, until there were two or three hundred there. Old gray-headed fathers & mothers had come there to bid their children a long and last farewell. One man ran up the wheel house, and put his head into a window, to see his wife, perhaps, and one of the keepers took him by the shoulders and flung them back & he came very near going into the water. I think that was the most horrible scene I ever saw in my life. Such sighing, such groaning, such lamentation! Well, they groaned with groanings that cannot be uttered."

Lindsay says the same thing in an 1855 interview; Drew, The Refugee, 53-54; Voice of Fugitive, May 6, 1852.

ACCOUNT OF BEING SOLD FROM TENN TO KY BY N.B. FORREST (?) 1198

J W Blassingame, ed, Slave Testimony (1977) (Interview by scholar, John T. Moore, 1923, in Arkansas. Horatio J. Eden, born 1853, Tenn, interviewed at age 70)

p 631/ Moore was impressed with Eden's intelligence and asked for the interview. "... my first recollection was being taken to a slave camp or Trading camp with my mother, a small active young black woman. From what I afterwards learned I was then about 4 or 5 yrs old my mother said. She told me afterwards that it was Forrests Trading Camp, who was afterwards the great Confederate Cavalry General." They were sold to a Dr. Hall who then sold them again. /begin p 632/

"My mother said they always tried to keep us together & sell us together; that some man wanted to buy her & another wanted me but the master held us together and we were sold finally to a Mr. -----Eden of Paducah, / Ky. He was a good man & treated us kindly. I have drawn with pencil a sketch of Gen Forrests Trading yard as I remember it & it was told me afterwards by my mother."

"Mr. Eden took us to Paducah by boat from Memphis & I remember I rolled out of the bunk that night. ... When we reached the farm house Mr. Edens boy saw me. He was 5 or 6 yrs older than I & he said: 'Papa thats a pretty little nigger, give him to me.' His father did /illegible/ and we were friends all our life /./""

"When the war came on & the Yankees took Paducah Gen Grant held the fort. I saw the attack. Gen. Forrest was in it, the guns firing and shells and Forrest's cavalry charges, but I do not think they took the fort. My
In 1837 Stephen Dickenson, Jr., was working on a vessel that went to New Orleans. While there he and other blacks aboard were tricked by the captain and sold into slavery. They were taken to Vicksburg by a slave trader. In Vicksburg he was sold to James Percival who had taken some Kentucky horses to market. "... he took me to Brandenburg, Kentucky, and left me with his son Richard, where I was employed as a house servant about three months; he then removed with his family to Hardin County--there I was employed on a farm. I now began to think I should never see my native city or my friends again, and my distress was intolerable, though my master treated me with some degree of kindness. I had enough to eat of that that was pretty good--Indian bread and salt meat. I had before worked on a farm on Long Island, and was some used to farming business and my master seemed satisfied with my performances. The thought of home often rushed upon my mind, when I was as

the field, and when I laid down to sleep. I lodged in a still house on a tolerably comfortable bed. I lived with this man, Richard Percival, about two years. There was a person in the neighborhood by the name of Thomas Vantreese, who lived about two miles from my master; he was a kind, pleasant, but poor man; he owned no slaves, but worked himself. He had a small farm of rich land and kept it in very nice order. On it was an orchard of good fruit of various kinds; and I used to go there with the other boys belonging to my master, of whom there were seven beside myself, to get fruit, there being none on my master's farm. Finding Vantreese kindly disposed towards me, I ventured to give him a history of my case. He told me that he thought from my appearance that I had not been brought up a slave. The same week that I opened my case to him, he applied to Lawyer Cradock and showed him my narrative, which he had taken down as I related it to him; and Lawyer Cradock wrote to New York, and in due time received an answer confirming all I had said. My statement being corroborated by the letter from New York, Lawyer Cradock, at the instance of Mr. Vantreese, commenced proceedings at law to obtain my release from slavery; and the sheriff called upon my master and made known his business. Fearing he might lose the sum of
We stayed about a week in this place, sold our horses and spent some time in hunting up Rudisill, the auctioneer, who is an Elder in the Presbyterian Church. At length my master found him and informed him that I said I was free. Rudisill referred him to Bolls, in New Orleans, and we went on board a steamboat and proceeded immediately to that city. Here we put up at the Planter's Hotel, Canal street. Although some hope now seemed to dawn upon my mind that I might once more see my home and friends, yet on my way here, and after I got here, I suffered extremely with the fear that I might again fall into the hands of Bolls, under whom I, with my companions, had already suffered so much. Upon arriving at New Orleans I made my case known to the landlord, and he acquainted an attorney by the name of Mr. Elwyn, who boarded in the house with him. This gentleman had formerly lived in New York; he undertook my case; and enquired of me the particulars of it—asked me who I knew in New-York, and many other questions; he became satisfied that my statement was true and commenced proceedings to secure my liberty, and I had been at New Orleans but two or three days before the sheriff took charge of me, and placed me in jail for safekeeping. Here I was kept about two days, when Percival found Bolls, and they entered into a compromise. Bolls returned $600 to Percival, and I was set at liberty. Lawyer Elwyn gave me free papers. Percival proposed that I should go home by way of...
FREE NEW YORK BLACK, ENSLAVED IN NEW ORLEANS: LATER SOLD TO A KENTUCKIAN, TRIALS OF SLAVE

J.W. Blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (taken from the National Anti-Slavery Standard, Oct. 8, 1840; acct of Stephen Dickenson, Jr., written 1840)

If the balance I expect was received by Percival, I then entered on board the steamboat Camanche, and traded to Manchester, on the Azoo River: here I was to have $25 a month. I continued on board of her two months, when she was seized for debt, and I got but $25 out of the 50 that was due to me. I then hired on board the steamer Columbia, that traded to Galveston, in Texas. I went in her but one trip, for which I received $16. After leaving the Columbia, I shipped on board the steamer Natchez and came to New-York, where I arrived in about nine days, and immediately proceeded to my father's house. I had been absent about two years and ten months. I cannot express the joy I felt on getting home. My father had been overwhelmed with grief, and had almost given me up as lost forever, and upon meeting our rejoicing was mutual. Robert Garrison yet remains in slavery, but who he was sold to, or where he was taken, I never learned, and I never saw him after leaving Vicksburgh the last time.

[National Anti-Slavery Standard, October 8, 1840.]

CULPABILITIES OF LEXINGTON FREEDMEN'S BANK CASHIER, HAMILTON

C. R. Osthaus, freedmen, philanthropy, and fraud, hist freed saving bank, 1976

Clearly, many cashiers were poor businessmen and several made bad loans, but the evidence does not justify a blanket indictment that all, or even most, were thieves and scoundrels. The case of Cashier J. G. Hamilton at Lexington illustrates the problem of criminal culpability. Hamilton worked hard to realize the humanitarian principles which sent him to the post-Civil War South as a missionary. Unfortunately, he was not a banker. A bank examiner discovered a shortage of $1,305.84, but, having confidence in Hamilton's integrity, he concluded that the clumsy method of bookkeeping, which permitted errors in recording certain sums, had caused the discrepancy.155

Hamilton was accused of theft in the congressional investigation in 1876. His accusers charged that he had so skillfully manipulated the ledger books as almost to defy detection. Supposedly the depositors' passbooks exposed his clever maneuvers and revealed that he recorded only part of some people's deposits and pocketed the remainder. It should be added that Hamilton always denied the charges. (Investigators noted that Hamilton had moved on from the Freedman's Bank to become an Indian agent.156)

155. Freedman's Bank, House, 1876, pp. 11-12. In 1876 Mrs. Hamilton informed the commissioners that the shortages were not her husband's fault, and that although he could not afford to make good the loss, he eventually would pay the amount owed. Hamilton thought he could pay his debt by extra work which would not
LEWIS HAYDEN'S ACCOUNT OF FAMILY (SLAVE FAIRBANK AND WEBSTER HELPED ESCAPE FROM LEXINGTON, 1844)

Written, 1853 b. Kentucky
Enslaved: Kentucky

I belonged to the Rev. Adam Runkin, a Presbyterian minister in Lexington, Kentucky.

My mother was of mixed blood,—white and Indian. She married my father when he was working in a bagging factory near by. After a while my father's owner moved off and took my father with him, which broke up the marriage. She was a very handsome woman. My master kept a large dairy, and she was the milk-woman. Lexington was a small town in those days, and the dairy was in the town. Back of the college was the Masonic lodge. A man who belonged to the lodge saw my mother when she was about her work. He made proposals of a base nature to her. When she would have nothing to say to him, he laid her that she need not be so independent, for if money could buy her he would have her. My mother told old mistress, and begged that master might not sell her. But he did sell her. My mother had a high spirit, being part Indian. She would not consent to live with this man, as he wished; and he sent her to prison, and had her flogged, and punished in various ways, so that at last she began to have crazy turns. When I read in "Uncle Tom's Cabin" about Cassy, it put me in mind of my mother, and I wanted to tell Mrs. S about her. She tried to kill herself several times, once with a knife and once by hanging. She had long, straight black hair, but after this it all turned white, like an old person's. When she had her raving turns she always talked about her children. The jailer told the owner that if he would let her go to her children, perhaps she would get quiet.

They let her out one time, and she came to the place where we were. I might have been seven or eight years old,—don't know my age exactly. I was not at home when she came. I came in and found her in one of the cabins near the kitchen. She sprung and caught my arms, and seemed going to break them, and then said, "I'll fix you so they'll never get you!" I screamed, for I thought she was going to kill me; they came in and took me away. They tied her, and carried her off. Sometimes, when she was in her right mind, she used to tell me what things they had done to her. At last her owner sold her, for a small sum, to a man named Lackey. While with him she had another husband and several children. After a while this husband either died or was sold. I do not remember which. The man then sold her to another person, named Bryant. My own father's owner now came and lived in the neighborhood of this man, and brought my father.
I never saw anything in Kentucky which made me suppose that ministers or professors of religion considered it any more wrong to separate the families of slaves by sale than to separate any domestic animals. There may be ministers and professors of religion who think it is wrong, but I never met with them. My master was a minister, and yet he sold my mother, as I have related.

When he was going to leave Kentucky for Pennsylvania, he sold all my brothers and sisters at auction. I stood by and saw them sold. When I was just going up to the block, he swapped me off for a pair of carriage-horses. I looked at those horses with strange feelings. I had indulged hopes that master would take me into Pennsylvania with him, and I should get free. How I looked at those horses, and walked round them, and thought for them I was sold!

It was commonly reported that my master had said in the pulpit that there was no more harm in separating a family of slaves than a litter of pigs. I did not hear him say it, and so cannot say whether this is true or not.

It may seem strange, but it is a fact,—I had more sympathy and kind advice, in my efforts to get my freedom, from gamblers and such sort of men, than Christians. Some of the gamblers were very kind to me.

I never knew a slave-trader that did not seem to think, in his heart, that
The activities of H. C. Percy and John G. Hamilton, Bank cashiers and superintendents of schools, illuminate the close connection between the AMA and the Bank in two branch cities, Norfolk and Lexington.

The Bank's Lexington cashier, John G. Hamilton, was a young Oberlin graduate who had journeyed South at the end of the war as an AMA missionary teacher. Ostracized by the white community, he worked diligently among Negroes and was largely responsible for the Northern contributions which financed the new schoolhouse in Lexington.102 For Hamilton the work of the Bank was at first largely secondary, for, as he put it, the schools had become "the apple of my eye."103 He attended Bank matters after school hours, employing an assistant to manage the daily business. "Occasionally I am called to the Bank to meet emergencies and I do not want the school interests to suffer."104 Hamilton soon had to readjust his priorities, for the Bank needed more attention. Once the school was organized, he devoted himself to the Bank and paid the school only occasional or emergency visits. He found this arrangement rather unsatisfactory and began to think that dividing his attention between the two "must work injury to one if not both." But the chairman of the Lexington advisory board held the opposite view; he believed that the work of the schools and the Bank was a unit, and he advised Hamilton not to sever his connection with the schools for that would be harmful to the Bank.105 Hamilton eventually concluded that he "ought to hold carefully every position of usefulness and influence and cause them to benefit each other," and so he shouldered the double burden until 1874.106 The Bank's identification with the AMA was extremely important to its fortunes, though it grossly overworked men like Percy and Hamilton.
The decision to open a branch at Lexington, Kentucky, illuminates the officers' criteria for selecting branch cities and suggests why some were bypassed. A report by Alvord indicated that Lexington offered many advantages as a branch city. Negroes and several wealthy whites had shown great interest, and the 12,000 Negroes of the city generally were prosperous—according to Alvord, the most prosperous of any freedmen in the South. They were the city's cartmen, carriage drivers, and mechanics. Many owned their homes, he reported, and as a group paid taxes on real estate valued at $250,000. This industrious Negro community, he implied, would be supported by the local Republican newspapers and Republican organization, and together they could establish a branch. But expenses had to be limited. "Could you," Alvord wrote the future cashier, "have [a] meeting of friends of the Bank, and, on looking over the whole subject, resolve that a freedmen's Bank at Lexington could start, and sustain its own expenses for the first year or two?"

Horace Morris, listed among Louisville's "leading colored men" according to the Courier-Journal, was one of the Bank's most successful cashiers. Educated and raised in Ohio, Morris gained recognition as a prominent Mason and member of the Underground Railroad. Before his employment as cashier, he had been a steward on the Ohio River, and after the war he became the secretary of the Louisville advisory board on colored schools. When the Bank closed, Morris moved to Washington, where he held minor governmental positions in the Treasury Department and the Marine Hospital. Few doubted Morris's ability. Alvord considered him an accomplished accountant, "his books and entire premises in perfect order." The bank examiner, too, was pleased with the Louisville cashier: "He is intelligent, a good penman, and correct accountant." That Morris excelled not only in bookkeeping and financial matters but also in popularity is shown by the increase in depositors. In 1868, when he assumed the cashiership, there were 799 depositors; by June, 1874, the Louisville branch could count almost 3,000.
Thus among all of the identifiable cashieres one finds qualities and achievements that set them apart as influential and successful men within their communities. Certainly all had achieved middle-class status.

While many branches did not have a Negro cashier, they all had Negroes on the advisory boards. Ranging in size from five to thirty-six members, the boards were largely composed of black men who were leaders or potential leaders in their communities. At first glance, these boards appear mainly as window dressing, being simply, as their name implies, advisory. One bank examiner exclaimed that the board at Wilmington, North Carolina, had nothing to do, since that branch made no loans and forwarded all sums directly to Washington. The Agency Committee at Washington controlled (at least theoretically) all of the actions of the advisory boards. It reviewed and then elected those nominated to the local boards and, in some cases, requested that certain individuals—a Union general, for one example—be placed on the board. In 1867 the Agency Committee declared that no action by an advisory board was final until approved by the trustees. Thus the Augusta advisory board even had to request permission to change the time of its monthly meetings.

Nevertheless, the advisory boards performed a vital function: they supplied the link between the powers at the central office and their representative, the cashier, and the local community. The boards stimulated grass-roots support. In June, 1865, the Agency Committee officially declared that the advisory boards were "to act upon the Colored population instructing them, awakening interest, encouraging deposits, etc."

Whether or not deposits grew often depended upon the work of the advisory board as well as the cashier, especially if the latter was a white man from outside the local community.
The process by which money was lent to the Independent Baptist Church of Lexington, Kentucky, suggests that Negro applicants were scrutinized closely. In Washington in 1870 and 1871 the Bank made loans to many whites on little or no security, but when this particular church wished to borrow $4,600, putting up as collateral the entire church property (valued at $20,000) and the property of various church members, the loan was not readily granted. Cashier Hamilton forcefully presented the church's case: "The investment is a perfectly safe one and in making it we will relieve the church of great embarrassment [sic] and do ourselves great good. . . . On every hand we are commended for our interest in them and they look to us to help. I would not advise this loan if there was the slightest risk attending it or if it did not promise us greater confidence from the people and assure us increased deposits." 137

Despite the difficulties, more blacks came to Nicodemus, and in the next decades the little community prospered as well as did similarly situated white settlements in that part of Kansas. The white population of Graham County, as well as the black population, however, showed discrimination when it came to admitting newcomers. The Graham County Leven, of Gettysburg, Kansas, indicated this when, in the spring of 1880, it described the arrival of about a hundred blacks from Kentucky. "They paid their way and seemed well supplied with clothing, and were altogether a respectable looking body of people," the editor reported proudly. "The colored people who have come and who will come from Kentucky to Kansas are not fugitives from oppression but bonafide emigrants, who are in little or no danger of becoming a burden to the State." 28

Nearly a century later, some of the few remaining residents of Nicodemus would repeat these sentiments; namely, that there was a vast difference in their minds between the Kentucky Negroes and the more "worthless" ones who came out of Mississippi or Louisiana. Nicodemus had at least one thing in common with other western communities: it did not want indigents—of any color.
A few of the arriving blacks who stayed achieved a degree of success that surpassed that of many of their white counterparts. Perhaps one of the most notable examples was Junius G. Groves, of Edwardsville, Kansas. Born a slave in Kentucky, in 1859, he came out to Kansas in 1879 with a large group of black immigrants. Starting off with less than a dollar in his pocket and then working on a farm at forty cents a day, he progressed to sharecropping and finally to the position of landowner. By 1900 he possessed one of the largest potato farms in the Kaw Valley, had land upon which one thousand fruit trees grew, and owned town property that, a few years later, was valued at eighteen thousand dollars. In 1903 Groves produced 72,150 bushels of potatoes, enough that Booker T. Washington dubbed him "the Potato King."
Nicodemus with the Reverend M. M. Bell of the Nicodemus Colony, under the aegis of W. R. Hill. Hill also conducted the third contingent, 150 people from Scott County, Kentucky, which arrived in March 1878. The fourth group, from Missouri, numbered only about 50. The last early arrivals came from Kentucky under Roundtree's guidance. In addition, small family groups joined the colony from time to time. A native of Holly Springs, Mississippi, Samuel Garland had lived in Kansas since the early 1870s and had married there. Garland joined Nicodemus in 1878 along with three other families from Wyandotte who were associated with his wife's father and originally from Kentucky. In 1880 the total colored population of Nicodemus was about 700. Before Nicodemus fell upon hard times, the settlers cooperated well with one another and with Hill. But difficulty ensued the settlement into its two largest original components, the colony and the town company.

Problems began when the largest group of settlers arrived too late in the season to start crops. They were also short of teams, and the settlement fared very poorly during the winter of 1877-78. Men worked for the farmers scattered across the area, as Niles and Roundtree solicited aid throughout Kansas and Colorado. In attempting to relieve the Nicodemus colonists they exposed Kansas to needy Black migrants for the first time. While Niles collected aid from Kansans in the longer-settled eastern portions of the state, Roundtree tried to work through the governor.

Niles met reasonable success in Kansas and Colorado, and he was credited in mid-1878 by one Black settler in Nicodemus with "keeping the wolf from the door." But by March 1878, Roundtree (Nicodemus Town Company) denounced Niles (Nicodemus Colony) as "an imposter" who was "gathering aid and not making an honest return of it to the sufferers." Roundtree had conceived a more sweeping plan for saving Nicodemus.

Roundtree proposed going to Congress with the governor's endorsement to solicit aid for Blacks in Kansas, until Governor George T. Anthony nipped the proposition in the bud. Recalling with shame Kansas's nationwide appeal for aid in 1874 when grasshoppers invaded the state, Anthony wrote, "We cannot afford to send beggars out of Kansas at this time, when ten thousand are seeking homes here expecting [it] to be the granary of the West." To forestall Roundtree's Washington appeal, Governor Anthony sent his private secretary to survey conditions at Nicodemus. Fortunately, the situation rapidly improved later in March, when nearby Methodist ministers organized the loan of several teams. In addition, a new group of settlers arrived from Scott County. Ken-
arrivals: "The Nicodemus Colony from Scott Co. Ky all leave here [Ellis, Kansas, about 30 miles south of Nicodemus] this morning for Nicodemus and Graham Co all in good spirits with teams stock farming implements provisions & so and do not look like a begardy set as has been represented." New settlers and a fresh growing season saved the Nicodemus colonists from the worst of their wants. By the next harvest they were on their feet again.

Singleton's colonizing activities inspired the founders of Nicodemus, and Nicodemus, in turn, stimulated the formation of another Black colony by Kentuckians in Hodgeman County, on the prairie, not far from what is now Jetmore, Kansas. Organized by Blacks in Harrodsburg and Lexington in 1877, the Hodgeman colony sent delegates to investigate Kansas and Nicodemus. Their report recommended settlement somewhat to the south of Nicodemus. The colony arrived at Kinsley, Kansas, in March 1878, and they initially attempted to found a city, which they called "Morton City," after Oliver P. Morton. But the double task of opening homesteads and building a town overburdened the hundred or so settlers, and they abandoned the town. Fifty more settlers joined the colony later, and in 1879 about fifty homesteads had been taken, as well as a few timber claims. During the first season of settlement, only the settlers equipped with teams succeeded in making crops; the others had to get by with gardens and hiring themselves out by the day or month to established farmers. The Moore brothers, Thomas and Benjamin, were carpenters and had businesses in Kinsley, about thirty miles southeast of the colony. Another Kentuckian, Robert Johnson, owned a livery stable. In 1879 all three of them were doing well. In addition to the Morton City colony in Hodgeman County, there was another called the David City colony. In addition to a short-lived colony in Marion County, Black colonies grew up in Barton and Rice counties. (Ibid., May 8, 1879; St. Louis Globe-Democrat, April 21, 1879; Nell B. Waldron, "Colonization in Kansas, 1861-1890," unpublished typescript, KSHS, n.d., pp. 125-26; Frank Doster, Senate Report 693, III: 106; Singleton Scrapbook, unpaginated circular.)


A. T. Hall, Jr., Fort Scott Colored Citizen, May 10, 1878.

William P. Tomlinson to Governor George T. Anthony, Ellis, Kansas, March 14, 1878, CRSF, Anthony, box 1, KSHS; Governor Anthony to John H. Edwards, Topeka, Kansas, March 13, 1878, Letters, II (1878): 9-11, KSHS.

Governor Anthony to John H. Edwards, Topeka, Kansas, March 13, 1878, ibid.
Because there is such a high proportion of exceptional slaves among the black autobiographers, many scholars insist that more of the average slaves should be heard and point to the 2,194 interviews with former slaves compiled by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) between 1936 and 1938 as the chief source for such testimony. Even before Greenwood Press published the entire collection in 1972, Benjamin Botkin and Norman Yetman had made a convincing case for using the interviews. George Rawick and Eugene Genovese have added their own enthusiastic endorsement of Botkin's and Yetman's views. According to these scholars, the WPA interviews are much more representative of the total slave population and less biased and less distorted than the published narratives of former slaves. Since there are so few systematic analyses of the interviews, it is difficult to assess the validity of their claims. One obvious shortcoming of any study based on WPA data, however, is that few American historians have been trained to use interviews. Because of his traditional fascination with the written word, the American historian, when confronted with the oral lore represented by the WPA interviews, has no methodological tools applicable to them.

Social scientists have pinpointed several problems in interpreting oral lore which are especially evident in the WPA interviews. The first and most important question one must raise about these sources is whether the interview situation was conducive to the accurate communication and recording of what the informants remembered of slavery. In this regard, it should be noted that black interviewers were virtually excluded from the WPA staffs in all the southern states except Virginia, Louisiana, and Florida. Discrimination in employment led to a distortion of information, since during the 1930s caste etiquette generally impeded honest communication between southern blacks and whites.
Since many of the WPA informants still resided in the same areas as their master's descendants and were dependent on whites to help them obtain their old-age pensions, they were naturally guarded (and often misleading) in their responses to certain questions. Frequently the white interviewers were closely identified with the ancien régime; on occasion they were the grandsons of the blacks' former masters. The impact of this on the informants is indicated by the declaration of a former slave, Martin Jackson, of Texas: "Lots of old slaves closes the door before they tell the truth about their days of slavery. When the door is open, they tell how kind their masters was and how rosy it all was. You can't blame them for this, because they had plenty of early discipline, making them cautious about saying anything uncomplimentary about their masters. I, myself, was in a little different position than most slaves and, as a consequence, have no grudges or resentment. However, I can tell you the life of the average slave was not rosy. They were dealt out plenty of cruel suffering."

LETTER, HENRY BIBB TO FORMER OWNER; HARSH TREATMENT DROVE HIM TO FLEE

Detroit, March 23d, 1844

William Gatewood

Dear Sir,—I am happy to inform you that you are not mistaken in the man whom you sold as property, and received pay for as such. But I thank God that I am not property now, but am regarded as a man like yourself, and although I live far north, I am enjoying a comfortable living by my own industry. If you should ever chance to be traveling this way, and will call on me, I will use you better than you did me while you held me as a slave. Think not that I have any malice against you, for the cruel treatment which you inflicted on me while I was in your power. As it was the custom of your country, to treat your fellow men as you did me and my little family, I can freely forgive you.

I wish to be remembered in love to my aged mother, and friends; please tell her that if we should never meet again in this life, my prayer shall be to God that we may meet in Heaven, where parting shall be no more.

Love to Mother, Friends, etc.

Detroit, March 23d, 1844

Letter signed

[Signature]

[Address]

[Postmark]
living in Canada West. They are now the owners of better farms than the men who once owned them.

You may perhaps think hard of us for running away from slavery, but as to myself, I have but one apology to make for it, which is this: I have only to regret that I did not start at an earlier period. I might have been free long before I was. But you had it in your power to have kept me there much longer than you did. I think it is very probable that I should have been a toiling slave on your plantation today, if you had treated me differently.

To be compelled to stand by and see you whip and slash my wife without mercy, when I could afford her no protection, not even by offering myself to suffer the lash in her place, was more than I felt it to be the duty of a slave husband to endure, while the way was open to Canada. My infant child was also frequently flogged by Mrs. Gatewood, for crying, until its skin was bruised literally purple. This kind of treatment was what drove me from home and family, to seek a better home for them. But I am willing to forget the past. I should be pleased to hear from you again, on the reception of this, and should also be very happy to correspond with you often, if it should be agreeable to yourself. I subscribe myself a friend to the oppressed, and Liberty forever.  

HENRY BIBB

43 Henry Bibb, Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an American Slave (New York, 1849). 175-78. Voice of the Fugitive, September 22, October 7, November 4, December 2, 1852. Henry Bibb (1815-1854) was born in Shelby County, Kentucky, his father was white. An incorrigible runaway, he had six different owners. After his escape in 1830, he went to school for a few weeks in Detroit and then became a campaigner for the Liberty party in 1844 and 1845. After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850, he moved to Canada, organized the Refugees' Home Society, and began publishing a newspaper, Voice of the Fugitive. Bibb was elected one of the vice-presidents of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada at its initial meeting in 1854. The refugee society had purchased more than two thousand acres of land by 1854. See note 43 of the Introduction, herein.
LETTER, HENRY BIBB TO FORMER OWNER, ALBERT G. SIBLEY; DENOUNCES HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (1852)

Mr. Albert G. Sibley
SIR,

It has now been about sixteen years since we saw each other face to face, and at which time you doubtless considered me inferior to yourself, as you then held me as an article of property, and sold me as such; but my mind soon after became insubordinate to the ungodly relation of master and slave; and the work of self-emancipation commenced and I was made free.

I have long felt inclined to open a correspondence with you upon this subject, but have refrained from doing so, until now, for two reasons; first, I knew not your post office address; and secondly, you then held in bondage several of my mother's children, of which you robbed her when you left the State of Kentucky in 1836. But as those obstacles are now both removed out of the way, I can venture to address you.

For more than twenty years you have been a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church—a class leader and an exhorter of that denomination, professing to take the Bible, as your standard of christian duty. But sir, know ye not that in the light of this book, you have been acting the hypocrite all this while! I feel called upon as a christian to call your attention to a few facts with a regard to it. But before doing so, I am happy to inform you that my brothers, John, Lewis, and Granville, whose legs brought them from your plantation, are now all at my house in Canada, with our dear mother, free and doing well on British soil: so you need not give yourself any trouble about advertising or looking for them. They have all served you as slaves for 21 to 30 years without compensation, and have now commenced to act for themselves. Is this incompatible with the character of a Bible christian? And yet I suppose that you, with your man robbing possee, have chased them with your dogs and guns, as if they were sheep-killing wolves upon the huge mountain's brow, for the purpose of re-capturing and dragging them back to a mental graveyard, in the name of law and slaveholding religion. Oh! what harmony there seems to be between these two twin sisters; the Fugitive Slave Law and the Methodist E. Church.—Listen to the language of inspiration: "Feed the hungry, and clothe the naked: "Break every yoke and let the oppressed go free:"

All things, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them, for this is the law and the prophets."

While on the other hand your church sanctions the buying and selling of men, women, and children: the robbing men of their wives, and parents of their off-spring—the violation of the whole of the decalogue, by permitting the profaning of the Sabbath, committing of theft, murder...
LETTER, HENRY BIBB TO FORMER OWNER, ALBERT G. SIBLEY; DENOUNCES HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (1852)

j w blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (from Narrative & Voice of Fugitive)

holding slaves and form the very essence of slavery. Now, Sir, allow me with the greatest deference to your intelligence to inform you that you are miserably deceiving yourself, if you believe that you are in the straight and narrow path to heaven, whilst you are practising such abominable violations of the plainest precepts of religion.

The fellowship of no number of professing christians, however extended nor the solemn baptism and silent toleration of all the Reverend time serving ministers in creation, can make you really a christian, or dispense with the binding force of the Gospel of Jesus Christ as the rule of your life and practice; and whilst you continue in such an unhallowed course of conduct, your prayers, your solemn fasts and ordinances are an abomination to the Lord, from which he will turn his face away, in disgust, and will not hear or look upon.

I must here conclude for the present, but as this subject is fraught with such vital importance to your eternal interest, and as I have once main-

ained an intimate relation to you, I shall feel bound as a christian to interest myself in calling your attention to it again.

Yours with becoming respect,
HENRY BIBB,

MR. ALBERT G. SIBLEY:
Sir,

At the close of my last I promised to call your attention to this subject again—and in doing so my object is not merely to convince you that I have acquired the art of communicating my thoughts intelligibly on paper to be read by tyrants, notwithstanding they with yourself have done their best to keep me in perpetual bondage and ignorance—but it is to warn you of the great danger to which you are exposed while standing in the attitude of an incorrigible slave-holder. I mean that you shall know that there is a just God in heaven, who cannot harmonize human slavery with the Christian religion: I mean that you shall know that there is a law which is more binding upon the consciences of slaves than that of Congress, or any other human enactment—and I mean that you shall know that all of your slaves have escaped to Canada, where they are just as free as yourself, and that we have not forgotten the cruel treatment which we received at your hands while in a state of slavery. I have often heard you say that a slave who was well fed, and clothed, was far better off than a "free Negro," who had no master to provide for and take care of him.

Now with all candour in answer to this proslavery logic, let me ask who
LETTER, HENRY BIBB TO FORMER OWNER; PRAISES FREEDOM; DENOUNCES OWNER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH METHODIST CHURCH (1852)

j w blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (from Narrative & Voice of Fugitive)

\[p. 52\]

...grain, and prepares it for the table? Who is it that digs from the cotton, sugar, and rice fields the means with which to build southern Cities, Steam boats, School houses and churches? I answer that it is the slaves, that perform this labor, and yet they or their children are not permitted to enjoy any of the benefits of these Institutions: your former slaves who are now British subjects, are about trying the dangerous experiment of taking care of themselves—which has so far proved to be a very successful one. Their services are worth to them here upon an average one dollar per day—they are also attending a night School for the purpose of learning to read and write. With the above facts before me, I am led to the conclusion...

\[p. 53\]

...that the slave who can take care of himself and master both can certainly take care of himself alone, if he is only given a fair chance. Oh! tell me not then Sir, that a man is happier and better off in a state of chattel bondage than in a state of freedom. The idea of a man being a slave—of being subjected to the will and power of a master, is revolting to his very nature. Freedom to act for oneself though poorly clad, and fed with a dry crust, is glorious when compared with American slavery, even if it should appear dressed in broad cloth, and fed with all of the luxuries which the human appetite could desire. This right is highly appreciated by the wild beasts of the forest and the fowls of the air. The terrific screech of the...

LETTER, HENRY BIBB TO FORMER OWNER; PRAISES FREEDOM; DENOUNCES OWNER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH METHODIST CHURCH (1852)

j w blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (from Narrative & Voice of Fugitive)

\[p. 53\]

... hooting night owl is animating to himself and musical to his kind as he goes through the tall forest, from the hill top, to the valley. Not so, with the miserable little screech owl, while he is tied by the leg, or boxed up in a cage though well fed he is made the sport of children. The startling scream of the wild panther, or the roar of the lion—it is majestic and independent in their native desert. Not so when they are chained in a cage to be fed by a "kind master," on Johnny cake, roast beef, or no beef, just as he chooses. But my illustrations are inadequate to describe the injustice, and my abhorrence of slave holding.

Again I call your attention to the moral bearing of the subject as it applies to yourself. You profess to be a christian—a leader in the M.E. Church, and the representative of the Lord Jesus Christ, and yet you sold my mother from her little children, and sent them away to a distant land—you sold my brother George from his wife and dear little ones while he was a worthy member, and Clergyman, of the same church, to which you belong. In early life you also compelled me to cheat, lie, and steal from your neighbours. You have often made me drive up sheep and hogs which you knew to be the property of your neighbour [illegible line] and the use of your own table...
The language of Holy writ is that "thou shalt not steal" "let every man have his own wife, and every woman her own husband" and parents are strictly required to train up their children in the fear and admonition of the Lord. Every one of these Holy injunctions you have wickedly and willingly broken. Oh! what hypocrisy is this! A Methodist class leader, separating husbands and wives—a Methodist class leader, stealing and slaughtering his neighbours sheep and hogs. Vain is your religion—base is your hypocrisy. We have no confidence in your sheep stealing and man robbing religion. My brothers Granville, John, and Lewis, all unite in corroborating the above facts: and if you dare to deny a single word of it let us hear from you and we will furnish undoubted proof.

Yours with due respect,

H. BIBB

P.S. If you do not answer this soon you may expect to hear from me again.

Mr. Albert G. Sibley:

Sir,

You will perceive that I have not yet done with you: as I promised in my last that if you did not answer soon to the charges brought against you through my letters, that you might expect to hear soon from me again: and as the truth is all against you, silence seems to be your only defence; nevertheless I shall continue my letters for your spiritual good, and the spread of antislavery truth, unless I shall hear from you by letter. As you are a Methodist class leader, and you will doubtless understand my meaning, when I inquire after the state of your mind. Have you repented of selling my brother George, from his wife and children, after having set under his preaching over and again and communing with and acknowledging him as a Christian brother, in the same church with yourself? A man professing Godliness as you do, who has wilfully separated husband and wife, children and parents, and sold a minister of the Gospel into perpetual bondage, is an open violator of the divine law, and must without repentance, be banished from the presence of his God.

Again I ask how you feel under this charge. Allow me now to call your attention, to your treatment of my poor mother, soon after the death of...
J W Blessingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (from Narrative & Voice of Fugit)

BIBB DENOUNCES, SHAMES, CONDEMNS FORMER OWNER FOR TREATMENT OF HIS MOTHER (letter 1852)

you had sold her to him for the sum of $300, $165 of which he had paid you and taken your receipts for the same, previous to his death. But alas—he got seriously injured by an explosion on board of a steamboat, which hurried him into a premature grave. Mother had given birth to her youngest child after the better half of the purchase money was paid for her ransom, which entitled the child to its liberty as well as the mother: and a gentleman by the name of Robert English, kindly offered to pay you the balance of mother and her child’s ransom price, which was $135 and to allow her a chance to earn the money and pay him back: but you refused to accept the money, and told mother that if she would work on for you as she had done for two years longer that you would set them at liberty. But after she had labored for you faithfully for about three years from that date, you then sold her and her youngest child to George Ray, of Bedford, Ky. who kept her toiling over a burning cooking stove, as chief cook in a public hotel for nearly 6 years before she was released; at the expiration of which time her constitution was completely broken, so that it was a gain to emancipate her and not a loss to the owner. Her youngest child which was entitled to its freedom was then sold away to a “soul driver,” and we know not where he is. And now remember—that for all of these things “God will bring you into judgement.” You have not only lived up on the unrequited toil of your fellow men, from your cradle up to the present time: but you have wilfully destroyed their social happiness, by forcibly making orphans and widows of those for whom Christ suffered and died on the cross—by withholding from them the word of Eternal Life, by enforcing adultery and concubinage among the enslaved and by inflicting stripes, chains, imprisonment and unutterable suffering upon the children of God.

Again I ask how you feel, brother, with all of this guilt resting upon your head as an acceptable class leader in the M. E. Church south! Be not deceived by the long practice of your church; you have an awful account to render to the great Judge of the Universe, slave holding religion is of the devil, and your only chance for salvation lies in repentance before God and “faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.”

Now if you have any thing to say in reply I should be glad to hear from you, if not I shall continue to preach in this way against your slave holding religion, and to hold up the doctrine of repentance. Yours for God and humanity.

H. BIBB
Mr. Albert G. Sibley:

SIR,

As I have now waited patiently for your answer to my letters of interrogation respecting your slave holding, Christian selling, and sheep stealing character, and at the same time allowing your name to be enrolled on the class books of the M. E. Church, as a leader among that body of professed Christians—I confess that I have been a little disappointed at your very singular defence, which has been only an unbroken silence. Perhaps you have had the vanity to think that in this way you could shield your official character, and slaveholding church, from the execrations of the Christian public: but vain is your hope: the subject is not yet exhausted, neither are the leaders of the M. E. Church, to be allowed to separate husbands and wives, and to sell their ministering brethren with impunity into perpetual slavery as you have done.

To be silent when we know that class leaders are separating ministers of the gospel from their wives, and selling them to soul drivers into perpetual slavery: to be silent when we know that the church south denies the legality of marriage among their entire slave population: to be silent when the Holy Bible, is withheld and not allowed to be taught or read by the enslaved millions of the south: to be silent when we know that Female virtue is trampled in the dust with impunity, and the church of God refuses to lift her voice against this iniquity, and when hundreds of self-emancipated slaves are fleeing annually to Britain's shores for refuge, and when the appeals of outraged humanity are thundering like an earthquake to us on every “southern breeze,” would be to connive at your sin and be false to the claims of humanity—

Now the only defence that slave holders as a general thing pretend to offer for such conduct is, that the slaves can’t take care of themselves, and that they would suffer if emancipated. In reply to this pro-slavery logic, I would say that you have no right to be a slave holder under any circumstance whatsoever. The religion which you profess forbids it; the light of civilization with her million echoes forbids it, and the voice of God has ever been to “break every yoke and let the oppressed go free,” and how can man with all of the instincts of his own soul arrayed against slavery resist the appeal! But there is another demand now pressing upon my time so that I must necessarily be short. In conclusion let me inform you that Canada is a great country—Great in its extent of Territory, comprising about 346,362 square miles, being about six times, the size of England...
BIBB DENOUNCES FORMER OWNER; TELLS HIM THREE MORE OF HIS SLAVES HAVE REACHED CANADA

j w blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (from Narrative & Voice of Fugitive, letter to Albert G. Sibley, 1852)

America, and is well adapted for the rearing of ladies and gentlemen, christians, and philanthropists of the first order. But the best of all, it is under an anti-slavery Government, which affords an effectual refuge for the American slaves: it is the home of Granville, John and Lewis, who fled from your custody in search of liberty, about four months ago. They are all here, each one, thank God is now the owner of his own farm within eight miles of a large city. Should you or any of the slave population in that vicinity feel disposed to visit us, I will instruct you in my next letter how to enter on the underground rail road; that is if I don't hear from you soon: and I shall by the grace of God, ever remain true to the cause of down-trodden humanity.

H. BIBB

DAVID CLAY TO C. CLAY, FORMER OWNER: TELLS OF ADMIRATION: BUSINESS MFG PLOWS (1849–50)


DAVID CLAY TO CASSIUS M. CLAY

New Richmond, Clermont Co., Ohio, January 28, 1850

Cassius M. Clay, Esq.

My friend,—It is about four years since I last seen you, though in that time I have heard from public report of you often. You will believe me when I say to you that I have watched over you in all the trials which you have undergone, and my heart sympathized with you when you were surrounded by men who sought your life and vilified your character. Although my skin is black, I nevertheless feel for my friends; and I shall always bear in my heart feelings of gratitude to you for the disinterested friendship shown by you to me, whilst your slave. The constant aspirations of my heart shall be for your safety, and I pray that God, who notices the fall of the sparrow, may so guide and direct you by his Spirit, that you may be led in the way of all truth, and that happiness here and felicity hereafter may be your lot.

It was my intention, ere this, to have written you, but your absence in Mexico prevented. I am now permanently located in this place; have bought real estate, which cost me six hundred dollars, for which I have
DAVID CLAY TO FORMER OWNER C CLAY; TELLS OF ADMINISTRATION; BUSINESS SUCCESS MFG PLOWS (1850)

I inclose you a handbill containing a description of the plow I am manufacturing. They can be made any size, and to plow any depth that may be required, from 8 to 20 inches deep. It would afford me sincere pleasure to furnish my old master with what he might want of them, or at least one of them, in order that you might test their quality, as I am well assured they will give satisfaction. I can recommend one of them, at least, such as I sell here for plowing vineyards. It would be first-rate to tear up the roots and briars of the Hocaday field.

The health of myself and family is good. We have had no increase in our family.

Remember me to your good lady and family, and to the colored people; and it would afford me much satisfaction if you permit my sister Hannah to visit me during the next summer. The plows can be sent to any point you may desire. Should you want, please write me.

With my prayers for your prosperity and happiness, permit me to sign myself

Your affectionate friend,

DAVID CLAY. 52

P 89n/ "When Cassius Clay sent the letter to the Era, he described David Clay as a literate, 'full blooded African about thirty-five years old.'"

FUGITIVE JACKSON WHITNEY TO WILLIAM RILEY, FORMER MASTER; DENOUNCES TREATMENT; URGES THAT HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN BE SENT TO HIM

'I FUGITIVE'S HOME,' Sandwich, C. W., March 18, 1859

Mr. Wm. Riley, Springfield, Ky.—Sir: I take this opportunity to dictate a few lines to you, supposing you might be curious to know my whereabouts. I am happy to inform you that I am in Canada, in good health, and have been here several days. Perhaps, by this time, you have concluded that robbing a woman of her husband, and children of their father does not pay, at least in your case; and I thought, while lying in jail by your direction, that if you had no remorse of conscience that would make you feel for a poor, broken-hearted man, and his worse-than-murdered wife and child, and could not be made to feel for others as you would have them feel for you, and could not by any entreaty or permission be induced to do as you promised you would, which was to let me go with my family for $800—but contended for $1,000, when you had promised to take the same you gave for me (which was $660.) at the time you bought me, and let me go with my dear wife and children but instead would render me miserable, and lie to me, and to your neighbors (how if words mean anything, what I say is so.) and when you was at Louisville trying to sell me! then I thought it was time for me to make my feet feel for Canada.
FUGITIVE JACKSON WHITNEY TO WM RILEY, FORMER MASTER; DENOUNCES TREATMENT; URGES THAT HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN BE SENT TO HIM (1859)

j w blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (taken from Douglass' Monthly, I (Aug 1859), p 125)

better right to me than I had to myself, which you know is rather hard thinking.—You know, too, that you proved a traitor to me in the time of need, and when in the most bitter distress that the human soul is capable of experiencing; and could you have carried out your purposes there would have been no relief. But I rejoice to say that an unseen, kind spirit appeared for the oppressed, and bade me take up my bed and walk—the result of which is that I am victorious and you are defeated.

I am comfortably situated in Canada, working for George Harris, one of the persons that act a part in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' He was a slave a few years ago in Kentucky, and now owns a farm so level that there is not hills enough on it to hide a dog, yet so large that I got lost in it the other day. He says that I may be the means of helping poor fugitives and doing them as much good as he does, in time.

This country is not what it has been represented to me and others to be. In place of its being cold and barren, it has beautiful, comfortable climate, and fertile soil. It is much more desirable in those respects than any part of Kentucky that I ever saw. There is only one thing to prevent me being entirely happy here, and that is the want of my dear wife and children, and you to see us enjoying ourselves together here. I wish you could realize the contrast between Freedom and Slavery; but it is not likely that we shall ever meet again on this earth. But if you want to go to the next world and meet a God of love, mercy, and justice, in peace; who says, 'Inasmuch as you did it to the least of them my little ones, you did it unto me'—making the professions that you do, pretending to be a follower of Christ, and tormenting me and my little ones as you have done—had better repair the breaches you have made among us in this world, by sending my wife and children to me; thus preparing to meet your God in peace; for, if God don't punish you for inflicting such distress on the poorest of His poor, then there is no use of having any God, or talking about one. But, in this letter, I have said enough to cause you to do all that is necessary for you to do, providing you are any part of the man you pretend to be. So I will close by saying that, if you see proper to reply to my letter, either condemning or justifying the course you have taken with me, I will again write you.

I hope you will consider candidly and see if the case does not justify every word I have said, and ten times as much. You must not consider that it is a slave talking to 'massa' now, but one as free as yourself.

I subscribe myself one of the abused of America, but one of the justified and honored of Canada.
LEWIS CLARKE SPEECH (1842): SLAVES CAN'T TELL TRUE FEELINGS ABOUT DESIRING FREEDOM; MUST LIE

j w blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (taken from National Anti-Slavery Standard, Oct 20, 27, 1842, recorded by L M Child at Brooklyn speech)

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"So I will, as well as I can. I want to tell you, not so much about the slave's being whipped, or about his not having enough to eat; though I could tell you enough of that, too, if I had a chance. But what I want to make you understand is, that a SLAVE CAN'T BE A MAN! Slavery makes a brute of man; I don't mean that he is a brute, neither. But a horse can't speak; and he daren't. He daren't tell what's in him; it wouldn't do. The worse he's treated, the more he must smile; the more he's kicked the lower he must crawl. For you see the master knows what he has done to his slave; he suspects the slave will resent; and he watches him the closer, and so the slave has to be more deceitful.

Folks from hereabouts go down to Kentucky, and they send you word that the slaves say they don't want their freedom. — Well, I suppose they do. I daren't swear I haven't done that thing myself. I had the privilege of letting myself out, and sending my master twelve dollars a month. — This was a sort of taste of freedom; for I went round about, and made my own little contracts, and so on. — Now, if some Yankee had come along and said, 'Do you want to be free?' what do you suppose I'd have told him? Now, what do you suppose I'd tell him? Why, I'd tell him, to be sure, that I didn't want to be free; that I was very well off as I was. If I didn't, its precious few contracts I should be allowed to make, I'm thinking. And if a woman slave had a husband and children, and somebody asked her if she would like her freedom? Would she tell 'em, yes? If she did, she'd be down the river to Louisiana, in no time; and her husband and children never know what become of her. Of course, the slaves don't tell folks what's passing in their minds about freedom; for they know what'll come of it, if they do. I said a slave was like a brute; and so he is, in many things; but he isn't altogether that much like a brute, neither. The fact is, slavery's the father of lies. The slave knows he ought to have his freedom; and his master knows it, just as well as he does; but they both say they don't; and they tell me some folks this way believe 'em. The master says the slave don't want his freedom, and the slave says he don't want it; but they both of 'em lie, and know it. There never was anything beat slavery for lying; and of all folks in the world, there's nobody deceived quite so bad, as the masters down South; for the slaves deceive them, and they deceive themselves. Some have thought their slaves were so much attached to them, that nobody could coax them away; and them very slaves now reside in Canada. Others think the slaves are too brutified to think or care anything about freedom; and them's the worst deceived of any. The masters say the slaves are a lying and thieving set; and so they are; for slavery makes a man lie and steal. It won't let him be honest, if he would. "Some folks go down to Kentucky, and tell fine stories about how well the slaves live; that they dress as nice as anybody, and have horses to ride, and all sorts of things. But all that's a lie; and if you'll look back, you'll find that we had no lie anymore.
LEWIS CLARKE SPEECH (1842, BROOKLYN); SLAVES CAN'T TELL TRUE FEELINGS ABOUT DESIRING FREEDOM; MUST LIE

JW Blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (taken from National Anti-Slavery Standard, Oct 20, 27, 1842, recorded by L M Child at Brooklyn)

They are obliged to cringe a little lower than any of the others. They must mind and please master and mistress in everything; and please the children, and the uncles, and the aunts, and the cousins, and all the relations; for the master wants him to feel that it is all along of his will that he is better off than others, and that he has the power at any moment, to cut his combs; and he is always sort of jealous, too, that the slave will think he has a right to any of the privileges he has been used to having. So he has to mind his P's and Q's right smart; for if he says or does anything that any of the relations don't like, he's pushed right down below all the slaves. I've seen this, many a time. The brighter a slave is, the more he has to lie; for the more the master is jealous of what's working in his mind, and the harder he has to try to hide it. It ain't the lightest colored that are always the brightest and best; for a man's disposition ain't in his skin. Yes, it is in his skin, too; because it is in his heart, and his heart is inside his skin; but what I mean is, that it ain't in the color of his skin. — The slaves used to debate together sometimes, what could be the reason that the yellow folks couldn't be trusted like the dark ones could. As a general rule, they seemed to be dissipated, devil-May-care fellows; and I'll tell you what we concluded was the reason—we concluded it was because they were sons of their masters, and took after their fathers. You laugh, but that's what the slaves concluded was the reason; and I declare to you I have heard 'em talk on about it, and bring up this here one, and that ere one, that was the son of a dissipated master, till I felt ashamed of the white blood that was in me. And I tell you, the man that bears the best character in all Kentucky, in respect of his morals, has a face as black as the inside of a blacking box. He is engaged in the public works, and takes hundreds and hundreds of dollars. He might run away with the money, if he would; but ever since he was a boy he was walked right ahead, as straight as any crack in this floor. You might ask anybody, from highest to lowest, and they'd all tell you that they'd trust him afore any man in Kentucky. White men trust one-another, I know; but mind ye, they always have bond and security; now, it would be no use for this man to give bond and security—for he's a slave.

One of the audience here interrupted, saying, "I thought you observed, a little while ago, that slaves couldn't be honest; that they were obliged to lie and steal?"

"So I did; and it was true. But this man, you see, was a slave, and then again he warn't a slave. He was a first-rate blacksmith, and worked for the public works, and had money trusted to him; and this made him feel..."
"You mean," said a friendly voice, "that if you trust a man, it makes him worthy to be trusted."

This seemed a little too grammatical for him to understand; and another one said, "You mean that if a slave feels that he is trusted, he may be trusted with anything."

"Not exactly that, neither," replied he, with an arch look; "when a slave knows that he is trusted, he may be trusted with almost anything—except himself!"

When the laugh subsided, he continued: "But the smarter he is, the more they are jealous of him, and the more they like to hold him for a slave; and the whiter he is, the grander they feel. As a general thing, if a Kentuckian has a little money, he'd a deal rather vest it in slaves than in any other property. A horse don't know that he's property, and a man does. There's a sort of satisfaction in thinking 'You're a man, but you're mine. You're as white as I am, but you're mine.' Many a time I've had 'em say to me, 'You're my property. If I tell you to hold your hand in the fire till it burns off, you've got to do it.' Not that they meant to make me put my hand in the fire; but they liked to let me know they had the power. The whiter a man is, the lower down they keep him. I knew a slave that was all white. I might tell you his name, and where he lived. I believe I will. No, I won't either; for if I do, you may perhaps ask me whether I came from his neighborhood; and I don't care to have you know any more than that I came from Kentucky. Her borders are pretty broad, you know, and it's not so easy to guess what part I come from. But what I wanted to say was, that this white slave was stolen from Virginia when he was a very little boy, and he had been kept in slavery ever since. He was brought up more ignorant than any of the slaves, and if any whipping was to be done on the plantation, he was sure to catch it. The slaves used to say to him,
"Kentucky is the best of the slave States, in respect to the laws; but the masters manage to fix things pretty much to their own liking. The law don't allow 'em to brand a slave, or cut off his ear; but if they happen to switch it off with a cow-hide, nobody says anything about it. Though the laws are better than in other States, they ain't anyways equal. If a negro breaks open a house, he is hung for it; but if a white man does the same thing, he is put in the penitentiary, unless he has money enough to buy himself off. And there is one crime for which more black men are hung than for any other; and if a white man does it, it is no crime at all. The law gives him full swing; and he don't fail to use his privilege, I can tell you.

Now, if there was nothing else but this, it would make a slave's life as bad as death, many times. I can't tell these respectable people as much as I would like to; but 'est think for a minute how you would like to have your sisters, and your wives, and your daughters come together, and altogether, in the power of a master.—You can picture to yourselves a little, how you would feel; but oh, if I could tell you! A slave woman ain't allowed to respect herself, if she would. I had a pretty sister; she was whiter than I am, for she took more after her father. When she was sixteen years old, her master sent for her. When he sent for her again, she cried, and didn't want to go. She told mother her troubles, and she tried to encourage her to be decent, and hold up her head above such things, if she could. Her master was so mad, to think she complained to her mother, that he sold her right off to Louisiana; and we heard afterward that she died there of hard usage.

"There was a widower in Kentucky, who took one of his women slaves into the house. She told her master one day that seven of the young girls had poked fun at her for the way she was living. This raised his ambition. 'I'll teach 'em to make fun!' said he. So he sent the woman away, and ordered the young girls to come to him, one by one." (An ill-mannered and gross laughter, among the boys of the audience, here seemed to embarrass him.) "Perhaps I had better not try to tell this story," he continued; "for I cannot tell it as it was; though surely it is more shameful to have such things done, than it is to tell of 'em. He got mad with the girls, because they complained to their mothers; but he didn't like to punish 'em for that, for fear it would make a talk. So he ordered 'em to go out into the field to do work that was too hard for 'em. Six of 'em tied up naked, and flogged, for disobeying orders. Now, who would
But there's a worse thing yet about slavery; the worst thing in the whole lot; though it's all bad, from the butt end to the pint. I mean the patter-rollers (patrols.) I suppose you know that they have patter-rollers to go round o' nights, to see that the slaves are all in, and not planning any mischief? Now, these are just about the worst fellows that can be found; as bad as any you could pick up on the wharves. The reason is, you see, that no decent man will undertake the business.—Gentlemen in Kentucky are ready enough to hire such jobs done; but if you was to ask any of them to be a patter-roller, he would look upon it as a right down insult, and likely enough would blow out your brains for an answer. They're mighty handy with pistols down there; and if a man don't resent anything that's put upon him, they call him Poke-easy. The slaves catch it, too: and them as won't fight, is called Poke-easy.—But as I was telling ye, they hire those patter-rollers, and they have to take the meanest fellows above ground; and because they are so mortal sure the slaves don't want their freedom, they have to put all power into their hands to do with the niggers just as they like. If a slave don't open his door to them at any time of night they break it down. They steal his money if they can find it, and act just as they please with his wives and daughters. If a husband dares to say a word, or even look as if he wasn't quite satisfied, they tie him up and give him thirty-nine lashes. If there's any likely young girls in a slave's hut, they're mighty apt to have feelings there; especially if they think any colored young man takes a fancy to any of 'em. Maybe he'll get a pass from his master, and go to see the young girl for a few hours. The patter-rollers break in and find him there. They'll abuse the girl as bad as they can, a purpose to provoke him. If he looks cross, they give him a flogging, tear up his pass, turn him out of doors, and then take him up and whip him for being out without a pass. If the slave says they tore it up, they swear he lies; and nine times out of ten the master won't come out agin 'em; for they say it won't do to let the niggers suppose they may complain of the patter-rollers; they must be taught that it's their business to obey 'em in everything; and the patter-roller knows that very well. Oh, how often I've seen the poor girls sob and cry, when there's been such goings on! Maybe you think, because they're slaves, they ain't got no feeling and no shame? A woman's being a slave, don't stop her having genteel ideas; that is, according to their way, and as far as they can. They know they must submit to their masters; besides, their masters, maybe, dress 'em up, and make 'em little presents, and give 'em more privileges, while the whim lasts; but that ain't like having a parcel of low, dirty, swearing, drunk patter-rollers let loose among 'em, like so many hogs. This breaks down their spirits dreadfully, and makes 'em wish they was dead.
"Now who among you would like to have your wives, and daughters, and sisters, in such a situation? This is what every slave in all these States is exposed to. —Yet folks go from these parts down to Kentucky, and come back, and say the slaves have enough to eat and drink, and they are very happy, and they wouldn't mind it much to be slaves themselves. I'd like to have 'em try it; it would teach 'em a little more than they know now. I'm not going to deny that Kentucky is better than other slave States, in respect of her laws; and she has the best name, too, about treating her slaves. But one great reason of that is, they are proud about punishing in public. If a man ties his slave up in the marketplace, and flogs him till he can't stand, the neighbors all cry out, 'What a shame! The man has no regard to his character. What an abominable thing to have that nigger screaming where everybody can hear! Shame on him, to do such things in public.'

"But if the same man flogs his slave ten times as bad, up garret, or down cellar, with his mouth stopped, that he mayn't make a noise, or off in the woods out of hearing—it's all well enough. If his neighbors hear of it, they only say, 'Well, of course there's no managing niggers without letting 'em know who's master.' And there's an end of the business. The
"It is true that slaves now and then fare exceedingly well, indeed," said one speaker, "so far as eating and drinking, and the like of that goes; and sometimes for awhile they have little or nothing to do. I had a young master, at one part of my life, that gave us a right easy time. His father left him plenty of money, and he run through with it as fast as he could. He got drunk every day; we lived on the fat of the land while it lasted, and had a smart chance for doing nothing. But we all see how it must end; and we used to talk about it with heavy hearts, sometimes. Then the neighbors, they was all set agin us, and against him, for letting us run on so. When folks there see a man going on in this way, they don't like it: they say it's setting a bad example for other niggers; they always try to get such a man into some difficulty, and make him break up and sell. They like to buy slaves that have had such an easy time, jest for the pleasure of bringing their noses to the grindstone. When they see a slave feel a little too much as if he was a man, they'll often double up their fist at him, and say, 'Your master makes a fool of you; but I'll have my satisfaction out of you, yet, you black rascal.' They'll take a good deal of pains to get the slaves away from any such free-and-easy neighbor, jest for the satisfaction of putting on the screw. They'll contrive to get the man into debt, or something or other, so as to get his niggers away from him."

Some one in the audience asked if it were common to separate families. "Yes, indeed," he replied. "Why, they mind no more selling children away from a slave, than they do calves from a cow. Many and many is the wife that I've seen sobbing and crying for the husband that's driven off to go down the Mississippi. There was one poor woman—oh, how I did pity that woman!—She hadn't always seen such hard times as she did when I knew her. Her first mistress was good to her, and she didn't see much hardship till she was sold. Her husband belonged to my boss; and he wouldn't let him go to see her. Sometimes, when the folks was all abed, he'd steal off and see her an hour or two, and get back in season to make the fires in the morning. He didn't leave nothing undone, and master didn't lose none of his time; but somehow he didn't like to have him go to see his wife. He said he might take up with a wife at home, if he wanted one. If he found him out, he used to give him a dreadful flogging. Sometimes, he'd make me go call him in the middle of the night, to find out if he was in; and if he didn't answer, he caught it in the morning. I can tell you. But he wouldn go to see his wife; and when master found he couldn't put a stop to it, he sold him. His wife begged him to find somebody round in his neighborhood that would buy her; and she kept hoping and hoping; but at last she got discouraged, and run away to him. Her mistress was an

charged him to bring her home. 'Do you bring Bets back,' said she; 'let 'em offer you what they will. I'll have my satisfaction out of her.' And poor Bets was brought back, heart-broken enough; and she had a terrible flogging when they got her home. But it didn't end there. Every day of her life, her mistres was knocking her over the head with the tongs, or the shovel, or the press-board, or anything that come to hand. She set her to spinning out in the yard. The ground was covered with coarse gravel, and Betsy had no shoes. Walking backward and forward from morning till night, her feet got blistered, and the whole of her track was marked with blood. I see that with my own eyes. She tied rags round her feet, but the blood would come through. If she dared to stop a bit, her mistres would have her switched. Sometimes she jest lay down on the ground, and groaned and screamed; but her mistres would beat her, and say, 'Oh you ain't going to die yet. You was strong enough to run off; so move yourself.' She was the most suffering creature that ever I see; and all that persecution was because she went to see her husband. Separation of families? Yes, indeed. If the gentleman had been in Kentucky at New Year's time, he wouldn't need to ask that question. Of all days in the year, the slaves dread New-Year's day the worst of all. For folks come for their debts then; and if anybody is going to sell a slave, that's the time they do it; and if anybody's going to give away a slave, that's the time they do it; and the slave never knows where he'll be sent to. Oh, New-Year's a heart-breaking time in Kentucky!

MINISTERS AND SLAVERY; TREATMENT OF CHILDREN, OLD PEOPLE, HANGINGS 1226

j w blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (taken from speech of Clarke in Brooklyn, recorded by L M Child from memory in Nat. Anti-Sla. Std, Oct 20, 27, 1842)

Somebody asked if ministers of the gospel held slaves.

"A good many of them do; and some treat them full as hard as others. I knew a preacher in Kentucky that sent a slave to catch a horse; and because he didn't get back time enough for him to go to meeting, he tied him up by his hands, and left him till he come home; and then he give him a dreadful flogging. Preacher Raymond didn't use to flog his slaves; he used to duck 'em. He had a little slave girl, about eight years old, that he used to duck very often. One day, the family went to meeting, and left her to take care of a young child. The child fretted, and she thought she would serve it as master served her; so she ducked it, and it slipped out of her hands, and got drowned. They put her in prison, and sentenced her to be hung; but she, poor child, didn't know nothing at all what it meant.—When they took her to the gallows, she was guarded all round by men; but she was so innocent, she didn't know what they was going to do with her. She stooped to pick up a pin, and stuck it in her frock, as she went.—The poor young thing was so glad to get out of prison, that she was as merry as if she was going to her mother's house.

"The suffering of children in slavery will never the half of it be told especially if the mistress suspects that the child is a little too nearly connected with master. Its a natural thing that she shouldn't feel very
better both be dead, than lead the life they do. My mistress had a little slave girl, about seven years old, that used to get \_\_\_\_-erribly abused. She used to beat her head against the chimney, till it was in a dreadful state, and kick her about for any little thing, as if she was a dog. This poor child died of bad treatment. Mistress did her best to kill me, but I lived through it. She set me to spinning flax when I was five years old. She didn’t show me how; but every time I made any mistake, she switched me. Every year when the trees was trimmed, she had all the switches laid up, to whip the slaves. She used to sit over her toddy, trying to invent some new way to punish ‘em.—Master was a little too fond of grog; she used to keep it locked up from him; and he had to coax her to get any. Sometimes, when he came home, she would whine and groan about what a hard time she had of it; and tell how the slaves acted so unruly she couldn’t manage ‘em. ‘Well, give me a dram,’ he’d say, ‘and I’ll beat ‘em for you.’ She used to pull the hair out of my head, and tell the children to pull it. In several places, they pulled it all out of my head. Folks noticed the looks of it, and asked what ailed me. She told ‘em I had a scald head; but one of the neighbors said it didn’t look at all like scald head; and so for fear of making a talk, she left off doing that. One day, she sent me to get a pitcher out of the closet. It stood above my head, and had some spoons in front of it. Trying to get the pitcher, I knocked down the spoons. She gave me a blow over the head with a dusting brush, and I fell senseless on the floor. There is a dent in my skull now, which any gentleman can feel, if he has a mind to put his hand on my head. They brought me to; and after I got a little over it, she whipped me for pretending to be dead.

“Used to have to get up at all times o’ night, to make fires, or rock the children, or bring ‘em water, or something or other; and as I had to work smart all day, it used to make me dreadful drowsy, to be so broke of my rest. I used to bring the bed-clothes down stairs, and warm them before the fire, for the children to sleep on. One night I was bringing down an armful, and having rather more than I could well manage, I set down on the landing of the stairs to rest. I was scarcely down, before I was sound asleep. I don’t know how long I staid there. The first thing I knew, mistress waked me up with a bunch of switches. I had forgot all about where I was, and set out to run straight ahead. I pitched right over mistress, and we both rolled down stairs together. She was mad enough; and I got a good flogging. This all happened when I was quite a little boy.

“There was Bill Myers, a speculator—he bought up a lot of slaves, and took the men and women down to Mississippi, where they got into a deal of trouble on account of bringing ‘em in contrary to law. He left all the children in Kentucky, for another speculation. While he was gone, they procured, by degrees, to feel just like boys. To save expense, he didn’t let ‘em
chills, and a great many of 'em sickened and died. This, with his bad luck in Mississippi, ruined Bill Myers.

"I remember one old slave, who was the most abused man I ever did see. His master had knocked and kicked him about till he had hardly a sound joint in his body. His face was all smashed up, and his right leg was broken to pieces. One day, when his master was mad with him for something, he made him mount a wild horse that nobody could ride; and the horse threw him, and fell on him, and crushed his leg. When he got old and a cripple, he wasn't worth much, and his master would like well enough to get rid of him. He didn't like to drown him; but he thought he'd contrive to make him drown himself. So he drove him into the water for a punishment, and kept throwing stones at him to make him go further in. The slave turned round, and held his hat so as to catch the stones. This made the master so mad, that he waded in with a whip, to drive him further. The slave was a strong, stout fellow, by nature; and cripple as he was, he seized hold of his master, and kept ducking him, ducking him, without mercy. He said he meant to drown him; and I believe he would, if the neighbors hadn't come and saved him. If he had, they'd hung him. Slaves han't much chance when the white folks want to get 'em hung. I knew two smart fellows that used to let themselves out. A jailer owed 'em a hundred dollars for work; and in order to get rid of paying, he said he heard 'em talking about a murder, that had been committed; and he got 'em hung for it, and never paid a cent of his hundred dollars. And as for whipping, a slave don't get whipped according to his crime, but according to the ambition of the master."

One of the audience asked whether he meant according to the anger of the master.

"Yes; when his passion's up, he has ambition to show his power; that's what I mean."
A public meeting of the citizens of Amherstburg, Canada West, met in Union chapel, to hear an address from Lewis Richardson, a fugitive from Henry Clay of Ashland, Kentucky. At half past 7 o'clock, P.M. the house was called to order by Mr. L. Foster, who acted as chairman of the meeting, and J. Binge, Secretary. After the object of the meeting was explained by H. Bibb, of Detroit, Mr. Richardson proceeded as follows:

"Dear Brethren, I am truly happy to meet with you on British soil, (cheers,) where I am not known by the color of my skin, but where the Government knows me as a man. But I am free from American slavery, after wearing the galling chains on my limbs 53 years; nine of which it has been my unhappy lot to be the slave of Henry Clay. It has been said by some, that Clay's slaves had rather live with him than be free, but I had rather this day have a milestone tied to my neck, and be sunk to the bottom of Detroit river, than to go back to Ashland, and be his slave for life. As late as December, 1845, Henry Clay had me stripped and tied up, and one hundred and fifty lashes given me on my naked back; the crime for which I was so abused was, I failed to return home on a visit to see my wife, on Monday morning before 5 o'clock. My wife was living on another place, 3 miles from Ashland. During the 9 years living with Mr. Clay, he has not given me a hat nor cap to wear, nor a stitch of bed clothes, except one small coarse blanket. Yet he has said publicly, that his slaves were 'fat and sleek!' But I say if they are, it is not because they are so well used by him. They have nothing but coarse bread and meat to eat, and not enough of that.—They are allowance every week. For each field hand is allowed one peck of coarse corn meal, and meat in proportion, and no vegetables of any kind. Such is the treatment that Henry Clay's slaves receive from him. I can truly say that I have only one thing to lament over, and that is my bereft wife, who is yet in bondage. If I only had her with me I should be happy. Yet think not that I am unhappy. Think not that I regret the choice I have made. I counted the cost before I started. Before I took leave of my wife, she wept over me, and dressed the wounds on my back, caused by the lash.—I then gave her the parting hand, and started for Canada. I expected to be pursued as a felon, as I had been before, and to be hunted as a fox from mountain to cave. I well knew if I continued much longer with Clay, that I should be killed by such floggings and abuse by his cruel overseer in my old age. I wanted to be free before I died, and if I should be caught on the way to Canada and taken back, it could but be death, and I might as well die with the colic as the fever. With these considerations I started for Canada.
SLAVE OF HENRY CLAY TELLS OF HARSH TREATMENT, POOR FOOD IN 1846

speech

ejw blasingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (speech of Lewis Richardson in Amhurstburg, Canada, March 13, 1846, printed in Anti-Slavery Bugle April 24, 1846)

/pt.166/

nized as property; but on this side I am on free soil. Hail, Britannia! Shame, America!—(Cheers.) A republican despotism, holding three millions of our fellow men in slavery! Oh! what a contrast between slavery and liberty! Here I stand erect, without a chain upon my limbs. (Cheers.) Redeemed, emancipated by the generosity of Great Britain. (Cheers.) I now feel as independent as ever Henry Clay felt when he was running for the White House. In fact I feel better. He has been defeated four or five times, and I but once. But he was running for slavery and I for liberty. I think I have beat him out of sight. Thanks be to God that I am elected to Canada, and if I don’t live but one night, I am determined to die on free soil. Let my days be few or many, let me die sooner or later, my grave shall be made in free soil.”

BIOG. INFORMATION ON HENRY CLAY’S SLAVE, LEWIS RICHARDSON; TESTIMONY OF CLAY’S OVERSEERS, ETC. ON TREATMENT OF RICHARDSON

jw blasingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (speech of Lewis Richardson in Amhurstburg, Canada, March 13, 1846, recorded in Anti-Slavery Bugle April 24, 1846)

/pt.164n/

17. During his lifetime Lewis Richardson belonged to six different owners. He was sold to Henry Clay around 1836. by 1843 he had a wife living near Lexington and a daughter living on the plantation of E. A. Dudley. Five whites who had known Richardson were practically unanimous in their description of him as a hard-drinking, insolent, obstreperous, unmanageable slave who sold whiskey to other blacks and was willing to fight any man, black or white. Ibid., June 11, 1846.

18. Ambrose Barnett, Clay’s overseer, wrote a letter to the Lexington Observer and Reporter denying many of Richardson’s charges. Claiming that he had “never known a worse negro,” Barnett asserted that the slave had often insulted and on one occasion struck him. Consequently, he begged Richardson for not returning on time from visiting his wife and an “accumulation of faults” in December, 1845. Barnett declared that he had given the slave only sixteen lashes. J. G. Hutchison, an overseer on an adjoining plantation whom Barnett had called to Ashland to help him if Richardson resisted, said he observed the flogging and that Richardson received only fifteen or sixteen lashes. Ibid.

19. Clay’s white neighbors in Fayette County, Thomas A. Russell, J. G. Hutchison, and E. A. Dudley, insisted that he was an indulgent master who had even manumitted some of his slaves. Contrary evidence came from blacks who knew the situation at Clay’s plantation. Ashland. A former Fayette County slave whose wife belonged to Clay asserted that he left the management of the blacks to his “mean” overseers and that “the slaves were well clothed by Mr. Clay, but miserably fed and overworked, and were subject to floggings like all others.” He said that, when Clay’s famous shoemaker Tom fought with his overseer in 1844, Clay and the overseer flogged the slave so severely that he later committed suicide. According to the fugitive, Clay gave his slaves an inadequate weekly “allowance” of food. Another fugitive, claiming to be Clay’s slave, complained of short rations and floggings. The man who interviewed the black wrote that he was branded with the letters H.C. Clay’s biographer has noted the frequency of runaways from Ashland. Ibid., May 7, June 11, 1846, June 24, 1847, Clement Eaton, Henry Clay and the Art of American Politics (Boston, 1957), 76.

20. In 1824 Richardson tried to murder his second master, Thomas A. Russell, and then ran away to Ohio. Recaptured and sold into Louisiana, he stabbed an overseer soon after he had arrived in the state. He was so incorrigible that Clay allegedly tried to sell him but could
DAVID BARRETT'S ACCOUNT OF HIS ESCAPE TO CANADA FROM FAYETTE CO IN 1818

j w blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (1837 interview by Hiram Wilson published in Anti-Slavery Record, III, July, 1837, 74-83)

DAVID BARRETT

Interviewed, 1837, by Hiram Wilson

Age: twenty-seven
b. 1800, Kentucky
Enslaved: Kentucky
Field hand

I was held in bondage in Fayette Co., Kentucky, near Lexington, by James Graves till I was eighteen years of age. My master was not so cruel as many others; I could not complain of harsh treatment but was determined not to be whipped.

In the fall of 1818, having been out on a frolic, when I came home Monday morning, my master threatened to flog me. I went into the field to ploughing without stopping to change my clothes. He came out in the forenoon and ordered me to take the horse to feed, evidently intending to whip me while the horse was eating. Thought I, if you flog me, old fellow, you will have to give me a chase first. I loosed my horse from the plough, but instead of obeying his orders, I mounted and rode in haste to the opposite side of the field, dismounted and sculked into the woods. This was the last my master ever saw of me. I travelled fifty miles with but little difficulty, to within four miles of Mays-Lick. Having fasted till the second evening of my journey, I became exceedingly hungry. In the dusk of evening I smelt meat that was drying in a house one quarter of a mile ahead of me. When I came up I looked through the fence into the kitchen, and saw a lady, who had been frying the meat and baking cakes, leaving the kitchen and going into the other part of the house, probably intending to return in a minute with a plate to take up her warm cakes. I saved her the trouble, for in a moment I entered, emptied her cakes into my hat, took a slice or two of her meat, leaped the fence as quick as possible and went on my way. For some distance I thought I heard the sound of footsteps behind me, but am persuaded that it was nothing but the palpitations of my heart. Next morning I was accosted by three men. I fought them like a Turk for some time, but they overcame me and took me to their house at Mays-Lick. I yielded to them only on the condition that they would take me back to my master, which they promised to do, but they deceived me, for while I was at dinner they sent for a magistrate, and I was ordered to jail. On my way to jail I met an old lady who pitied me very much. Said she, 'it's a great pity you should be tied up in that way and dragged off as a slave when you have as much right to your freedom as they (my pursuers) have. Though you are black, you have a soul to be saved as well as they.' My hands being tied, she filled my pockets with peaches, wished that I might be a good boy and that she might meet me in heaven. I met a man by the name of Trotter, with whom I was well
and my master. I told him. Said he, 'if it is nothing more than that I will buy you of Graves.' I requested him to take me back and not suffer me to go to jail. He told me to go to the jail, that he thought he could get me cheaper, but charged the men not to abuse me as they would have nothing for taking me up.

We soon came in sight of Washington. They showed me the jail and began to torment me by saying, look at your house. Ha, Jack! there's your house. I sat down by the side of the road. They urged me to go on. I told them I was tired. One of them threatened to whip me. I reminded them of what Mr. Trotter had said, that if they abused me they should have nothing for taking me up. This frightened them so that they let me alone. I kept my seat for a time and determined not to go to jail, but they took me by force and put me upon a horse with my hands tied before and my arms behind, by my elbows. My hands were tied so loosely that I was conscious I could easily get the use of them. Two men now followed me on foot. One of them held the end of a line which was attached to my elbow. I rode on towards the village in rather a careless manner; came at length to a long hill. While I was descending the hill the one who held the line was off his guard, his head partly turned, discoursing with his companion. I gave the horse a sudden start and jerked him so that he lost his balance and ran cross-legged a few yards, tumbled down and rolled over,

while my fleet horse instantly separated me from them. I left the main road, passed the town by a circuitous route, leaving it to my left, and came to the Ohio river which passes within three miles of the above place. It was now becoming dark. I rode down the bank determined to make my horse swim the stream and bear me over on his back. I forced him into the water which was very deep near the edge. The fore part of the horse went mostly under, while his hind feet were yet upon the bank. He struggled, threw up his head and struck my chin. The blow hurt and made me angry. By a desperate struggle the horse recovered his balance and ran cross-legged a few yards, tumbled down and rolled over.
heard of there being islands in the river) found a horse on the beach with a yoke on his neck and caught him. Now, said I, for a ride through Ohio. I had heard but little about Canada; had heard that there was such a country and that it was somewhere to the north of Ohio. I turned the yoke on the horse's neck, mounted and used the yoke for my bridle. Holding the sides that trail upon the ground in either hand, I could turn the creature to the right or left, or by bearing down check him by choking a little. I started, not knowing where I was nor which way I was going; rode on some distance till I came to a house where I thought best to inquire, under the pretence that I was lost.

I stopt near the door and hallowed. A man came out and asked what the matter was, I told him I had gotten wild and had been out all night and didn't know where I was; asked him where this road led to. 'The right hand,' said he, 'leads down to the river and the left hand to Decatur, which is one mile from here.' 'Decatur,' said I, 'that's the very place I want to find;' thanked him and went on, conscious that Decatur would find me still in a maze of doubt and ignorance as to my course for I never had heard of the place before. I passed through D. just before day-light; let my horse go, turned aside into the woods and lay down to rest. On waking up I found I was not more than thirty yards from the road, and it seemed a mere mercy that I was not taken; for several men passed by and looked at me, talking together and wondering if I was sick, or what could be the matter with me. When they got by I resumed my journey till I

DAVID BARRETT'S ACCT OF ESCAPE TO CANADA FROM FAYETTE CO IN 1818: 1229-E
GIVEN FOOD; MEETS FARMER WHO HELPS

began very hungry; stopped at a house and asked a lady for a morsel of something to eat; told her I was travelling and had no money. 'Come in,' said she, 'come in.' She gave me a good dinner; was very kind; talked much; quite too much for my convenience, so that I was glad to get away from her as soon as I could satisfy my stomach. Went on till near dark when I was chased by three axemen. I took to the woods, rambled for some time and came out at a late hour by a building I supposed to be a barn; found straw near it which served as my couch for the night. When I rose in the morning my supposed barn was a church and to my surprise I discovered numerous graves around me. Came on at length in sight of a man who was walking in the road; saw where his hoe stood in the field with which he had been cutting up corn; bounded over the fence and took the handle from the hoe for a weapon with a settled determination not to leave the road nor be taken alive. I reasoned thus with myself. I am a man as well as others, have been driven once from my road into a grave-yard to lodge among the dead; and I'll fight till I die rather than leave my way. I walked up to the man. He spoke to me and asked me if I wanted to hire. I replied, 'if I was a white man you wouldn't ask me that, I reckon you want me to work for you for nothing.' 'No,' said he, 'I'll give you as much as those you worked for last.' 'Yes,' said I, 'that's just what you want I reckon.' My reply revealed my former condition which made him laugh.
DAVID BARRETT'S ACCT OF ESCAPE TO CANADA FROM FAYETTE CO IN 1818:
GIVEN FOOD, CONTACT WITH UGRR

J W Blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (interview in 1837 by Hiram Wilson pub. in Anti-Slavery Record, III, July 1837, 74-83)

When he found that I was determined to go on, he directed me to another friend with whom he advised me to tarry over night, but when evening came I was careful not to stop for fear of evil consequences. I turned aside, lay out in the woods near the road, and listened the fore part of the night, thinking that if there was a plot laid by my professed friends to take me I should hear them pass the place where I was directed. This night tested the friendship of those upon whom I had called. I came on next morning with fresh confidence in my new chain of friends, called at the house to which I had last been directed—found the man a real friend—staid with him all that day and started in the evening for Richmond, where I was directed to call on a colored woman who sold cakes. I aimed to call at her house but called at the house of a white man, knocked at the door at a very late hour. The man rose, opened the door and let me in. 'Why,' said he, 'you are a negro.' 'Yes,' said the lady, 'he's a colored man striving for his freedom I suppose, and he ought to have it.' This cheered me, I soon discovered that a young woman in the house knew me, and I remembered her well but made very strange of her, and answered her rather abruptly. The good friend conducted me to the colored woman's house. She kindly offered to supply me with cakes. Here
be replenished, each wishing to bear the blessed burden. It was finally agreed that she should furnish the cakes, and that he should pay for them the next morning. She assured me that if I had a friend on earth he was one. This increased my confidence in him; I returned with him to his house, where we sat down and talked 'til an hour before day. He had many things to ask me about my former condition—gave me good advice—told me to go to Canada and get my living by the sweat of my face. He said much against slavery. I asked him why it was that he was there. Most men liked to get rich without working themselves. It seems you have travelled much through the states, and you've seen how easy men obtain their living and get rich having slaves to do their work for them. Said he, 'I've seen quite too much of it, I married my wife in a slave state and her parents hold them, but I don't believe in it. No one can hold slaves and go to heaven believing that it is right, and no one ought to get rich.' Here a controversy rose between him and his wife who lay awake.

He quoted the scripture that it was easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. She said that a christian could be and ought to be rich. The richer the better. 'One can be as rich as God is. How easy it is for him to claim the universe, and exclaim, God is mine! He serves God here for a season, but God will place him in the heavens—uphold and protect him and be his servant forever. Can't the christian be rich?' This was their conversation as near as I can recollect, and I shall never forget it. I thought she got the better of him.

He accompanied me on my way toward Columbus till break of day—told me the distance to Columbus—gave me the parting hand, and bid me God-speed. In less than an hour after I left him, I passed a place where several men were out early by the side of my way, about to engage in killing hogs. One cried out 'there's a nigger,' said another, 'I wonder if he has any authority for going through here.' I walked on as if I would pass without noticing them. One cried out 'hal there, have you any pass? where are you going?' I told them it was none of their business. They attempted to stop me, but I ran from them into the woods. They chased me till near ten o'clock.

I rambled through the woods all that day and the ensuing night in search of the road I had left. I found the road next morning, but was exceedingly faint and hungry, having lost my provisions in the chase the morning previous. I soon came across two boys who informed me that I was in the right way to Columbus, but could not tell me the distance. I reached C. about dusk—took lodgings in a barn a little out of town. Next morning I enquired of a man who was splitting wood in a yard, for a road called Whetstone, which leads to Upper Sandusky. He raised the stick he was splitting and attempted to knock me down; but I was too quick for
were very high, till eight or nine o’clock—could hear my pursuers talk thus: ‘Here he is, here he is;’ in one direction, ‘catch him, catch him,’ in another. After being hunted for hours in the field like a beast, I at length succeeded in creeping through the fence undiscovered, and by crawling some distance upon the ground I gained the woods and ran till I found a good place of concealment, and hid till twelve or one o’clock, thinking it was safe to be quiet till the search was over. I started, soon and met two boys and enquired of them for the Whetstone road. They told the way but asked me if I wasn’t the black man the people were after in the morning. I made strange of it and asked them what they were after the black man for. They said he had struck a white man and they had been hunting for him all the forenoon. I wondered, and enquired about the matter, as if entirely ignorant of what had been going on. I travelled undisturbed till I came to Darbytown, I expected when I got to D. to find a village, and while in the centre of the place, I enquired for Darbytown. One of the company I enquired of, who were in a field pulling corn, told me to follow my nose and that would take me to Darbytown. I sauced him, and he threatened to take me up; I ran, and they after me. I outran them, but they went back for their horses. I walked hard all that night and the next day till one o’clock. My pursuers came in sight on horses. I was then on the Sandusky plains as they were called, and could be seen for miles. Having no place of concealment, and deeming it useless to run, I walked
I was presently so deep in the mire that I could not extricate myself, and had to call on my pursuers to come and help me out. They came and threw in long sticks and poles to bridge the way to me, till they spattered me all over completely with mire and water. They took me out and had a hearty laugh over me, they told me it was no use for me to think of getting away from them. We soon came to a branch of the Sciota river where I stopped and washed the mud off. I mounted and rode with them a mile further. They questioned me closely to know my name; and to whom I belonged; I gave them no satisfaction but told them my name was Jack. Jack! but have you no other name? When they had pressed me some time for my other name, I told them it was Trotter, meaning by it in my own mind that I should soon trot away from them. We rode till it began to grow dark. One of the company then proposed to bind me on the horse. Another objected to that measure, thinking it would not be necessary. While they were debating the matter, I leaped in an instant from my horse and took to the woods which echoed for a season with the vain cry of catch him! catch him! catch him! They saw no more of me. I lay in the woods that night, and got back the next morning before breakfast time to my friend M's, where we had stopped to feed the previous afternoon. Had a short interview with M. He informed me that my pursuers had not been there, and took me out to an old Indian camp, where it was thought best for me to lie in concealment two days, during which time if they pursued me he was to let me know. He and his wife came out several times to see me and bring me food, I staid with them four or five days, and was treated with great kindness. I proceeded thence to Lower Sandusky, lay down in the evening expecting to be out over night. At length a man came near me, I spoke to him and asked him who he was; 'I am a colored man,' said he, 'I told him I was another. He called his name Charles; said that he lived about two miles from there, with a Mr. Harrison, who kept a tavern. 'Are you escaping from Kentucky,' said he, I told him 'I was;' gave him my name Jack. He said he was also making his escape from Kentucky, but had been at H's. three months; that H. was a warm friend to colored people, and could keep me over night. On our way near H's. we treed three racoons on one tree. We thought we would have some sport; he proposed that if I would watch them he would go and bring H. and the gun. I waited till Harrison came out and brought two Kentuckians with him who had been to Detroit hunting for runaway slaves, and returned thus far. Charles told H. my name and circumstances, then he came to me and told me I must answer H's. questions. He came near and addressed me as if I had been an old acquaintance. 'Well, Jack, what have you got there?' I told him 'coons.' 'You must shoot them,' said he. I told him I didn't know as I could. 'Well, Jack, you must climb for them then,' I refused, told him I didn't know as I could. 'Well, Jack, you must climb for them then.'
Miss Lucy. 'Well,' said I; 'Yes,' said Charles, 'Lucy's well, and sends her respects to you.' Thus they conversed to deceive the Kentuckians. We shot the racoons and went to the house, where H. still pursued his policy of deceiving the Kentuckians.

He made them believe that Charles and I were bound boys left him by his father. He said he wouldn't take five hundred dollars apiece for us the rest of the time out. I felt rather awkward in the house, going and coming at the word of my new master where I had never been before. In this way he deceived the slave hunters for fear they might bring me into difficulty. He told me next morning that if those mean, worthless negro hunters had laid hands on me he would have shivered his gun stock over their heads. Said he 'I don't like to entertain them, but I keep tavern and must entertain all that call and do the best I can.' I was well entertained at his house free of cost, and had my pockets filled with provisions to take with me.—Had no difficulty the rest of the way. Soon planted my feet upon British ground, when my fears left me and my shackles fell! [Anti-Slavery Record, III (July, 1837), 74–83]
SLAVE TELLS OF LIFE IN KY: ATTEMPTS TO OBTAIN FREEDOM; SOLD TO NEW ORLEANS (Name: Thomas Hughes)

J W Blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (interview in 1838 in NYC prison as being released, pub in Nat. Anti-Sla. Std, March 25, 1841 by I. T. Hopper interview)

free. Upon which he consented to let me go and see him; on arriving in the place where he resided, I found he was quite as wealthy as he was in Virginia; I called upon him, told him that my name was Thomas, the son of his slave Rachel, and that from good information, I had no doubt he was my father, which he did not deny. I told him of the injustice of my relatives, in selling me; informed him that I was to be again sold, and begged him to purchase and manumit me. I told him of the miserable life I was leading, subject to the will of any person who might become my master; but to all my entreaties he turned a deaf ear, and in public would not speak to me as he passed me. I remained in the place two weeks, to ascertain if possible, where my mother and sister were; but so indifferent was he to their fate, he had not taken the name of their purchaser, or the destination of the drove of which they formed a part. I again returned to Louisville, and soon found myself going to Louisiana to be sold; on my arrival, Mr. John P. Darg became my purchaser, who being of the same

FUGITIVE JONATHAN THOMAS DESCRIBES LIFE IN KY; ATTEMPT TO PURCHASE FREEDOM (1847)

J W Blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (interview in 1847 by Francis Jackson published in Liberty Bell, Boston, 1847, 5-15)

Jonathan Thomas

Interviewed, 1847, by Francis Jackson

Age: thirty-three
b. 1814, Kentucky
Enslaved: Kentucky
Millwright

We had the pleasure recently of an hour's conversation with Jonathan Thomas, a fugitive from the "domestic institution" of Kentucky, and heard from him a brief account of his escape from slavery, and the dangers and sufferings he encountered in effecting it.

Henry Beale, a wealthy planter of the county of Lexington, and about eighteen miles from the city of Lexington, was, by the laws of Kentucky, entitled to his "service or labor."

Beale was what is termed a kind master, and treated his slaves as well as the nature and condition of servitude permits. "Nevertheless," Thomas said, "I had from childhood a great wish to be free." After attaining the age of manhood, he made an agreement with his master to buy himself for one thousand dollars; to be paid, as he could, by over-work, earn small sums and deposit them with his master on account of the purchase. At the time of his master's death, in June last, he had paid very near four hundred dollars, and he was then thirty-three years old. Supposing him to be a free man, I said, "Mr. Beale, I have paid you five hundred dollars, I could live with my

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agreement to

myself

A
casualties and other contingencies excepted. The simple interest on his yearly payments would, in that time, have amounted to nine hundred and thirty dollars more, and thus, in reality, this kind master who had so disinterestedly permitted a favored slave to emancipate himself, would have really received, over and above the fair daily earnings of a slave during these thirty-one years, (supposing the arrangement to commence when the slave was twenty-one years old,) nineteen hundred and thirty dollars, for a negro fifty-two years old, if measured by Time's hour-glass; but, if computed by labor done, and the wear and tear of excessive over-work, incited by the hope of freedom, we think he would have found the infirmities of seventy pressing upon his shattered frame.

These reflections have pressed themselves upon us, because this method of emancipation accords with the popular idea, and meets, too, the popular notions of justice and freedom, when applied to the relation of master and slave on the subject of emancipation. People who pass for very honest folks, are shocked at the idea of stripping the slave-holder of his property without pecuniary compensation, and will not stop to enquire by what right or justice he holds that property, or who must be literally and truly robbed to pay him for it. It is obvious however that emancipation can never, to any extent, be realized by the over-work of slaves themselves; for none but the comparatively favored few, who have some mechanical trade, can hope by any possibility to earn enough by over-work to purchase their freedom.

At the time of his master's death Thomas was absent at work on his trade, which was that of a millwright. On his return home soon after, he found his master's son, John, in possession of the estate. This son he represents as a true specimen of "the chivalry," who never earned anything but spent all he could get. He wanted money, and the ready indeed only source in the negro communities to get it is to sell a negro, and thus in a short time the stock of a plantation disappears.

The slave-trader made his appearance at the old homestead, and one after another was sold off, and Thomas soon learnt that he also was about to be sold to the trader. "I told master John," said he, "that I had agreed with old master for my freedom, and had paid him four hundred dollars towards it." John said he knew nothing about that, and what was more he cared nothing about it, if it was so—he must be sold, and there was an end of it.

All his long cherished hopes of freedom were thus in a moment blasted, and what was probably worse he was to be forever separated from his wife and children, driven to the Southern slave-shambles, and consigned to the cruelties of the cotton or sugar plantations. This appalling prospect determined him to face the hardly less appalling alternative of flight. His wife, who was free, and two children, he induced a cousin to accompany
old plantation the latter part of July, with my knapsack of clothes and provisions strapped to my back and took the road for Ohio, travelling in the night and hiding in the woods or swamps in the day-time; on the morning of the third day, just at dawn, and as I was about to quit the road for the swamp. I heard the tramp of a horse close behind me. I turned and saw at once it was master John; at the same moment he hallowed to me to stop. I did not answer but turned. He started his horse and said, 'damn you, if you don't stop I'll shoot you.' He had spurred so hard he could not stop his horse when he came upon me, but passed on, and before he could turn back I had jumped the fence, and with all speed ran for the swamp. He soon followed, and had nearly reached me when he came upon softer ground, and his horse mired so that he could not reach me. He then fired a pistol and wounded me severely in the right ankle. I fell forward upon my hands, felt very faint, and my eyes grew dim; but in a moment this passed off, I rose upon my feet, hastily unbuckled and threw off my knapsack, ran for the swamp which I soon reached, and plunged into a tangled growth of briars, where a dog could scarcely follow. I made my way through as well as I could and soon came upon a small stream of water which parted the briars so as to leave room enough by stooping and dodging to pass between. I waded in this little river for miles through the swamp and made for the mountains, which I reached about two o'clock, as near as I could judge. I sat down and examined my ankle which had become swollen and very painful. I picked out with my knife three shot near the ankle-bone and four more near my shinbone, cut a bandage from my shirt and bound it up as well as I could. For the next three days I had not a mouthful to eat; nor could I have swallowed it if I had; I was so broken down by fear and trouble.”

How Jonathan Thomas contrived to elude his pursuers, and for eleven weeks to drag his weary way, crippled as he was, through Kentucky, Virginia and Maryland, to Baltimore, where fortune favored him, is more than we can conceive. Nor is it well yet to divulge the ways and help which sometimes avail with a stout heart and determined resolution, to free a slave from American bondage.

From Baltimore to Boston, by a rare combination of fortunate circumstances, he was enabled to travel with ease and despatch. By another turn of good fortune he was directed to call upon the slave's friend at Boston, who immediately administered to his wants and placed his wounded leg under surgical advice. Upon his first arrival it was painful, and to our common nature, humiliating, to observe the fear and suspicion that haunted him in the presence of white men. It required some little time and assurance to convince him that they could be his brethren. His untutored gratitude and joy, when this truth was realized, would have touched the heart of the most inveterate despiser of his race. In one week after his arrival he was furnished with money to travel the rest of the way. In eight days he
KY FUGITIVE JONATHAN THOMAS' ESCAPE: FINAL TRIP TO CANADA

with all the necessary means of reaching his anxiously expecting wife and
children in Canada.

Doubtless there are many under whose eye this brief narrative of a
commom occurrence may fall, whose misfortune, or, it may be whose fault
it is, to feel no interest in, or look with contempt upon a manly struggle
and heroic achievement, when performed by one of the despised race.
Let such remember that the negro is none the less their brother, and that
he is "God's image, though carved in ebony," and let the Christian and
the citizen, by such occurrences as this, be ever reminded of the gross
hypocrisy and wrong that prevails in this boasted land of freedom and is
sanctioned and sustained by the Church and State of which he is an equal
and responsible member. [Liberty Bell (Boston, 1847), 5-15.]

FUGITIVE ELIJAH MOORE: ESCAPE, RETURN, PREPARATION TO ESCAPE WITH WIFE

Interviewed, 1851, by Henry Bibb

Enslaved: Kentucky

John Moore, and wife, with two others have arrived safely from Ken-
tucky. 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, and made it appear he was sick of freedom and that he would stay
with his master until a slave sale took place.

The sale was held at a neighboring plantation, and was advertised for
next July. Mr. Moore spent all the money he had in getting his wife and
children safely away, and was himself so sick of freedom that he would
not return to his master. He finally sold his wife, and remained with
him until the sale took place. He then ran away a second time, this time
with all the means for reaching Canada. He started northward, and was
soon met by his master, who tried to persuade him to return. He
refused, and was brought back and sold to his master's neighbors, who
were afraid that he had come back to steal his wife. But Mr. Moore
refused to go out, and was allowed to remain with his master, but in a
very sickly condition. He was finally sold to a neighboring neighbor,
who kept him as a faithful slave.
wanted them. So he went on Sunday and gathered up his bed, clothing
etc., 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. [Voice of the Fugitive, June 4, 1851.]

FORMER KY SLAVE DESCRIBES PURCHASING FREEDOM (1850) TABB GROSS

Gross has been sold four times; the last time about twenty years ago, to
a man at Germantown, in Kentucky. This man was a professed minister of
the gospel, but while the glorious message of freedom to the captive so far
worked on his heart as to induce him to disavow the principle of slavery,
he was able to reconcile his holding slaves because the law of the country
permitted it. However, to the honour of this clerical slave-owner be it
told, Gross was never personally ill-treated by him, but, on the contrary,
received from him liberal treatment; and, after some time, Gross was
permitted to become a member of his master's church, and eventually
became a preacher of the gospel.

His master promised that at his death Gross should be made free; but
Gross having learned that a man's confidence is better placed in himself,
set about obtaining his freedom by his own exertions.

Gross, at the time he was a preacher, gained the confidence and good-
will of another slave-owner who was desirous of seeing him free; and this
gentleman offered to become security for $1000, the sum his master was
willing to accept for his emancipation. This being arranged, Gross was
enabled to work on his own account, and by his earnings, and through the
assistance of benevolent friends he met with in his character of preacher,
in the states of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and New York, he raised the
sum, and with the aid of his own the slave was finally freed.
FORMER KY SLAVE PURCHASES FREEDOM (TABB GROSS); PREPARES TO PURCHASE WIFE'S FREEDOM BY GOING TO GOLD FIELDS IN CALIFORNIA

j w blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (interview pub in British Friend, XIX, Second Month, 1861, 30-32; interview London, 1861)

ended his bondage, under which he had groaned for about thirty-four years.—This was in August, 1850.

Gross having obtained his own freedom, naturally turned his attention towards emancipating his wife and four children. He made an offer to his late master, who agreed to sell them at half their value,—the full price was $3200,—so that Gross was to pay $1600—the sum was large—but the increasing knowledge of his Bible added to his faith in the Helper of the oppressed, and sustained him in this arduous strife to obtain the freedom of his family.

In 1852, Gross set out with a party of twenty-six (all of whom were white men) going to the gold diggings in California. In their journey they endured many hardships, having to travel about 2600 miles on foot; one of the party died from fatigue, but Gross, with the others, arrived at the diggings.

Here he toiled for two years and four months, and by great perseverance and self-denial obtained the $1600 for the redemption of his wife and four children. On his return to Germantown he paid the amount, and who can describe what the husband and father felt when he had paid the amount, and was enabled to call his wife and children his own!

Soon after Gross was purchased by his last master, about twenty years ago, he became acquainted with Smith, who was owned by the proprietor of the adjoining plantation. The friendship between these two poor slaves, of like passions with their masters, increased (and would that we could say of some masters, they were of like passions with their slaves), and they entered into a compact with each other, that whichever first became free, should assist in obtaining the other's freedom.

Just after Gross had obtained the liberation of himself and family, Smith came to him and claimed his assistance according to their mutual compact.

With regard to Smith, he, like Gross, was born on a slave plantation, in Mason County, in Kentucky, about thirty-six years ago. He worked on that plantation until about twelve years old, when the master died, and the estate was divided amongst his children, Smith becoming the property of one of the sons.

Smith, when about nineteen, married a young woman on the adjoining plantation, by whom he has seven children, the eldest of whom is about sixteen; the father being thus owned by one man, and the mother and children by another, not an unusual occurrence in the slave states.

The master of Smith's wife, while single, had no slaves, and lived with his mother, who did not keep slaves; both his parents were Germans.

When he first married, his wife employed a white girl as servant.
but this girl marrying, the wife determined to have a girl she could call her own property; and she purchased with her own money a coloured girl six years old, who grew up and afterwards became the wife of Smith.

Some five or six years ago Smith's master became involved, and was obliged to mortgage part of his property and slaves, and it fell to Smith's lot to be mortgaged separately for $1000. Smith now contemplated obtaining his freedom. The mortgagee, hearing of this, proceeded to enforce his mortgage, to poor Smith's great dread, lest he should fall into the hands of this creditor.

Smith's master had regularly paid the interest, but had not the wherewithal to pay the principal, and proceedings being taken by the mortgagee, the sheriff was in due course put in possession of poor Smith, as he might have been of any cattle on the land; but the cattle would have been permitted to enjoy their liberty and their pasture, while, to prevent escape, the poor slave was, as is customary, lodged in jail. Here he lay two days and two nights, in the month of January, in a room without fire, and so damp and cold, that the poor fellow's feet became frozen.

While thus suffering in jail, Smith's wife, like good Bunyan's wife, did not forget him, and went to her own master, the owner of the next plantation, and entreated him to purchase her husband; but, unlike poor Bunyan's wife, her entreaties were not in vain. Smith's master agreed to sell him for the $1000, due on the mortgage—the wife's master paid the money, and Smith was conveyed to him; and thus, after many years,
FORMER KY SLAVE, LEWIS SMITH, TELLS OF PROBLEMS IN TRYING TO PURCHASE FREEDOM: PULPITS OPENED TO HIM

Smith, like his friend Gross, then turned his attention to freeing his wife and seven children. On applying to his late master he agreed to accept $6000 as their price.

But unforeseen circumstances soon after occurring to the master, he added to the contract this condition—that the money must be paid by the 4th of May, 1861, and if not forthcoming at that time, the bargain should be void—the wife and children must then be sold by auction and separated from each other, perhaps forever.

The two friends finding that no time was to be lost, set to work most earnestly, and the ministers of different denominations in the states before-mentioned, very kindly opened to them their pulpits. Gross preached and appealed for his friend to the sympathies of the people, and by this means they have been enabled to collect $1200, of which the noble sum of $300 was collected at one meeting, at Henry Ward Beecher's Chapel at Brooklyn, New York. Although the liberality of the people has been great, they having on three occasions responded so willingly, the time runs short for raising the remaining $4800. The poor men felt they might fail to raise this large sum when the contract for emancipation will be at an end, the penalty being a continuance of slavery by the four eldest children, now in the slave state of Kentucky, and a return to slavery of the wife and such of the remaining three children, now in the free states, as the $1200 already paid will not extend to emancipate. The only mode of avoiding this result is by raising the $4800. For this purpose Gross and Smith have now come to England.

Before they left New York Smith handed the $1200 to Mr. C. K. Snider, of Ripley, Ohio, banker, who kindly consented to act for him. This gentleman went to the master of Smith's wife and children, and induced the master to accept that amount as an instalment of the $6000, and to allow the wife and three youngest children to go free, on security being found for their value. This security was procured—one of the kind sureties being Mr. Snider himself—but the four eldest children are still left in slavery, and the $4800 (about £1000) remains to be raised.

Gross and Smith came to England in July last, bringing with them good testimonials from America and both men have met with great kindness here, and upwards of £200 have been already contributed.

Many facts, deeply interesting, connected with the history of these poor men and the members of their families, and affording much information, as to the working of slavery as it now exists, are obliged to be suppressed on account of their bearing on the welfare of others still left behind in slavery.

But who can read this account without joyfully acknowledging the energy, self-denial, and perseverance of these men—their abiding friendship—the love and faithfulness both of the wife and of the...
FORMER KY SLAVES, TABB GROSS AND LEWIS SMITH, GO TO ENGLAND TO RAISE MONEY TO HELP FREE FAMILY

j w blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (interview in London in 1861 pub in British Friend, XIX, Second Month, 1861, 30-32)

exercise of such virtues?—the revelation at the last great day will disclose many such acts of love and faithfulness, "to the praise of the glory of His grace."

The presbytery of the Scotch Church in London have received Gross and Smith very kindly, and at their court passed the following resolution:

"29 Queen Square, November 13th, 1860.

"The Presbytery of London having examined the testimonials of Messrs. Gross and Smith, are perfectly satisfied that their case is a genuine one, and worthy of the sympathy and support of the friends of humanity, and of the members of the Christian church; and they cordially recommend the case accordingly.

"Signed in name and by authority of the Presbytery of London, by—

"THOMAS M'CRUDE, D.D., Moderator.

"WILLIAM CHALMERS, Presbytery Clerk."

Gross and Smith are also permitted to refer to George Hopkins, Esq., of 8 Clayton Place, Kennington Road, late M.P. for the Tower Hamlets; Dr. Cheever, of Brooklyn, New York, who is now in England, staying at Mrs. Moore’s, 11 Queen Square; and to Wm. Arthur, M.A., and Elijah Hoole, D.D., both of the Wesleyan Mission House, Bishopsgate Street Within, London. The latter gentleman has kindly undertaken to receive subscriptions at the Mission House.

KY FREEMAN IN 1863 DESCRIBES PROBLEMS OF BLACKS; DIFFICULTY IN TRAVEL

j w blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (Am. Freed. Inquiry Commission interview, 1863, probably Louisville)

WASHINGTON SPRADLING

Interviewed, 1863, Kentucky

b. Kentucky

Enslaved: Kentucky

(The son of an overseer, who told his employer, on his death-bed, that he had been living with Washington’s mother, and desired that what property he had might be devoted to the purchase of the woman and her child.)

I was born a slave. My father bought me, and I bought my own children, five in number, paying from $275 to $700 apiece for them. I have bought thirty-three other slaves, a good many of whom have repaid me, and a good many have not. There is now $3337.50 due me from slaves that I have purchased.

There is no provision made here for the care of poor and sick colored persons, except in case of small pox. A pim purge is made up among the colored people to bury the dead who leave no property. Our principal difficulty here grows out of the police laws, which are very stringent. For instance, a police officer may go to a house at night, without any search warrant, and, if the door is not opened when he knocks, force it in, and ransack the house, and the colored man has no redress. At other times, they come and say they are hunting for stolen goods or for runaway slaves, and enter the house, which is their home, turn out all the occupants, and ransack the premises.
out of the state, I cannot come back to it again. The penalty is imprison-ment in the penitentiary. Such cases have been tried very often, but I have heard of but one conviction under the law. It is not a common thing to have such trials here in the city, where the colored people are mixed up, and it is hard to find a person; but here is one case I knew of. The mother of a young man who lives here moved across the river, and, being very sick and about to die, sent for him; but he could not go, and did not attend the funeral. He had married here, & his wife preferred remaining here. Another difficulty is this. If a freeman comes here, (perhaps he may have been born free) he cannot get free papers, and if the police find out he has got no free papers, they snap him up, and put him in jail. Sometimes they remain in jail three, four and five months before they are brought to trial. My children are just tied down here. If they go to Louisiana, there is no chance for them, unless I can get some white man to go to New Orleans and swear they belong to him, and claim them as his slaves. As I understand it, a freeman cannot get permission to go out of the state and come back. There are many cases of assault and battery in which we can have no redress. I have known a case here in which a man bought himself three times. The last time, he was chained on board a boat, to be sent South, when a gentleman who now lives in New York saw him, and bought him, and gave him his free papers. I have to pay taxes to the amount of sixty dollars a year for schools. There is no colored school in any other part of the state except in this city. Colored children in Lexington, Frankfort, and other places, have to come here, if they go to school at all. Slave women generally work round in the fields in this state. It frequently happens, that if a slave is lame and really unable to work and take care of himself, his neighbors try to persuade him to go home to his master and let him take care of him; but in such cases, they often prefer to purchase themselves. A father or mother, if free, may buy their children, or a free husband may buy his wife, or a free wife her husband and they can have their free papers. A brother cannot buy his sister, and give her free papers.
Mrs. Lewis Bibb

Interviewed, 1863, Kentucky
Enslaved: Kentucky

I bought myself almost twenty years ago, I think. I am getting along comfortably. I paid $323 for myself. I just worked round first at one place and then another. I didn't pay my master any hire while I was working to earn the money to pay for myself. It was six or seven years before I got the money all paid. My master was a rightly good man. He moved away to another place, and didn't want to take any black ones with him. My children were all small when I bought myself, and he said when they grew up and were able to work, he would set them free. He could have got $1200 for me if he had set me up on the auction-block, but he didn't do it.

The colored people have Sunday schools and every-day schools here. They are doing very well, I think. My children go to school every Sunday. I am not able now to send them to the day school. The schools are all supported by the colored people.

1863 INTERVIEW WITH BLACK STEAMBOATMAN; EMANCIPATED; PROBLEMS OF BLACKS IN EMPLOYMENT (NAME UNKNOWN)

Interviewed, 1863, Kentucky
Enslaved: Kentucky
Steamboatman

I was emancipated when I was quite young. I have made $125 a month wages. Year after year, I got $100 a month on the river. It is a mistaken idea that the black people cannot take care of themselves. There may be some few that will not do it, as you will find some few in all classes of people. Most of the colored people have been waiters, and run on the river, until the last year, when they have commenced working on shore. A great many have quit the river and gone into the country, and a great many have gone into the tobacco factories. I have done very well on shore. There was no difficulty in running on the river, though sometimes they would put us in prison in New Orleans. They had very mean laws about free colored people coming into the state. They put me in prison twice. The laws is the principal thing that trouble us. There are plenty of men who could do business here if the laws would allow them. They don't allow them to keep a tavern, or grocery store, or dry-good store. A free colored man can work at a trade. There is not so much prejudice here about working in a shop with colored men as there is in the free states. A colored man can have a mechanic's shop, and work in it. The boat I run on was a big one, and could not run in the summer, so I worked in the winter and lay round all summer, and when winter came, I found myself about where I was the year before. If I could have put my money into trade in
KY BLACK, ELIZABETH THOMPSON, EMANCIPATED, TELLS OF FAMILY, THEIR WORK

ELIZABETH THOMPSON
Interviewed, 1863, Kentucky (?) Enslaved: Kentucky (?)
I was emancipated in 1846. My husband is a slave. I have five children. I wash and iron, and my husband helps me some by his extra work. His old master hires him out for $7.00 a week, and requires $2.50 a week from him. I have a little boy, eight years old, who makes me $1.50 a week. Tobacco stripping; and I have a daughter, thirteen years old, and she makes me $1.25 a week. I have been here two years and five months, and I have not been interfered with at all by the police.

INFIRM BLACK FEMALE, CHARLOTTE BURRIS, TELLS OF GAINING FREEDOM, OF ILLNESS AND WORK

INFIRM BLACK FEMALE, CHARLOTTE BURRIS, TELLS OF GAINING FREEDOM, OF ILLNESS AND WORK

INFIRM BLACK FEMALE, CHARLOTTE BURRIS, TELLS OF GAINING FREEDOM, OF ILLNESS AND WORK

INFIRM BLACK FEMALE, CHARLOTTE BURRIS, TELLS OF GAINING FREEDOM, OF ILLNESS AND WORK
KY SLAVE CHARLOTTE, TELLS: OF LIVING AWAY FROM MASTER WITH CHILDREN WITH LITTLE CONTACT WITH MASTER

Interviewed, 1863, Kentucky  
Enslaved: Kentucky  
Washerwoman

I belong to Gen. Thos. Strange. I have two boys. I pay a dollar a week to him, and support myself and children, and pay my house rent. I have been hiring myself for over fifteen years; I get along very well, and keep the hire paid up. You couldn't pay me to live at home, if I could help myself. My master doesn't supply me with anything—not even a little medicine—no more than if I didn't belong to him. Each of my children pays him $2.00 a week. They work in tobacconist shops. I support them. One of my boys is thirteen years old and the other seventeen. They get $2 a week pay. If the boys make more than $2.00 a week a piece I get what is over; if they don't make that, I have to make it good to him. He has got to have it Saturday night, sure. I have not had good health. Sometimes I am ailing, but I always keep up enough to try to make my wages. I have only one room, and pay three dollars a month for it. I live by washing.

LYDIA REED'S HUSBAND BOUGHT FAMILY'S FREEDOM WITH MONEY FROM LOTTERY TICKET (1859)

Interviewed, 1863, Kentucky  
Enslaved: Kentucky  
Nurse

My husband bought us a little better than four years ago. He gave $2100 for five of us. He got the money by a lottery ticket. He gave fifty cents for it, and it brought him $2125. That was the cheapest they would let him have us for. We were valued at that. We have no free papers. My husband works at the printing business, and they pay him six dollars a week. My business is nursing sick ladies.
FREEDOM PURCHASED (1848?) FOR FAMILY OF MRS. L. STRAWTHOR; SHE DESCRIBES CONDITIONS OF PURCHASE

j w blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (Am Freed Inquiry Commission Interview, 1863, Ky)

**MRS. L. STRAWTHOR**

Interviewed, 1863, Kentucky  
Enslaved: Kentucky  
Washerwoman

I reckon it is about fifteen or sixteen years since I bought myself. I paid $800 for myself and two children. This house belongs to me, but the ground is leased. I pay $5 a year for the ground. My house was burned about eight years ago, and was not insured. I make my living at washing. I had a husband when I got my freedom. He bought me for $300; I didn't help him much, except with a little money I had before I was free; and then we went to work and bought the children. It is five years now since I have had any help from my husband. He is down South somewhere. I suppose, if he is not dead. I have had to work mighty hard, in and out, to get this far ahead.

FREEMAN NAMED COX DESCRIBES PURCHASING SELF; HOUSE; PROGRESS

j w blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (Am Freed Inquiry Commission Interview, 1863, Ky)

**COX**

Interviewed, 1863, Kentucky  
Enslaved: Kentucky  
Steward

I bought myself about thirteen years ago for $2100. I was a steward on the river, and brought them good wages, and that is why they charged me so much. I paid $250 a year for myself when I hired my time. I made the money to pay for myself stewarding and trading on the river. Trade was very good on the river before the war commenced, and a man could make it right smart at that. I gave $1800 for this property (a comfortable or well-furnished house) and own a lot besides, which I gave $630 for. I have five children, three of whom go to school. I have two nephews, one I paid $1200 for, and the other $900. I have just sent one of them to Oberlin to school.
MRS. DABNEY PAGE

Interviewed, 1863, Kentucky

Enslaved: Kentucky

MRS. DABNEY PAGE

My husband bought both himself and me. I think he gave something like a thousand dollars for me and the children. He has bought James since, and gave $1100 for him. He is a steward on the river. My husband bought this house about eight years ago.

ENSLAVED LAVINA BELL TELLS OF HARSH LIFE, SEPARATION FROM CHILDREN

LAVINA BELL

Interviewed, 1863, Kentucky

Enslaved: Kentucky

Washerwoman

I am a slave woman; my children are slaves, and my husband is a slave. I have been hiring myself eleven years. The white people have got two of my children over eleven years old. I have to clothe these two children now. I haven't had a chance to see the other two children for four months. The last time I saw my little girl, I hadn't seen her for ten months, and I saved a piece of clothing I took off of her (when being requested to show it, she left the room and soon returned with a small bundle of filthy rags, which she said she took from the back of her child, as her chemise) I couldn't help crying when I saw it. I paid them $72 a year for myself, and clothe myself, and pay my house rent and doctor's bill, and soon as my children grow up, they take them. That one (pointing to a bright little boy about 9 or 10 years old) is about big enough to go. I washed my little girl, when I saw her, and young master had whipped the child so that you couldn't lay your hand anywhere along her back where he hadn't cut the blood out of her. And instead of giving the girl a basin of water, and letting her go to a room and wash herself, they make the children go down to a pond, and wash themselves just like beasts. My husband is cook in a hotel. We have no spices or salt, and we ain't allowed to have anything but...
MR. BRADWELL PURCHASED FREEDOM, METHODIST CHURCH HELPED; PREACHES AND MAKES SHOES; DESCRIBES CHURCH,

Interviewed, 1863, Kentucky  
Enslaved: Kentucky Shoemaker, minister

Mr. Bradwell was formerly a slave, but is now a Methodist preacher. He said he bought himself, paying most of the price himself, and the Methodist Church paying the rest and taking a deed of him, so that he is nominally the slave of the church; but that is merely to meet the requirements of the law. He has a comfortable house, and works at shoemaking part of the time, and preaches and exhorts the rest. He was sold by the heirs of his first master, who were his nephews, and when Dr. Howe visited the house, one of these nephews, who had come to town, was at the house, and his horse was in the colored man's stable. He says the colored Methodist pulpit of the city is now supplied by the white Methodist clergy in succession, their colored preacher being absent; that there are two large Methodist churches, and that a majority of the members are slaves. He states that within the past year, one of these churches raised $700, and the other $650 towards paying off their debts, and that slaves contributed largely towards this.

ANDREW FREDHEW DESCRIBES PURCHASING SELF, CHILDREN

Interviewed, 1863, Kentucky  
Enslaved: Kentucky Carpenter.

Mr. Fredhew (who is a mulatto) said he was brought up in the interior of Kentucky. He is a carpenter. He bought himself for $800, married a slave woman, and bought her and five of his children for $2,000, and bought the rest of his children (two in number) cheap, as the old man died, and the widow was willing to favor him. He has had 14 children, of whom eight are living. Is now prosperous. Has sent two of his daughters to Oberlin.
A.T. JONES TELLS OF SLAVERY, FLIGHT TO CANADA IN 1834

J W Blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (Am Freed Inquiry Commission Interview, 1863, Canada)

I was born in Madison Co., Ky., and was in bondage until I was 20 years old. My family were treated rather better than the ordinary treatment of slaves in that neighborhood. I was not a house servant, but a field hand; but on that plantation, there was never any overseer; we were our own managers. Any orders were given to my oldest brother. There were 15 slaves on the plantation. It is generally the case, that where there are small gangs, they are better treated than those on large plantations. It is only on those plantations where they have a number of slaves and where they have overseers, that the slaves are so cruelly treated. I believe it is the case, that colored men make very hard overseers in a great many instances, but that is only through fear of losing their situation, and the same lash being applied to them. It is only for self protection. In our neighborhood, there were some slaveholders who had a number of slaves, who were treated rather inhumanly. In fact, they would not be allowed to leave their homes without a pass. There was a near neighbor of ours, named Duncan, who whipped a slave to death. I knew about it myself; it was only half a mile from our place. No notice at all was taken of it, I suppose it was scarcely his intention to kill the man, because it was the only man he had; but he got into a passion. The man went out against his orders.

My father had accumulated a good deal of money, peddling round the country, and bought himself and my mother; but it was after the birth of fourteen children, who of course were all in slavery. My oldest brother fell to one of the oldest sons, who sold him to a millwright, and he learned him the millwright's trade. After serving seven years, he was emancipated, and taken into partnership by the miller, and in the course of two years saved considerable money, which he gave to two of my sisters to purchase their freedom. At this time, the old man was dead, and we were divided among the sons. The son that claimed me had four of us. This money bought two of us. I was the next oldest, and I made an agreement to give him $350 for my liberty, which was in proportion to what the others paid. Before the expiration of the time I was allowed to pay the $350, a Methodist minister's son, by the name of Sam Bennett, told my master it was a shame for him to set those likely boys free; that it would have a bad effect upon the other slaves in the neighborhood, and that he would give him $400 for me. I had three weeks or a month to raise this money in, and I had made an agreement with Edward Johnson, of Frankfort, to lend me a portion of the money; but on hearing that this man Bennett had offered $400 for me, and that, in fact, my master had taken the money, I left for Canada. I was satisfied he was going to cheat
ascertained that it was a fact that there was a sale, & the money was paid over, and I there wrote myself a pass. I could scarcely put two syllables together grammatically, but in fact, one half the white men there were not much better. I wrote my pass—"Please let the bearer pass and repass, on good behavior, to Cincinnati and return." I knew I would behave myself, and I knew I would return. There were two facts. I took the stage from Georgetown to Cincinnati, (producing my pass) and when I arrived at Cincinnati, I took the stage for Chillicothe, in the middle of the State of Ohio. There I passed myself off as the son of a gentleman living in Cleveland, & came on the canal boat to Cleveland. I had no trouble in getting to Canada. The only trouble I had was this. I took the stage at eleven o'clock at night, and the next morning, at the stage house, I went into a room with the rest of the passengers, and when I was observed,

they ordered me into the kitchen. That caused some words. I would not go into the kitchen, but remained out on the platform walking round until the stage started. That was about the only difficulty I had. I had no knowledge of Canada beforehand. I recollect, when Canada was first taken possession of by the British, hearing my old mistress mention the fact, and saying that it would be like a weedy field; when the blacks got into it, they would never get them out. That had reference to the cornfields there. When the hogs got into them, they never could be got out. I came away the first day of January, 1834. There hadn't been much talk then among the colored people about Canada. I was satisfied that I should be free when I got here, because it was under the protection of the British Government. I knew, from hearing the papers read by the whites, and from what I could read myself, that the British Government was opposed to slavery; and in fact, ever since my first recollection, the only source that the colored people looked to for deliverance from slavery was the British Government. They prayed that there might come some war, or something, between the two countries, by which the British Government should destroy slavery. That was the talk among the slaves.
ISAAC THROGMORTON (AGE 54) TELLS OF BEING BARBER IN KY, SOLD TO NEW ORLEANS, RETURN TO KY & PLANS TO ESCAPE

ISAAC THROGMORTON

Interviewed, 1863, Canada

Age: fifty-four
b. 1809, Kentucky
Enslaved: Kentucky, Louisiana
Barber

I was born in the State of Kentucky, and lived there until I was 22 years old. My first beginning was as a gardener, & then I came to the city of Louisville, where I was put at the barber's trade. I served my apprenticeship of seven years, and then kept shop for myself one or two years, & then I was one year steamboating up the river. I never suffered from any severe treatment. There are very few slaves who are blessed with such blessings as I was blessed with. The man was a pedlar, and his servants were always out. He put me at a trade with a free man, and I lived with free people, and it was just as though I was free, only when he would send for me to come round, and let me know that I was not altogether free. I have seen people very cruelly treated in Ky. and La. The sufferings of the slaves in Louisiana are awful.

Throgmorton goes on to tell of much harsh treatment in N. Orleans.

I will tell you the reason why I ran away. I had one or two reasons. In the first place, as I had been raised a barber and among freemen, it always seemed to me that I was free; but when I was turned over to another man, who kept me close round, I saw I was not a freeman; that all the privileges were taken from me, that I had when I was working with freemen. Then, when I was moved from Kentucky to Louisiana, I saw so many cruelties that it sickened my heart, and notwithstanding I was treated well, there was no comfort for me. I found there was no pleasure in anything. Then, although my master treated me well enough, when he got married, his wife and all her kin considered that I had been treated too well, and I knew directly that his head was laid low (and he was an old man) I would be done forever. I came here in 1853. I had no particular trouble in getting away. This man just wanted me to shave him and travel round with him. He was a heavy planter, and of course he never stayed in New Orleans all summer. Well, I always had to be on my p's and q's, and saw that if I turned to the right or the left, he would dismiss me. That kept me always in trouble. Well, he came up to Kentucky to spend his summers, and he brought me there, and I saw it was a good chance. I had been seeking a chance for all those eleven years, and the first chance that I saw clear, I started off fishing. I had all my arrangements made to go
ISAAC THROGMORTON (AGE 54) TELLS OF BEING BARMER IN KY; SOLD TO NEW ORLEANS; RETURN TO KY & DETAILS OF ESCAPE TO KY

ISAAC THROGMORTON (age 54) TELLS OF ESCAPE FROM KY: LIFE IN CANADA

Said he, "Where are your free papers? You must show your free papers, or have somebody that knows you are free." I said, "Your son knows me." (I went over the day before with a freeman, and the son saw me.) He asked his son if he knew me, and he said, "Yes, he went over the other day." From New Albany I went to Jeffersonville, and there took the cars and came right along to Canada. When I got to Cleveland, I hadn't eaten anything for two things [days?] and as soon as I got off the cars, I rushed to the lake, and found what was called the "May Queen," that was going to sail for Detroit. There I got something to eat. When she drew in her plank and rang the bell, I felt as if the shackles were broken off; I felt free. It was a beautiful night, and I sat up until 12 o'clock, watching the lake, and thinking of my freedom, and of the scenes I had seen in Louisiana. I felt like a new man.

I believe the people that were not religious treated their slaves better than those who were religious. A religious man will believe whatever the overseer says, and he has the control of the hands in the field. Whatever he says is law and gospel. If he says "John has acted impudent," the master will come round and say, "Chastise him for it," & the overseer will give him two or three hundred lashes. Then, in the next place, they don't feed nor clothe their slaves as well as the irreligious man. There was one Mr. Anderson, a preacher, who married a girl who had slaves, and after that, he quit preaching pretty much, and drove his slaves very hard. He couldn't see anything but cotton bales. If the hands were making 500

ISAAC THROGMORTON (age 54) TELLS OF ESCAPE FROM KY: LIFE IN CANADA

bales, he said, "We must have 650 next year," and of course the hands would have to be driven. If pork was selling at a high price, all the slaves would get from the religious man would be three pounds a week, while the man that couldn't be so religious would give them four pounds.

I had two three dollars when I crossed over to Canada, and when I got to Chatham, I had five shillings. I hired out to a contractor on a railroad for eight shillings a day, and worked for him until about October, and then went to work as a waiter in a hotel, and got $10 a month. After I left there, I went to work barbering, and in November, 1853, came to London. I had then clothed myself well, and saved eight or nine dollars besides. I went to work here for eight dollars a week and my board. About Christmas, I went to work for another man, who gave me $26 a month; and then the man sold out to me and another man, we giving him $350 for his shop. Since then, I have been doing very well. I have bought a house and lot, for which I paid $1800. I have never had any trouble since I came to Canada. I have got a very good shop, and am doing as well as I could expect. I would not change my situation under any consideration. I would rather die than exchange freedom in Canada for slavery. I am satisfied here, but I would like to go over there to see my friends. The climate has a good deal to do with it. If it was perfectly free, I would like to go there...
ISAAC THROGMORTON (AGE 54) TELLS OF SLAVERY IN KY, ESCAPE TO CANADA 1248-D

It is sometimes said by white people that colored people won't work if they are free, but I have known a plantation down South where there were 400 slaves, who would work very hard if they had an opportunity to make money. For instance, supposing their task was to pick 300 pounds of cotton, and their master told them he would pay them extra if they picked 350 pounds, they would work very hard to earn something for themselves. It is the general desire of the slaves to be free, and to have pay for their labor, and when they are not paid for it, they are discouraged.

I escaped from slavery twice. The first time was when I was living in Kentucky. I went back after my sister, and my master sold me South, after a year. I had tasted the sweets of freedom, and I never was satisfied after that.

FORMER KY SLAVE, GEORGE DUNN, BOUGHT TIME; NOT TREATED HARSHLY, WENT TO CANADA 1249

I was born in Virginia, I believe, but was reared in Frankfort, Ky. Our folks weren't treated so awful bad. We couldn't do more work than our boss wanted us to do, of course, but then, we weren't worked and drove so bad as some people were. I don't believe I ever had but one whipping in my life, but still, I had to work rather hard. I farmed it twelve years. The man who brought me up was a Baptist preacher, and was a little more indulgent than some others. I have been in Canada about twelve years. I always had a mind to come to Canada. I always thought slavery was wrong, but I wouldn't come to Canada until I got in the way to save some money. I bought my time, & paid $500 for it. A great many of our family have bought their time. But slavery as a general thing is a hard system, and as soon as I could get out of it, I thought I would. I never saw any particular cases of cruelty; but at the time I was a boy, they used to be very cruel with their slaves round about Louisville, whipping, selling and driving them, and all such as that. There was a man who used to live about Frankfort by the name of Maffit, who was a great slave driver, and drove hundreds at a time, handcuffed, and everything such as that. But I was never used to the negroes to do any such thing, never having
KY SLAVE, WILLIAM JACKSON, BOUGHT TIME FOR 20 YEARS TO EARN FREEDOM 1861
MOVED TO CANADA (1861)

WILLIAM JACKSON

Interviewed, 1863, Canada  
b. Maryland  
Enslaved: Louisiana, Kentucky

I was born in Maryland, but have lived in New Orleans, and in Louisville, Ky. I came from Kentucky to Canada a little over a year ago. I bought my freedom of my master, and paid him $1005 for it. I was twenty years saving the money—laying by $50 a year. I hired my time of my master, before I bought my freedom, paying him $240 a year for it. I paid him, during the years I hired my time, almost $6000.

KY SLAVE, WASHINGTON THOMAS, BOATMAN, WENT TO CANADA AT 16 1863

WASHINGTON THOMAS

Interviewed, 1863, Canada  
Enslaved: Kentucky  
Steamboatman

I came from Kentucky. I was a slave there. I didn't have very hard times. I was on the river all my life, from the time I was old enough. I didn't know how long them good times would last; that was the reason of my coming away. I didn't have any money. What I made I had to pay my boss. I paid my boss $160 a year, from the time I was ten years old to 16. I came here when I was 16. I had no difficulty in getting here. I like it first-rate since I have been here. If I could be just as free there as I am here, I would go there. I could make more, and I like the climate better. Me and my mother own the property here. I am a plasterer by trade, but I have worked at the carpenter's trade a little.
George Ramsey

Interviewed, 1863, Canada
Age: fifty-eight
b. 1805, Kentucky
Enslaved: Kentucky
Blacksmith

I came here from the State of Kentucky. I was not free born. I didn't feel that any body had a right to me, after I began to think about it. I had a middling good time there—good as the common did. I was learnt the blacksmith's trade there. I worked a very little on the plantation though. There are a great many good mechanics there who never came away. I can't say that I experienced any hard treatment there, but I worked hard, and got nothing for it. I thought that was hard, when I got to be about 22. I had it in my mind long before that age, that I wouldn't stay longer than I was 21 or 22—that I should want to be a man when other men were men, by the age I got a wife—that is what caused me to come away as quick as I did. They carried her off South, to what they called Arkansas Territory. The man who had me tried to get her to keep me, but couldn't do it. I had been living with her as my wife, but her master carried her off with the rest of his slaves. All my children went with her, and I have never seen them since. I went after her once, and got her, but they took her away from me. Canada was not in

[Handwritten notes and inferences]
- Followed wife to Canada
- Went to Canada 1832
- Interviewed, 1863, Canada
- Blacksmith
- Kentucky
- Not free born
- Middling good time
- Experienced no hard treatment
- Worked hard
- Thought hard
- Wanted to be a man
- Master tried to keep me
- Wife taken away
- Children went with her
- Canadian Territory
- Went after her once
- Lost oldest girl
- Lost my children
- All are men and women except one boy
- Made money
- Worked steadily
- $20,000
- Wasted some
- Lost oldest girl
- Lost my children
- No liberty
- Difficult to get away
- Started for it
- Indiana
- Marked course
- Money
- Six weeks
- 58 years old
- Worked steadily
- Made about $20,000
- Saved something every year
- Married
- Raised family
- Own shop
- Places around here
- 6 children
- Came to Canada
- Lost oldest girl
HORACE H. HAWKINS

Interviewed, 1863, Canada
Age: forty-four
b. 1819, Kentucky
Enslaved: Kentucky

I am a Kentuckian by birth. I came away when I was 15 or 16 years old, in 1835. Fourteen of us came away together. We were all slaves, from the estate of Edmund Taylor, and his brother, Gen. James Taylor. We crossed the Ohio river about 9 o'clock at night Saturday evening, and Sunday morning arrived at Dayton, Ohio. We were accommodated by Quakers, and we had a large Quaker wagon, with canvas over it, & two fine horses, which we borrowed from the Quakers. We drove them so hard Saturday night and Sunday, that they couldn't eat nor drink. We purchased another horse, as a lead horse, and we drove the whole of them so hard that they all gave out, and we just left them on the turnpike, and abandoned the wagon. We went on foot, and otherwise, until we arrived at Huron, and as soon as the steamer touched the dock, we walked aboard, and the captain hollared out, "Here comes Old Kentucky!" The next day we arrived at Malden, C.W., and as the steamer neared the dock, who should I see but my sister and my mother's oldest brother. They had no knowledge of our coming, but just happened to be there to see the boat land. I stayed in Canada and worked in a tobacco factory through the winter, and went to the State of New York in the Spring. There I went to school at Geneva, and also at Rochester, entered the University, and commenced preaching to the colored Baptist church in Rochester. I remained there until the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, and then I came to Canada, to Malden, and had an appointment from the New York Baptist State Convention, white, as a missionary among my people, at a salary of $300 a year for three years, regularly. The church grew strong, and I declined to receive further support from them. I went to Chicago, and preached there a while, and while there received a letter from Gov. C. S. Morehead, who wanted to sell my brother to me, and I made an arrangement, and paid him some, got my brother out of his hands, and never paid the rest. I also purchased my sister Josephine, and her son George, from Edmund Taylor, of Frankfort, Ky. After I got here, I didn't like to be pent up in Canada, and I saw they were determined to catch me if they could, if I ever went to the American side. I went to Columbus, Ohio, to see the Rev. Henry Davis, pastor of a Baptist church there, and he gave me a note of introduction, and I just went back to my friends in Rochester and in the State of New York, and soon raised the necessary money to purchase my free papers—$300. The owners refused to take the $300. They were told that I had been to school and understood something of the languages, and one of them said, if he got me, he would teach me a language I hadn't yet learned. He wanted $500. Well, I just left it; I paid the $300, and was free at last.
would be returned to me, as an outfit for the coast of Africa. That made such an impression upon his mind that he thought he would take the $300 that had been offered, and sent a note to that effect, but they then refused to give him the $300. Then this Kentuckian went to him again, and told him that he wouldn't get anything, but to make an offer, and get what he could. Then he said he would take $200. They gave that to him, and he gave them my free papers. In nine days from that time, I returned to Kentucky, and just as soon as I touched the dock, my hair rose on my head just as if it was hog's bristles. I felt as weak as water. I was in "Old Kentucky." Then wrote a letter, requesting an interview with my former owners. They didn't return any answer. Afterwards, I understood the man said the only objection he had to seeing me was, that I might be there at meal time, and then he would have to treat me as one of his guests, and the other servants seeing it, it would make a bad impression on their minds.

I have travelled a good deal in the Province, and have found the prejudice greater than in the States. The political influence of the colored people now has quite a tendency to moderate the prejudice. Electioneering time.

they come here for me, and I must go around and stomp the county with them. The lawyers come for me with a horse and buggy, and I must go out with them, and fare just as they do. But when the election is over, they speak, of course, when we meet, but nothing more. A colored man cannot get accommodated at any of the hotels in Canada or any line of railroad or public travel. I have found only one place in Canada where they made no distinction, and that was at Liscoe. There we all sat down and ate at the same table. Even the omnibuses here won't allow the colored people, generally, to ride, though they make exceptions in favor of some particular persons, on account of their influence; but for that we don't thank them. I have seen the same spirit manifested on the steamboats. I think the root of the prejudice is to be found in the fact that the colored people came in here very rapidly, & the whites got the impression that the colored people would become a majority in the Western county. The reason that the colored people have not got along better is that they came here poor, and ignorant, and with no trades to help them along. I came here with only twelve and a half cents, and now I consider myself worth two thousand dollars, at least.

15. James Taylor (1765–1848) was born in Virginia and later moved to Kentucky. During the War of 1812 he served as brigadier general of the Kentucky militia and quartermaster general of the Northwestern Army. *Herringshaw's National Library of American Biography* (6 vols., Chicago, 1914), V, 418.

16. Charles Slaughter Morehead (1802–1868) was graduated from Kentucky's Transylvania University in 1820 and received the L.B. degree in 1822. He served for about six years in the Kentucky House of Representatives, and as U.S. Representative from 1849 to 1853. He was born in New Kent, Virginia, and moved to Kentucky in 1815.
John Davis

Enslaved: Kentucky

Interviewed, 1863, Canada

I came here in 1837, poor as any other man need to go to any country. I had only one shirt, and not a second suit of clothes to my back. I have saved property to the amount of $350. I came from Kentucky when I first came here, and my master never has seen the scratch of a pen from me since I have been here. I believe the colored people here in Canada, within twenty miles around us, are doing as well as any people in the world. Prejudice has been in our way somewhat here, but it is not so much now as it has been. When I first came here, the white people hardly knew whether we were human, or what we were. I can't say that I ever suffered anything particular down South; but they always kept my nose down to the grindstone, and never gave me anything for my labor. But I found out I wouldn't last always that way, and concluded to free myself.

Major Nelson

Enslaved: Kentucky

Interviewed, 1889, by Levi J. Coppin

In traveling about through the country we meet with many persons who are in possession of historical facts, that, if brought to light, would be of great value to mankind in general, and to our people in particular. So the management of the REVIEW has provided a department for such facts, which are to be furnished from time to time by the person who is in possession of them. The plan will be, to hold a conversation with such historic characters as we chance to meet, and then publish the result. The following is a conversation with a member of the Kentucky Annual Conference:

"My name is Major Nelson. I was born near Columbia, Adair Co., Southern Kentucky. I was born a slave and lived out the lifetime of two masters. Was licensed to preach in my fifteenth year by the white Methodist Episcopal Church, and was ordained both deacon and elder by the said Church. I continued a slave until the Emancipation. While yet a slave, and unable to read a chapter in the Bible, I was allowed to go out on
FORMER SLAVE, MAJOR NELSON: BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF LIFE

FORMER SLAVE, MAJOR NELSON, PREACHER: BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF LIFE

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\[p. 496\]

arrow, and as neat as a new pin. His features are clear-cut, expression kind and gentle, converses freely, and with an air of sincerity and positiveness that is sure to interest one. But what a story his life tells! A slave of two masters, and outliving both. In such good repute with both as to be made Overseer of their plantations.

He evidently inherited good moral qualities; but what he may have lacked by nature was supplied by grace. His conversion having occurred while yet a boy.

In the army he so impressed the officers that they would not permit him take a post of danger; and while his intellectual ability did not recommend him to the position of chaplain, he was permitted to fill the place indirectly. His spotless character placed him in high repute among all, both officers and ordinaries, and so he was "preacher" in his regiment. When Bishop D. A. Payne, the born teacher and trainer of men for the ministry, took charge of our work in Kentucky, he dropped out a number of ministers whom he considered incapable of giving such instruction as is so very necessary for the uplifting of the people to whom they were sent. But "Major Nelson" was not mustered out. While his special fitness was not to take a congregation and develop it intellectually, he was mighty in the work of arousing wayward men and causing them to reflect upon the great need of living a better life. Pioneer work was his calling, and this he has done faithfully, and now he is beloved and honored by his Church and

/Formed SLAVE, MAJOR NELSON, PREACHER: BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF LIFE & EVALUATION BY INTERVIEWER

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by the people whom he has served as pastor.

In the work of the Christian ministry there is a field for various "gifts and graces." Some men are great pulpit orators, others excel as pastors, some are theologians and can do better work in the university classroom than they can in the regular pastorate. Some can best serve the Church in the editor's chair, some are born to be Bishops and supervise the work. But it is often a very hard task to get men to understand the place for which they are fitted. The fact may be clearly demonstrated by repeated failures that they are not adapted to this or that station, but if they happen to have a desire to fill it, they imagine that they hear a voice calling them to it. In such a case, a life that might have been useful in a certain sphere or along a particular line is substantially thrown away. The measure of a minister should be that which is the measure of a man in any other calling, viz., success. I know of no surer evidence of a call to any avocation than the fact that one succeeds in it. Of course, as I have always said, one may fail in one department of a certain work, and succeed in another department of the same work; but this goes to prove that not only is it
FORMER SLAVE, MAJOR NELSON, PREACHER: BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF LIFE & EVALUATION BY INTERVIEWER


necessary for one to find the right field of labor, but to find out what he can best do in that field in order to make the most of life. A man can better afford to fail in any department of life than in the Christian ministry. The responsibility of the souls of men is of too great a nature to be experimented upon long at a time. Therefore, every man who believes himself called to this duty should ask God to give him an unmistakable evidence that he has undertaken the work for which nature has prepared him. [AME Church Review, V (April, 1889), 432-35.]

Levi J. Coppin (1848-1924), a Maryland free Negro, essayist, and schoolteacher, was elected bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal church in 1900. From 1900 to 1904 he served as resident bishop in South Africa. Coppin edited the A.M.E. Church Review from 1884 to 1896. Levi J. Coppin, Unwritten History (Philadelphia, 1919).

ACCT OF SMART EDWARD WALKER, KY SLAVE, OF LIFE AND ESCAPE; AIDED BY UNDERGROUND RR, 1858


Edward Walker, who is said to be one of the wealthiest colored men in Windsor, was a slave in Kentucky in ante-bellum days. He told the story of his escape in the following words: "I was born on the plantation of Havden Nelson, in Kenton County, Kentucky, ten miles from Covington, fifty-seven years ago. When I was fifteen years of age his son, Thomas Nelson became my master. Thomas already owned the adjoining plantation, and other property, and was a tolerably rich man. When I was about four years of age I was put to work doing little chores around the house, and when I was ten I worked in the corn field with the grown-up slaves and my brother, who was older than me.

"But from the time I was a little boy it always clound my feelings to know that I had to work for another man. This feeling was not encouraged by my parents or the other slaves; it came from within me and grew with the years."

"My owner was not a bad man, but at times he was flighty and unrea-
of human nature, and even when I was a little boy I could read him like a
took a notion to
book, and knew every twist and turn of his mind and character. He also
knew me pretty well, and never whipped me. He appreciated the fact
me pretty well, and never whipped me. He appreciated the fact
that a good scolding hurt me as bad and made me as angry as if he gave
that a good scolding hurt me as bad and made me as angry as if he gave
me a whipping.

"His son, Hayden, named after his grandfather, was two years younger
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ACCT OF SMART EDWARD WALKER, KY SLAVE, OF LIFE AND ESCAPE; AIDED BY UNDERGROUND RR, 1858

FOOLING HIS MASTER

"I said nothing but I saw it all in a flash. He mistrusted me and had gone to the trader to sell me. On Sundays I generally went off the plantation, but that Sunday I stayed at home, I knew that if he sold me I would be carried down South to New Orleans and it would be almost impossible to escape from there to Canada. So I played my little game as well as I knew how. When my master came back he found me and his son and my brother pitching horseshoes in front of the house. The house set back about fifty feet from the road, and as he came near I didn't appear to see him, but I watched him out of the corner of my eye. There never was a happier boy than I appeared to be. I whooped and hollered and laughed, and as he passed in I thought I saw his countenance get less stern.

"I found out afterward that he had offered me to the trader for a certain price, but the trader wanted me for less. So they agreed to talk about it again next day. The trader rode up next day and said he would take me at my master's price. But his offer was refused. My master wouldn't sell me, saying he had changed his mind. So you see I fooled him that time.

UP AND AWAY

"Early in 1858 my brother and I worked out a plan of escape. My brother was married to a girl that lived on a plantation four miles away and they had a little daughter. A colored man, who was also a slave, helped us.

This man hired his time from his master and worked around with planters, and that time was working near where my brother's wife lived. He fixed matters with a white agent of the underground railroad in Cincinnati, who agreed to have a boat waiting for us on the river bank at a certain place in Covington. On a Wednesday night we started out to escape. My brother and I each took a horse from the barn and rode to where his wife was living. The colored friend bought a horse for himself. My brother sat his wife on his horse and I took his girl on mine and we left for Covington. When we got to within three miles of the town we dismounted. I and Moses turned our horses loose and the colored friend tied his to a tree in the woods. We set out on foot and got to Covington about midnight.

"We had to be very cautious for a guard was supposed to be watching for runaways every night on the river bank. We had to cross a piece of quicksand about twelve feet across before we got to the bank. I didn't know what it was so I stood on it and handed my brother's wife and child across. Then my brother passed over and so did my colored friend. I turned to go, too, when I found that I was stuck. I could not pull my feet out and I felt I was sinking. I didn't dare to call out as I was afraid the guard would hear.

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ACCT OF SMART EDWARD WALKER, KY SLAVE, OF LIFE AND ESCAPE: AIDED BY UNDERGROUND RR, 1858

BY WAGON AND TRAIN INTO CANADA

"But when my brother went to the boat he found that I had not followed so he came back and found me. It was rather hard work, but he pulled me out. We all got in the small boat and the white agent rowed us across to Cincinnati. We were taken to the house of a colored family and stayed there about a week and then left for Canada. My brother and his family and myself rode in one buggy with a white driver. The other buggy was occupied by three fugitives—one woman and two men—and a white man as driver. We travelled at night and slept in farmer's houses by day, until we reached Bellefontaine, Ohio, and then took the train for Sandusky. There we took the boat for Detroit, and came across on the ferryboat, landing here on April 20, 1858."

Mr. Walker bears the reputation of being a fair and honorable citizen and a good business man. He is the proprietor of a prosperous grocery store, a hotel and a fine farm, and is said to be worth $50,000 at least.

KY SLAVE, RICHARD DAILY, TELLS OF LIFE AS SLAVE, ESCAPE TO CANADA

FLEEING TO FREEDOM Through Indiana by the Underground Route.

Richard Daly was born in Kimble [Trimble] County, Ky., on a plantation on the Ohio River. He said to the News-Tribune:

"The property belonged to my masters, Samuel and George Ferrin, two brothers. Samuel, the oldest, was married, and George was a bachelor. Both were good, kind men, and treated me well. George owned four or five slaves, but he freed them all while I was on the farm. Samuel owned three—myself and my brother Joe and a man named Jack Owen. I worked on the farm and attended market at Madison, Ind., across the river, and never thought I would run away. I married Kitty, a house servant owned by Moses Hoaglin, whose plantation was about a mile from the Ferrin's. We had four children, and they lived, of course, in my wife's cabin, and were owned by Mr. Hoaglin. My wife died in childbirth, when she was about twenty years of age.

"I talked with Mrs. Hoaglin about my children, and she said:"

"I will never part your children while I live."

"That satisfied me, because I knew that I could be free whenever I wanted to. Sam Ferrin had written it down that if I stayed with him till I was between 18 and 20, he would free me. So I waited till I was 20 years of age."

"I learned to read and write, and could tell my story."

"I was just about 20 years of age when I ran away."

"I was taken to a Mr. Shaffer, a shoemaker, at Greensburg, on the Ohio River. There was a negro agent there. He took me to Cincinnati, and I hired on in a store."

"I brought up my children."

"I have always been industrious and honest."

"I have been a member of the American and Grange Societies."
A BROKEN PROMISE

"After a while Mrs. Hoaglin's daughter married a doctor who lived at Louisville, and she went down there. She came up on a visit to her mother, and said she wanted Mary, my oldest child. At that time Mary was living in my house at Ferrin's. It was a brick house, just next the family house. I used to go to Hoaglin's place every night to see my three older children, and there they told me about Mary going away.

"I never went to see Mrs. Hoaglin, but I made up my mind to defeat her purpose. I said to my children, 'Will you do as I tell you?' and they said they would.

"I had for years belonged to the underground railroad, and had helped about thirty slaves to escape. They would come from some of the counties in Kentucky back of the river, and send word to me beforehand. I would meet them about two miles above Milton, Ky., on the river bank at night, and row them over in a boat. I would fire my revolver when I was crossing the Ohio River, and my white friend, who was an agent of the underground railroad, would fire his revolver to say he was ready. Then I would land the fugitives, and he would take care of them and pass them along the road to Canada.

ROAD TO A FREE LAND

"I made arrangements to run away myself, with my children. There was plenty of horses on the farm, and all my children could ride except the youngest one, who was two years old. My three children walked from Hoaglin's house and came to Ferrin's, saying that they wanted to stay at my house all night. They went to the river bank in front of the farm, and there I came with my daughter Mary. I had a boat all ready and rowed it across to Indiana. Everything was ready. We mounted horses and I took my youngest girl in my arms. We rode very fast every night. One party of underground railway agents would ride with us along the road until midnight, when another party would ride with us until nearly daylight. We stopped at farm houses in the day time. Then we took the Michigan Central cars at a station, I don't remember the name, and we came into Detroit.

"We didn't hide any more. A carriage took us from the depot to the ferry, and we came across to Windsor. This was in 1857 or 1858. I don't know which.

"I fed cattle for Hiram Walker when he had his land on the river, and was one of his herdsmen when he shipped them across the Atlantic. I crossed over to Great Britain eight times in that business.

"Three children who escaped with me from slavery live in Detroit. The
"He had a sister who lived in Kentucky. She wrote letters to him and he finally moved there, taking me with him. He settled in Newport, Ky., opposite Cincinnati and took contracts for chopping wood. But I was too valuable a man to do that kind of work, and he hired me out to the owner of a steamboat as engineer at $100 a month. I was engineer of a boat on the Ohio and Mississippi, running between Pittsburg and New Orleans until I ran away.

"Sometimes the boat lay in Cincinnati for two or three weeks, and I was over the river a good deal. I fell in love with a servant of Mr. Gage in Covington, which is also across the river from Cincinnati. We wanted to get married and I got the consent of my master. Then I went to Mr. Gage and said:

"'I want your Sarah for my wife.'

A SHORT MARRIAGE CEREMONY

"'Yes,' he said, 'if Sarah is willing; when do you want to be married?'

"'On Sunday,' said I.

"'Well, you can have her then, and I will marry you.'

"So we both came into his parlor, and he asked each of us if we wanted to marry, and we said yes, and he said:

"'You are married.' There was no minister.

"'Of course I had enough to eat, and had my wife, who remained at Mr. Gage's house, but I was dissatisfied. Here was a man taking all my wages and giving me only my board and clothes. I had some talk with an abolitionist named Tom Dorum, a tall, heavy-set man, with fair hair, who lived in Walnut Hills, a suburb of Cincinnati. He came on board the boat at Cincinnati and after a little talk, said:

"'Are you a slave?'

"'Yes.'

"'Well, I am a friend to all the colored people. How long have you been here?'

"'I told him.

"'Did you ever hear of a place called Canada?'

"'Yes, I think I have heard of it.'

"'That's a free country. When you get there you are as free as I am here. Does your boat run to Pittsburg?'

"'I said it did, and also told him when it would be there.

"Well, I will send you a notice there, and when you get to Pittsburg...

"'I told him..."
"He left me with my mind all in a whirl. I went to my wife, who was a cook and talked about running away. But she objected, saying that Mr. Gage and his wife had treated her very well, and Canada, she had heard was a poor country, where they couldn't raise anything but black-eyed peas.

"When the boat came to Pittsburg an abolitionist came on board, and talked to me in the same way as Dorum did.

"I said I would like to be free, but my wife wouldn't go, and I wouldn't leave her. I often talked with her and Dorum, and tried to persuade my wife, but it was two years before I got her to consent. We had two children, William David and Corriller.

A WELL ARRANGED PLAN

"The reason she changed her mind was this: Mr. Gage was a small tobacco manufacturer and also run a dry goods store in Covington. He became embarrassed in his business, and said to his wife, 'I don't know but what I will have to sell Corriller to pay my debts.' My wife heard him.

"Next time when I came to Mr. Gage's house my wife told me. She was scared and excited, and she said, 'O, my Lord, if you can get us away.'

"Next time Dorum came down to the boat I said: 'I am ready to go. My wife's in the notion now.'

"He looked pleased and he said: 'Now I will tell you what to do. She must keep quiet and say nothing. You go on the boat to Pittsburg. Before you go, tell your wife to go to Gage and ask him permission to go to church on Sunday night week with the children. When she gets out of the house let her go down to the river bank at the back of the house and we will be waiting there at 7 o'clock.'

"I did as I was told and so did my wife. There was a boat waiting there. Sarah and the two children went on board and the boat went to the other side of the river.

"When I got to Pittsburg I saw the other abolitionist, and I left the boat. He had a one-horse wagon filled with straw, and I got under the straw. That bottom had openings and I got plenty of air. We set out for Cincinnati, and I traveled ten nights under the straw, and stopped in the daytime in the barns or attics of friendly farmers. When we got to Cincinnati I was taken to the little house on Walnut Hills where my wife and children were hidden.

"Gage and my master offered $2,000 reward for our recovery, and a big search was made for us. We stayed there several days in hiding, and my wife said she had seen several men on horseback passing the house whom she knew to be negro traders who were trying to find us. It was a curious thing to have to go to Pittsburg and come back so near where my wife's master lived that we could see it across the river from our hiding place. But it was well planned, and put our pursuers on a false scent.

"Then the arrangements were made for our departure to Canada. Four days afterward myself, my wife and two children rode away in a one horse carriage, and we reached Toronto.
slept in barns in day time. It was one of the branches of the underground railroad extending from Cincinnati to Cleveland. Sometimes the driver would say, 'You can walk tonight,' but generally I had to stay at the bottom of the straw. All the places we stopped at were owned by white people, except that of a colored man named Hyde. When we got to his house early one morning, he said to the driver:

"I cannot take them on tonight. But the next night I can move them."

**HELD UP**

"We stayed at his house till the next night and started when it was raining. After driving an hour or two he said:

"How much money have you got?"

"Haven't got any," I said.

"This wasn't the truth, as I had $150 in gold. This I had made by taking chickens on the boat to New Orleans, and selling them at good prices."

"You certainly have some money," he said. 'If you don't give me some I'll fling you all out of the wagon.'

"My wife commenced crying, and so did my little girl. This seemed to disquiet him, and he drove on. But in a little while he commenced again, saying he must have some money, or he would stop the wagon.

"The place where you stop is not far off. Before we get there you must give me some money.'

"My wife had a gold dollar and she gave it to him, and this had to satisfy him. We stopped at a house and when he had jumped down from the wagon, he said: 'Don't you say a word about this dollar. If you do I'll find it out, and I'll stop you going to Canada.'

"That scared us and we never said a word about it. When we got to Oberlin we stayed there two days, and then we were taken to Cleveland, where we stopped three days in a room. We went to the boat on a wagon and got on board, at 8 o'clock in the morning, and the captain put us in the hold, and told us to keep quiet. We stayed there till the boat stopped. Then the captain told us to come on deck. He said: 'Now, we are in Detroit. That's Canada across there. You go to that house,' pointing to a barber shop at the foot of Woodward avenue. He went with us himself and told the barber to give us something to eat.

**SUSPENSE**

"We sat down to the table. The children took something, but neither me nor my wife could eat at all. The suspense drove away our appetites. We were afraid we might be caught just as we were about to be free.

"It was about 8 o'clock when the ferryboat came across from Windsor. The captain went on board and said to Captain Chilvers: 'Just go back right now and take these four across the river. Don't wait for any more passen-
LIFE STORY OF ALLEN SIDNEY (age 90): WORK IN DETROIT AFTER ESCAPE 1258-G

j w blassingame, ed, slave testimony, 1977 (interview Detroit News-Tribune July 22, 1894, Canada)

"We went on board. How long it seemed to cross! Our hearts were in our throats. The boat touched the dock and the gang plank was thrown out. My wife and I were shaking with excitement.

"Come on," said I to Sarah and the children.

"We crossed the plank and I felt freedom's ground under my foot.

"We are free now," said I to Sarah. 'Nobody can take us now.'

"Law me," she said, with her face twitching. 'I've heard o' this place so long, and just got to it. Now we're free!'

"The first colored man I saw was a drayman at the dock. He said:

"You're fugitives, ain't you?"

"Yes."

"'Get on this dray. I'll take you to a friend's house.'

"We were taken to the house of Mr. Bibb, who was an agent of the underground railroad. He took us into his kitchen, where we got our first meal on free soil, and he afterward got us a house to live in.

WORKED IN DETROIT

"But I never worked in Canada because there was no chance to work at my trade. I slipped across the river at night and inquired around, and finally was engaged as engineer by a furniture manufacturer named Ferguson. For two months I stayed at the factory there night and day, slept there at night and never went out of the building in day time. On Satur-

day nights I got rowed across the river, and stopped with my family till early on Monday morning.

"Milton Frost, who has since died, then kept a furniture store and bought goods for Ferguson. Mr. Frost bought a sawmill on the river at the foot of Leib street, and made furniture but afterward changed it to a woodenware works. He hired me and I worked for him as engineer for thirty-seven years, until five years ago. I was then eighty-six years of age, and too old to work any more. I lived in Windsor all the time and crossed the river back and forth in a small boat, until the Walkerville ferry was started.

"My wife died two years after I got here. My son William David Sidney, died in 1883. My daughter Corriller lives in this house with her family. She is a widow, and I turned the house and lot over to her several years ago. I have a little money, have $3,000 loaned out on mortgage at 7 percent, and our garden gives us almost all we need in summer time."
Always associated with "de fust famблиes," Aunt Nancy has the manners of the aristocrat, and her discerning eye can detect "de po' white trash," no matter how much they are covered up with fine clothes and a display of money.

Aunt Nancy belonged to Charles Henderson, a wealthy farmer who lived at Danville, Ky. Her mother was bought by Mr. Henderson for his sister. A "nigger trader," as Aunt Nancy called him, came through Danville from Culpepper County, Virginia, with a number of negroes chained two and two together and one of the little negro girls. Aunt Nancy's mother, was crying bitterly. Mr. Henderson's sister seeing the child cry, sent word to her brother to buy that child at once for her. When the trader was asked how much he wanted for the child, he said $700, and my old master jes went down into his pockets and shell it out to him," said Aunt Nancy.

It was a great day, not only for Aunt Nancy and her husband, Carey, but for all the negroes in Danville, Ky., when Mr. Henderson, who was an abolitionist, decided to free and send fifty-three of his slaves to Liberia. These fifty-three negroes were heroes in the eyes of the other less fortunate, who gathered at the station to see them off for Lexington, whence they were to go on to Louisville. Traveling in those days was slow. They were four weeks on the way to Baltimore, where they were to
Columbus never felt half the pride as he walked the gang plank of his flagship on its western voyage as did Aunt Nancy when she stepped aboard the "Sophy Walker." This was the name of their ship. Before going aboard, however, their "old Master Henderson" spent $4,500 on them and bought them everything they needed from a pin up.

The "Sophy Walker" was a three masted ship which put out to sea with such a cargo as it never carried before—a cargo of dreams of wealth and vast importance. At Norfolk 200 more freed negroes and 200 others brought from Red River district were put on board. Visions of liberty and happiness filled the minds of these children of nature.

Aunt Nancy gave her impression of sea-sickness. She saw sixty of her companions thrown overboard after dying. "The ship was stopped in the sea, and after the funeral services, the bodies were laid on a board and tilted into the sea. The bodies were weighted with sand so they would sink. "But I saw the sharks nab the bodies no more than they struck the water. The sharks do certainly know when there is a dead body on board a ship," said Aunt Nancy.

According to the narrator, Liberia is a land fulfilling the Scripture description of the Promised Land. "The good Lord never left nothin' undone in Africa, for He knows how afraid the negro is of work. So God just made everything right to his hand so he could get it without the least bit of trouble," said Aunt Nancy. "The fruits, animals, vegetables and trees are not like we have here. The sheep have long hair and not wool. The rice and coffee are the best I ever tasted. We brought forty pounds of coffee home with us and sold it for a dollar a pound."

"Rum was the principal drink in Liberia. We could get a certain kind of bark from a tree that made the finest dye in the world. There was an iron tree, bread tree and many more things I can't remember at this time. The animals were a sight. We brought a tiger cat, a cockatoo and a monkey home with us. We sold the tiger cat to the Zoo for $50.

"In society in Liberia there are the same classes as are here. The lawyer's family does not associate with the washerwoman's there any more than they do here. Of course, the natives are not much to speak about. They wear fewer clothes than our society women here do and are in the same class as the Indians with us. You are classed in Liberia, as in heaven, according to your deeds.

"The President of Liberia when I was there was a man from Lexington, Ky., by the name of [Joseph J.] Roberts. He was a very agreeable man and handles the law about like it is handled here. They have their House of Representatives and the Senate same as we do. Monrovia is the capital. It was named for the President of the United States."

Although many years have passed since Aunt Nancy returned from
Liberia—she came to Newport the day the first gun was fired on Ft. Sumter—her memory is keen in recalling her experiences.

What she knows of the progress made in Newport would fill a book by itself. When Aunt Nancy first began to gather up the threads of her life, which were broken when she left Marse Henderson to go to Liberia, and did housework for the "fast families" of Newport, there was just one street light, a little tallow candle in a glass case at the corner of Fourth and York streets, and two feet from its weak rays you could not see your hand before you. Aunt Nancy has seen the mud roads grow into the miles of cement pavement and asphalt streets.

And then the Underground Railroad—that mysterious road which began in fear and trembling and ended where the dream of the bondsman became true—Aunt Nancy knew it minutely and the names of men who have been the makers of history were connected with its phantom-like workings.

Aunt Nancy has always been employed in families of lawyers principally and knows politics and law from "a" to "izzard." In fact, her husband, Carey Bell, bears the distinction of being the only negro ever elected to a city council in Kentucky. Carey came home fresh with laurels won in the Civil War. He was a cook in the Fifteenth Infantry for three years and as a mark of respect he was nominated for council. Election day proved how popular the erstwhile Fifteenth Infantry cook was among his constituents in Newport, for he was elected with an overwhelming majority. The joke was then on the voters. In their dilemma, Attorney Hallam was consulted, and it was discovered that Carey had become a citizen of Liberia and therefore, under the Constitution, was ineligible to hold office in the United States, according to the story told by Colonel Thomas Carothers, attorney.

"Getting out of Liberia is not as easy as getting in," said Aunt Nancy, reminiscently. "You jes can't get up in the night and slip away, like the poetry writer says of the Arab. You have got to advertise for a month before you are going that you are going and you can't get a passport from Liberia until every debt is paid by you to every one there. That is the reason for the month's notice, so all creditors can set up their claims to be paid.

"No, ma'am, I do not want to go back there to be buried by the side of my old mother in the St. Paul River Settlement of Kentuckians where she is buried. Angel Gabriel will find us all wherever we all are and bring us altogether in the last day." Aunt Nancy is aPresbyterian because her old mistres was. Her "old Mis" was one of the aristocratic Buckners from Culpepper County, Va., from whom Aunt Nancy got a good start in homely religion. "Every tub stands on its own bottom and the spirit never
And these are the truths she has tried to instill into the hearts of her ten children. She does not believe in slavery, saying it was a bad thing for both whites and blacks. She is very proud of her daughters, who were fine singers, and belonged to the first group of jubilee singers that came out of Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn. These jubilee singers carried the marvelous melody of “Swing Low, Sweet Chariot,” as sung by the negroes, into every part of the country. They appeared in Cincinnati at Woodward High School.

The old negro woman is keen on the news of the day, especially all that concerns her race. She knew as much about the Marcus Garvey movement as the reporter did. She is one of a small remnant of the Southern negro “Mammy,” who nourished and cared for the white children of their “Old Marse” and “Old Mis” and for whose love, faithfulness and tenderness these same children, now grown to age, hold a reverent memory.

Ramsey Washington, one of Newport’s distinguished citizens, remembers well the days when he was tied to the apron string of Aunt Nancy, who was then his nurse. Aunt Nancy said this was the only sure way she had of knowing where to put her hand on Master Ramsey in his early days, otherwise she would have been led a merry chase many times by her youthful charge. [Cincinnati Tribune, June 17, 1923.]

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42. See note 44. Nancy Bell was apparently born in 1835 and would have been eighty-eight in 1923.


44. In 1854 the Sophia Walker, under the command of Captain Horatio N. Gray, took on passengers at Baltimore on May 6, at Norfolk on May 18, and at Savannah on May 27 bound for Bassa and Monrovia, Liberia. The total number of emigrants was 254, including 22 slaves emancipated by Charles Henderson of Danville, Kentucky. Listed among the emancipated

Henderson slaves were twenty-one-year-old Carey Bell and his nineteen-year-old wife Nancy. *African Repository*, XXX (July, 1854), 214-19.

45. The Sophia Walker arrived at Monrovia on July 30. According to the Liberian *Herald*, “Much sickness prevailed on board during the passage out, especially among the children, twenty of whom died before reaching Grand Bassa, and eight or ten more soon after landing.” *Ibid.*, XXX (November, 1854), 349.
To satisfy the freedmen's thirst for education schools were necessary. As in so many other things at this time, the state helped the Negroes very little. Two laws on the subject were enacted by the General Assembly in 1866 and 1867, but both were based on the principle that Negroes themselves must bear the entire cost of their education. Given the poverty of the blacks and the defective language of the laws, their results were meager. By 1870 no more than forty freedmen's schools in twenty-eight counties of Kentucky received any aid from the state. Most of these institutions could not have existed without help from other sources — sources that were responsible not only for the partial support of the state-aided schools, but for assisting many other schools as well. The other sources included the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands, popularly known as the Freedmen's Bureau, various northern benevolent societies, and, of course, the Negroes of Kentucky themselves. Of these, the Freedmen's Bureau was the most helpful financially. It often contributed more than 50% of the total funds available to the state's freedmen's schools. It was invaluable in many other ways as well.

There was one very important aspect of their lives, however, wherein the Negroes' freedom bore fruit almost immediately. This was in realizing their long-held dream of education. That the dream existed could not be doubted. Captain John Ely of the Freedmen's Bureau wrote to a Quaker organization in 1866 that "All classes of them [the Negroes] — old as well as young — envine a laudable disposition to learn to read and write." For example, in 1868 a young Negro woman student in a Louisville freedmen's school told her teacher that she had been working for a pittance for two years, supporting herself and her invalid mother while saving so that she could eventually attend school. With great diligence she learned to read during the winter of 1868-69. Of course, most Negro scholars at this time were children, but their attendance at school reflected the fact that "the great majority of parents seemed resolved that whatever else they fail to obtain, their children must be in-
DESIRE OF BLACKS FOR EDUCATION AFTER CIVIL WAR

Many Kentucky Negroes even trekked from rural districts to cities after the war in search of educational opportunities. The desire for education was closely connected with the slaves' goal of freedom. Once the most far-fetched of dreams, freedom had become a reality, and many Negroes believed that education was its necessary accessory. As one freedman put it: "We are citizens now, and we want to learn our duty." The blacks also wanted to be able to read the Scripture and to learn what books could offer concerning the practical aspects of life. Some, of course, were interested in professional careers for which literacy was indispensable; and a great many simply desired knowledge for its own sake.

FREEDMEN'S BUREAU & ITS LEADERSHIP 1865-1866

For a year after its establishment in the state in December 1865 the Freedmen's Bureau in Kentucky was a sub-district of the Tennessee Department. Probably because of the distances involved, the assistant commissioner of the Bureau for this department, Major General Clinton B. Fisk, was not as zealous in prosecuting Bureau affairs in Kentucky as he might have been. For example, from June 1866 until June 1867 he helped obtain ten times as much private aid for Tennessee's schools and charities as for Kentucky's. The situation improved, however, when Kentucky became a separate department in the Bureau organization late in 1866. At that time the assistant commissioner, Major General Jefferson C. Davis, asked his chief aide, Captain John Ely, to find a qualified person to be the first superintendent of Bureau schools in Kentucky. Ely in turn requested suggestions in the matter from Rev. Edward W. Cravath, secretary of the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church. Cravath's nominee, Rev. Thomas K. Noble, an army chaplain, was introduced to his new duties on December 10, 1866. With the aid of several assistants and the enthusiastic cooperation of the freedmen, he soon helped transform the skeletal system of Bureau-sponsered schools in the commonwealth into one...
While Bureau educational superintendent in Kentucky, Noble's policies were "adopted mainly to give the freedmen confidence, and to accustom them to manage their schools, and do it properly" after the Bureau had ceased operations in the state. Although he often stretched the law, Noble worked toward his goal imaginatively, resourcefully, and effectively.

He soon discovered that the greatest obstacle to his work was obtaining money for teachers' salaries. A Bureau regulation forbade the use of government funds to pay teachers, and the Negroes of the state were simply too poor to furnish much money. Noble managed to solve this problem rather easily. The law permitted Bureau agents to rent school buildings, so Noble promised interested Negroes that he would provide a teacher if they would build, buy, or lease a suitable school-house. After a house was secured, Noble obtained written promise from its owners or lessees that Bureau-provided "rent" would be paid to the teacher. He also urged the trustees to supplement the teacher's salary by charging each scholar a monthly tuition of about twenty cents.

When a group of blacks expressed interest in a school, Noble or a Bureau agent summoned them to a meeting and either appointed or supervised the election of the proposed school's board of trustees, which was supposed to be "composed of the most intelligent men among the Negroes." The agent then asked the trustees to sign a contract with the Bureau to undertake the responsibilities outlined above as well as those of deciding which parents were too poor to pay tuition for their children and "such other duties as may be required of them by the officers of the bureau."
The Bureau and the freedmen encountered many difficulties in their educational efforts. Among the Negroes themselves, a few were so strongly opposed to education that violence or the threat thereof resulted. For example, in April 1868 Francis A. Boyd, the teacher at the Derickson Institute in Carlisle, reported that his "school was closed by mob violence on the part of the freedmen." Fortunately, such incidents were rare. Although usually non-violent, various forms of factionalism and dissension were all too common in black communities throughout Kentucky after the war. They could be almost as damaging to the operation of schools as physical force. For example, Isabella Hudson, the teacher at the Daily Union School at Stanford, reported in December 1869, that "there are efforts being made on the part of the Colored people to create a disturbance in our school. Some of them are doing all they can to oppose my school by getting up one in opposition to this" because of jealousy. Denominational prejudice often caused similar problems in black church-related schools. Often the Negroes were simply unable to agree because "each Negro wants to have his own way, and each thinks his own way best, if there is no one to decide the question, then honest efforts for instruction culminate in disastrous quarrels for supremacy." The chief reason for these difficulties was the freedmen's not being "used to taking the responsibility of directing their own affairs." This inexperience was also partly to blame for other problems such as that of Amelia Gager, instructor at a Flemingsburg school, who complained in April 1868 that the trustees of her school had "not done anything as yet toward finding out those who are able and unable to pay tuition"; the result was that Miss Gager received little or no pay.
However, such problems were usually not caused by the Negroes' ineptitude. Poverty was mostly responsible. Reports were frequent from the freedmen's schools such as those of Hardin County teacher D. A. Gaddie, who wrote that "For want of means, Parents have not sent their children promptly in"; Ellen M. H. Southgate, teacher at the Falmouth school, stated that "freedmen very Poor — not able to pay much to maintain their school." For example, at one school the twenty young black students could afford total tuition payments of only seventy-five cents during an entire month. In addition to often creating a burden for teachers, this poverty forced many older students who would have liked to attend school year-round to seek work instead at regular intervals.

However grinding it may have been, the Kentucky Negroes' poverty did not paralyze them. Whenever possible they charged tuition, took up special collections at their churches, and organized societies that solicited funds for education. By these means they were able to raise approximately 35% of the money necessary for the operation of their schools. More than 50%, as we have seen, came from the Freedmen's Bureau. Northern benevolent associations supplied the remainder.

Poverty, managerial inexperience, and dissension were not the only problems facing the freedmen of Kentucky in their efforts to acquire education. There was also considerable white hostility toward schools for blacks in the state.

Because of this hostility the earliest freedmen's schools in Kentucky enjoyed a precarious existence. In 1866, after only a few months in operation, the schools at Paducah, Mount Sterling, and Glasgow were broken up by mobs; the disturbance at the latter place being led by the High Sheriff of Barren County. Late in that year, Thomas Noble reported that whites were intensely hostile to freedmen's schools everywhere in the commonwealth except Frankfort, Lexington, and Danville. Even in Louisville, the cultural and commercial center of the state, Noble said that there was violence and bitterness against freedmen's schools and ostracism of Bureau teachers.

Opposition to the opening of freedmen's schools was especially noticeable among the "lower and baser classes," who will not consent that the Negro shall be elevated. He must as they conceive always remain of a caste in all essential respects beneath themselves. They have been taught to believe this, and belief is now strengthened by the prejudice and passion ... [aroused by politicians].

For a time such whites successfully resisted the establishment of schools for Negroes in many localities. Bureau district superintendents W. W. Greer reported in January 1867 that "There are no
colored schools in my district. And I fear very much it will be some
time before public sentiment will permit them" because of oppo-
sition from the "rabble." A year later Noble noted that "Fifty
places have been found where schools might be established but for
the hostility of white citizens." Occasionally Noble went so far as to secure soldiers to "protect
a school or a teacher." Nevertheless, reports such as the following
were not uncommon throughout 1866, 1867, and 1868: "A house
near Kirksville which the colored people rented for school pur-
pouses and where they intended soon starting a school, was a few
days ago burned." Furthermore, some teachers at Bureau schools
in Kentucky were insulted, threatened, ostracized, and even
flogged or forcibly exiled by whites during the late 1860's.

In far western Kentucky and in Warren County, Crab Orchard,
Shepherdsville, and Mount Sterling, serious violence against freed-
men's schools continued for several years after their opening. In
the former area the strong pro-Confederate sentiments of the
population were probably chiefly to blame. In the other areas, how-
ever, violence against the schools for blacks was perhaps more a
tactic in the continuing feud of local ex-Confederates with Union-
ists. The group of southern sympathizers around Crab Orchard,
for example, often enraged local Unionists by their terrorism, such
as the burning of a freedmen's school in 1869. After this incident

many whites and most Negroes in the area undoubtedly supported
the following appeal to the federal authorities William Carson,
Judge of the Rockcastle County Court, and B. K. Betherum, High
Sheriff of the county: "We think it would be a good idea to station
some troops at Crab Orchard, as we think it one of the worst rebel
holes in Kentucky." In a few other areas of the state less serious violence than that
around Crab Orchard continued for months after the opening of
freedmen's schools. Bourbon County was the worst example of
this. Until the middle of 1869, fully three years after the first
Bureau school was established in the county, hardly a month passed
that Joseph K. Benson, teacher at Millersburg; Mary Copeland,
teacher at Shipsville and North Middleton; and Lucy Carpenter,
instructor at Paris, did not report some form of physical harass-
ment of their schools by local whites.

Generally, however, white violence and hostility lessened as the
WHITE HOSTILITY; VIOLENCE TOWARD BLACK SCHOOLS AFTER CIVIL WAR 1267-C

p c kimball, "freedmen's harvest; freed schools in ky after cw," Filson Club Hist Quar 54 (July 1980)

...age of any given freedmen's school increased. After the presidential election of 1868, whites in Kentucky began to accept the schools for Negroes, even in most of the particularly troublesome areas mentioned above; by this time many whites of the better sort had come to respect the Negroes for their educational efforts. Indeed, such comments by Bureau teachers as, "My scholars have been treated very respectfully by the white people" were quite common by December 1867. This was the first month in which the "Teacher's Monthly Reports" to the assistant commissioner of the Bureau in Kentucky included the interrogative injunction, "State the public sentiment toward the colored schools." By June 1868 of those teachers answering this question, 55.2% said "good" or "favorable." This percentage increased almost every month until in March 1870, the last month in which teachers' reports were returned to the Bureau, forty-six of fifty-six, or 82.1%, of those teachers answering responded favorably to the above query; only two instructors said that sentiment was bad or poor in their locality. Although never more than a third of the Bureau teachers in Kentucky responded to the inquiry about public opinion, its reliability was corroborated by the semi-annual reports of Noble and his successor, Captain Ben P. Runkle, to John Watson Alvord, national superintendent of freedmen's education.

WHITE HELP FOR POST-CIVIL WAR BLACK SCHOOLS 1268

p c kimball, "freedmen's harvest; freed schools in ky after cw," Filson Club Hist Quar 54 (July 1980)

...There were some examples of white help for the freedmen's schools. The public school commissioners of Fayette, Pulaski, Simpson, Franklin, and Shelby counties exercised their discretionary legal authority to assist schools for blacks despite opposition from members of their own race. Occasionally a white man would appear or speak at an educational gathering of Negroes, and after the initial hostility to freedmen's schools had abated most important men in the commonwealth admitted privately that Negroes ought to be educated. However, as Noble said in July 1867 "there is not a prominent man in the State who has the moral courage to come out and openly advocate their education." Still, after 1868 such men did not yield to the temptation of publicly denouncing schools for Negroes and thereby arousing lower class whites against them. Furthermore, the generally favorable attitudes of Kentucky's white leaders toward freedmen's schools apparently never changed after 1868 and was of considerable value to education-minded Negroes later when they were agitating for public schools.
Naturally the Bureau and the state's freedmen did not wait for white acquiescence in their educational endeavors. By the time the whites had finally come to accept the schools for blacks, these institutions already constituted a widespread system in the commonwealth as a quick glance at the relevant statistics illustrates. When Noble came to Kentucky in 1868 only seventy-one day and night schools with 4,062 students were reported. Shortly after he left his Kentucky post in April 1869 there were around three hundred day and night schools for Negroes in the state with a stable enrollment of more than 12,000 students and a total enrollment of about 30,000. The latter figure represented 50% and 70% of the total number of Negroes of school age in Kentucky.45 Furthermore, when Noble arrived in the state, freedmen's schools existed in only twenty-nine towns; when he departed there were such schools in one hundred twenty-eight communities and in almost all of the counties of the commonwealth where more than a few Negroes resided.46

Despite its relatively small black population, the freedmen's school system of Kentucky in 1869 ranked about third or fourth among the seventeen states in which the Bureau operated in the number of students, teachers, and schools and perhaps first or second in the percentage of Negroes of school age who attended school.47 Moreover, the freedmen's schools in Kentucky compared well with the state's common schools for whites. In 1869 probably a greater percentage of Negroes of school age attended their schools than whites attended the public schools.48
Freedmen's schools in Kentucky naturally varied considerably in size, the quality of instruction, etc. Jeptha Griffin's school in Franklin County had only ten students. The Howard School in Lexington, on the other hand, accommodated over six hundred students at times. The Ray and Chism Settlement and Haysville schools in Monroe County were so poorly conducted that after three months of operation none of the eighty-eight students could read anything but letters, while Berea compared favorably with any collegiate institution in the nation by 1871.58

Thus, there was no "typical" freedmen's school in Kentucky. However, the relevant statistics and reports reveal certain characteristics that most such schools shared. They were commonly one-room structures. They often lacked windows or stoves, were ramshackle and too small.57 The school's one teacher usually taught an ungraded class in which about fifty students were enrolled in 1866 and about thirty-five in 1869. From 75% to 80% of the enrolled students regularly attended a Kentucky freedmen's school. From 40% to 60% paid some sort of tuition. Between one-third and one-half of the students could read beyond the most elementary lessons, and a similar proportion of them could usually write and do some arithmetic. From one to three students in any given Bureau school in Kentucky might be enrolled in the "higher branches," which included grammar and occasionally the study of some literature. Most students, however, attended the few outstanding schools for blacks in the state.52

As Thomas Noble said in June 1867, "No fair-minded man who is familiar with the schools for colored children can fail to admit that, all things considered, their progress will compare favorably with the progress of the white children."53 Many native Kentucky whites agreed. One Bureau instructor wrote in 1870 that his "school was visited by a white examining committee, which reported the school to be in prosperous condition."54 Another Bureau teacher said about her pupils that "the whites say they are learning faster than their children."55 Given the intense racial prejudice of the period, such statements were high praise indeed.
Most of the teachers (usually over 80%) in Kentucky's Bureau-associated schools were Negroes. There were two reasons for this. One was that although Negroes in the state would "accept white teachers in virtue of their superior qualifications, ... whenever they can get black ones that are really competent they receive them with great satisfaction." Since the supply of competent Negroes was somewhat limited, the other reason — white hostility to race mixing — was probably of paramount importance. Thomas Noble summed up the problems of white Bureau teachers in January 1869:

> White citizens, professing loyal, refuse to board them, and they would be compelled to make their homes in the freedmen's cabins. The old hue and cry of miscegenation would then be raised, and mobs would doubtless break up their schools. This is not fancy, but actual fact.

Most of the few whites who taught in freedmen's schools in Kentucky were reared and educated in New England. The backgrounds of their more numerous Negro colleagues were more diverse. Some of these blacks were trained at Oberlin College, the well-known integrated college in Ohio. A few were educated elsewhere in the north. Others acquired enough education at Berea College after the war to enable them to teach a freedman's school.

Among the latter were Amos Burleigh, the first Negro to receive a degree from Berea (1875), who taught a school in Garrard County in 1869 and John H. Jackson, later president of the State Normal School for Colored People, who instructed a class in Madison County in 1868. While serving in the military during the Civil War, some Negroes became literate enough to teach a school.

Another source of black teachers was the better freedmen's schools themselves. Probably the greatest number of such instructors, however, came from the group of blacks who had become literate before the war, either as slaves or freedmen, in the relatively liberal atmosphere that ante-bellum Kentucky provided for Negroes.
In 1850, 2,580 of the 5,570 free adult Negroes of Kentucky could both read and write. Ten years later there were perhaps 3,500 literate freedmen in the state. Many of these blacks attended schools before the war. Louisville, Danville, and Lexington had schools for Negroes during most of the period. Richmond, Maysville, and Frankfort had them at various times.

The best of these schools were in Louisville. Rev. Henry Adams, a free person of color from Franklin County, opened a school at the First Baptist Church of Louisville when appointed pastor there in 1829. Adams was proficient in Greek and Latin and probably taught these subjects to his better students. Another school was opened in the Falls City in 1847. Its founder was William Gibson who was born in Baltimore in 1829 and educated there in English and Latin by John Fortie and Daniel Alexander Payne, a Negro bishop. Gibson was apparently an effective teacher in the day and night school that he and one Robert Lane taught in the basement of the Quinn Chapel Methodist Church in Louisville until 1862 when Gibson left Kentucky. He returned to Louisville in 1866 and immediately opened a school for freedmen.

There was no law in ante-bellum Kentucky forbidding the education of slaves and a few masters probably allowed their chattels to attend school. Most slaves who became literate in Kentucky, however, did so in a much less formal manner. Elijah P. Marrs, who taught at freedmen's schools in Shelbyville, LaGrange, Louisville, and Beargrass Creek after the war, was taught to read earlier by a Mr. Roberson, his master. Robert Harlan, who became rich in the California gold fields in 1849 and was a civic leader in Cincinnati after the war, was taught to read by John Marshall Harlan and his brothers while a slave of James Harlan of Boyle County.

Of course, not all chattels who became literate in Kentucky did so with the aid or approval of their masters. Rev. Marshall W. Taylor, who taught at the Noble School in Hardinsburg after the war, was covertly educated by white school children in Shelby County. Other slaves became literate in the Sunday schools that whites generally accepted as a necessary part of slave culture.
Whatever their source, the quality of the instructors in the post-war Kentucky freedmen's schools varied greatly. Some, like Gibson and Taylor, were fully qualified to instruct their charges in everything from the alphabet, arithmetic, and geography to grammar, literature, and classical languages. Others were only marginally competent. In May 1867 the Bureau agent for Livingston and Crittenden counties made the following report after visiting the school taught by Marquis McCome:

I think 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 can do neither, although he is very good in learning [sic.] the scholars to spell and read and keeps very good order.\textsuperscript{51}

While McCome was not an isolated example, the great majority of his teaching colleagues could read, write, and cipher and teach their students to do likewise.\textsuperscript{72}

The teachers in Kentucky's freedmen's schools displayed courage and dedication. Some of their problems have already been discussed: white hostility, dissension in the Negro community, and poor facilities. Others included late and low pay,\textsuperscript{73} an indefinite term ranging from three to twelve months, and even occasional epidemics. Like George Robinson, teacher at the Falmouth "Free School," these teachers must have lived "in hope of better days."\textsuperscript{74} Despite everything, however, most of them, like Sally B. Taylor, instructor at the Hickory Grove School in Harrodsburg, "Turned off none — taught all who applied."\textsuperscript{75}
Schools were important to more Kentucky Negroes than those who taught or studied in them. Their establishment and maintenance required cooperation among adult Negroes and created responsibilities for interested Negro families. Trustees had to be elected; a teacher had to be hired, paid, and boarded; decisions had to be made about financial affairs; a schoolhouse had to be secured and maintained; and officials of the Freedmen's Bureau had to be dealt with if a school were to operate. Squabbles occurred in this process, as we have seen, but it was generally successful, and it provided the Negroes of the state with experience that would prove invaluable when the Freedmen's Bureau was withdrawn.

Furthermore, educational endeavors provided much-needed inspiration to many Negro families. In most freedmen's schools in Kentucky public examinations were "attended by large numbers of the colored people, who went away greatly delighted by the evident progress of their children." Young Negroes often repeated their lessons at home with the result that "parents become interested and thoughtful, acquire many new ideas, and are led to prize their families, who are increasing in knowledge." It was not surprising, therefore, that at this time in Kentucky, "The colored people without any exception are willing to do all they possibly can for the schools."

There were, of course, other institutions for which Kentucky Negroes made similar efforts after the war. Among these were friendly societies of all descriptions and, most importantly, churches. Churches were often intimately associated with the freedmen's schools and gave them every assistance because Negroes were especially eager to learn to read the Bible. Some supplementary instruction in reading was even conducted in the many Sunday Schools for blacks throughout the state. The influence of the churches was not missing in the classroom either. School-sponsored temperance societies such as the "Vanguard of Honor" at a Shelbyville school were not uncommon. Furthermore, Bureau teachers often delivered sermons on various topics in school and invariably maintained discipline according to the Good Book.
Schools were important to the blacks of Kentucky in ways material as well as spiritual. In 1868, the first year for which statistics existed, Negroes in the Commonwealth owned $1,673,567 of taxable property. This figure increased every year until in 1871 Kentucky blacks owned property assessed at $3,196,454. During these four years the proportion of Negro-owned taxable property in the state increased from .42% to .74%. Although these figures were not very impressive when compared to the percentage of Negroes in the total Kentucky population — 16.8 in 1870 — even the wealth that they represented would probably not have been acquired without a core of literate persons, which definitely existed by 1870. Furthermore, the acquisition of education reinforced the desire of the state's blacks to become land owners and made them "wide-awake" concerning the profits of labor.

That the efforts of Noble's Bureau and the Negroes of Kentucky were of enduring value can perhaps best be seen by a brief examination of the Bureau's last year in the commonwealth. In April 1869 the Freedmen's Bureau in Kentucky was reduced to a vestige of its former self. Thomas Noble was relieved of his job. The assistant commissioner for the state, Colonel Ben P. Runkle, was deprived of his title and made superintendent of education. He retained only one clerk and three bounty officers. Runkle did much to help the freedmen of Kentucky adjust to their increasingly necessary self-reliance in educational matters. He organized the Kentucky Education Convention, which met at Louisville from July 14-16, 1869. Here Runkle announced to the two hundred fifty Negro delegates from all parts of the state that within a year even the Bureau's financial aid to their schools would cease. He suggested that the convention elect a board of education to replace the Bureau as overseer of freedmen's schools in the state. This the convention willingly did.

Runkle also did as much as possible to help the blacks' schools financially. He helped secure the Bureau's expenditure of $48,776 for Kentucky schools during the fiscal period from June 1869 until June 1870. This was by far the most that the Bureau had ever spent for schools in the state. Clearly the loss of such aid would
In order to soften it, Runkle made a fairly successful effort to broaden the base of non-Bureau financial support for the freedmen’s schools. Late in 1869 he made a fund-raising foray to New York, Providence, Rhode Island, and Cincinnati. His efforts were rewarded by contracts with the Free Baptist Mission of Providence and the American Missionary Association. The former agreed to support gratis twenty-five schools in Kentucky for the 1869-70 school year; the latter promised to support thirty schools during the same period. In return, the Bureau was to furnish the AMA a lot in Lexington on which it hoped to build a high school as well as $1,440 for the first year’s expenses of the planned school and the yearly costs of two other AMA-sponsored institutions in Louisville.86

Before he departed from the commonwealth, Runkle deeded many of the Bureau-owned school buildings to local boards of Negro trustees.87 He also helped to organize another educational convention, the management of which he left completely to the blacks. This meeting aroused considerable enthusiasm for the cause of freedmen’s education in the state.

The Negroes’ state board of education was also active in preparing for the Bureau’s imminent departure. Runkle reported that its members “though working without any compensation and at considerable personal inconvenience and expense, have labored faithfully and earnestly.” Isaiah Mitchell, actuary for the board, had “visited all the schools under their charge, organized local boards, and altogether rendered very important service.”88 The secretary of the board also visited the schools for Negroes in Kentucky and did “much to secure their efficient action.”89
Despite these efforts, the absence of earlier Bureau managerial assistance told on the blacks' educational effort. The number of freedmen's schools reported had dwindled to 210 by January 1870, the number of teachers had decreased to 276, and the size of the student enrollment to 8,824. In addition to the recent reduction of the Bureau, there were several reasons for the disappointing nature of the January 1870 report. Runkle pointed out that "many colored people have lost much of their interest in the cause of education." A demoralizing squabble had recently erupted among Kentucky Negroes between supporters of sectarian and non-sectarian schools, and many of the state's blacks were disappointed at the emigration of many Bureau teachers to the south in search of better wages.

By the middle of 1870, however, the state's blacks had improved their educational situation. At some time in the spring of that year there were 10,422 pupils enrolled in 219 schools for Negroes in Kentucky. These were increases of 1,598 pupils and nine schools over the figures for January, and significant ones in that they were recorded during the planting season. Furthermore, Negro pupils were paying more tuition by June 1870 than during the previous winter.

Thus when the Freedmen's Bureau completely ceased its operations in Kentucky in June 1870 there was at least some basis for John Alvord's belief that "Kentucky has so intelligent a people, and the freedmen are in general so thriving and intent upon having their children educated, that the majority of these schools will be sure of continuance." Unfortunately, it was impossible to ascertain with any precision the accuracy of Alvord's forecast. No detailed records exist concerning the education of Negroes in Kentucky between June 1870 and June 1875. Subsequent developments, however, provide some clues in the matter. Early in 1874 the General Assembly of Kentucky enacted a law for the education of Negroes that left all aspects of the management of their schools, except the collection and disbursement of taxes, to the Negroes. After this law had been in operation for only one year, 452 schools for blacks were reported in the state. Certainly these institutions were not all built in one year. Many of them were undoubtedly the direct descendants of the Bureau-associated schools of the 1860's.

From 1874 until well after the turn of the century, Negroes in Kentucky were the masters of their own schools. After 1882 they shared the state school fund with whites on a pro-rata basis; by 1890 or so, their schools were roughly equal in all respects to the common schools for whites in the state. Certainly, this would have been impossible without the experience in running their schools that the Negroes of Kentucky acquired when virtually their only friend was the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Homes.
"On motion, N. M. Gordon was appointed to prepare & present at our next meeting, a report on the Duty of the Presbytery to the Colored people in our bounds."

Mrs. Clays says: born a slave on plantation of Col. Durrett in Caroline Co, Va, in 1733. She quotes from the first historian to write about Old Captain, Robert H. Bishop. Old Captain's name was Peter. When Peter's wife was taken to Kentucky by her owner, Peter's owner allowed him to go. Says in 1784 Peter and his wife Dinah were members of the church at the head-waters of Boone's Creek, Ranks Travelling (?) Church, where Rev. Jos. Craig was pastor. Captain could read slightly, but had a good memory. Says in 1803 he founded the first black church and became pastor.

McElroy was interested in missions, but when he thought of problems in America, he though he work on the home front. "... when I think how common it is, for masters to neglect the religious training of the black race amongst us. If the lord will, I intend to go south and do what I can to have the souls of the slave more cared for. I look on slavery as a greater national evil; not as a sin of the master who now holds him, but who had no hand in enslaving him; I believe it wrong to free them among us. I believe however, that we should do what we can to have them prepared so that they may be fit to be emancipated when god in his providence shall open a door. In their present condition if there was a way open, I am doubtful of the propriety."

view of slavery by leading white minister: Wm T. McElroy (1852)
"Witnessed the first public execution of a criminal I ever saw. Nathan, a servant of Dr. Willson of Woodford was hung, at Harrodsburg, at one oclock precisely, for the murder of Thom. Wilson a whiskey seller in Galvisa last +

"It was a melancholly case all round & one that is worthy of notice. Thom Wilson was the son of a drunkard who brought his family to want by drunkenness. Taking warning from his father's course Thom would not drink himself, but to make money sold liquor in large quantities for retail to negroes, & others, at night, & at all other times. He made money, concluded that he would now quit this business & use what he had made in some other way. He had sold out & had been some days collecting. And now the last night that he was to stay in the store had come. Having collected most of his money he expected to start to see his widowed mother next morning. Between mid-night & day he was aroused by some one at the back door who pretended he wanted whiskey. He let the man in & was in the act of drawing the whisky when he was struck dead. by the man with & ax. The store was then robbed of about 500 dollars only about half of which has been found. The murderer was afterward found to be this Nat who was hung to day. He confessed the crime but told so many stories that it is impossible to tell whether there was any one with him or not. I am inclined to think there was though he told me both in the jail this morning & under the gallows that he was alone. He professed religion before he was hung, & seemed very much resigned to his fate.-said it was just & said he was willing to die. He seemed to have a correct view of religion intellectually, but my fear is that he did not know his own heart.+

I have no confidence in his hope.+

"He said he had a naturally a bad temper & in a passion had attempted to kill before. Once to shoot a negro. But the cap being lost, his pistol snersed (?). Some months before this murder he & another negro man belonging to the widow Kennedy were hired by Ed Merriman at Oregon to kill Mr Voorhis for talking about his wife. This was found out by a negro woman who overhear them & hence they abandoned it. From this engagement he says the horror of killing a man was gone from his conscience & when he found that Willson had money, he deliberately in cold blood layed the plan & killed him for his money.+

"He asked me to warn the people, & tell them to take warning by him & keep out of bad company, for 'bad company,' said he, 'has brought me to this. /' When under the gallows he asked leave to sing which was granted. He stood up & sung two or three verses of the song 'Jesus is my friend; O Sanctify me &' after which he swung of kicked his feet, raising his hands, shrugged his shoulders & died. After hanging fifteen or eighteen minutes his body was put in the coffin & the large multitude dispersed & the wagon bore off the lifeless corpse to town or the grave."
FREE BLACK BUYS WOMAN, MARRIES HER: ACCT BY WHITE MINISTER WM T MCELROY (March 21, 1857)

Wm T. McElroy, Journal, Dec 5, 1856, 1 volume, Filson Club Mss Room

"March 12, 1857. Joined in marriage to day Thom Ivins, a free black man, aged 16, /age not given/ to Amandy a woman formerly owned by Will. Kennedy, but lately bought of him, by the said Thom, for the sum of $800.00, for the express purpose of making a wife of her. She therefore being his slave, they married without licence. She was living up to this time with another free negrow /sic/ man named Page, as his wife; but as I am informed, not a formerly weded wife, but hearing all the circumstances & being assured by Col John McAfee, Young F Kennedy & others that all would be right I consented and married them in the presence of Col J McAfee & his wife Amanda Nickles & others. Mrs McAfee, Miss A. Nickles, & myself sat down at the table with the weding folks standing round on the opposite side. W Sharp & Mr Dean stood also with them, while Col John waited on us, black & white together."

Oct 17, 1862, says he is a stary

Alfred Pirtle to Judge Pirtle, Dec 16, 1862, Head Quarters, Third Division, Camp Andy Johnson, Alfred Pirtle Papers, Filson Club, Mss Div.

"All the negroes in the Army are almost worthless and I but express what is almost a universal wish, when I say, that I wish they were all in some other world."

Before above statement says he is after "Bill" all the time to take care of his horse. Bill require him to be after Bill more and more.
Alfred Pirtle to "Dear Ma," Mrs. Pirtle in Louisville, dated Dec 21, 1862, from Head Quarters 3d Division, Ordnance Department, Camp Andy Johnson.

"Niggers are getting more and more trifling every day and more impudent and I should not be surprised to hear of a 'black burying' any day in our army. The poor miserable (?) are more bother than they are worth."

Before the above quoted statement referrs to "Bill" who is apparently a slave or black from Louisville whom the family knows. Says Bill drinks too much; that he will probably mention him less in the future.

"Bill is doing better since I gave him a severe flogging a week since. Whiskey got the better of his tongue and I had to shut him up."
BLACK MEMBERS OF PLEASANT GROVE BAP CH EXCLUDED (1868) APPARENTLY 1290
THEY HAD ALREADY LEFT

Minute book, Pleasant Grove Baptist Church, 1805-1884, 1 vol, Filson Club, Mss room

"On the 15th day of Augt 1868 after worship Brother Hoke preached. We then proceeded to revise our church Book we found that our total number was 28 members 4 Males & 24 females is ordered that all the church colloured members be excluded they all having left in disorder."

POOR STATE OF REPUBLICAN PARTY IN KY BEFORE 1870 1291

E A Jonas, Hist Repub Party in Ky, 1929

p 7/ "As a result it would be no exaggeration to say that up to 1870 the Republican Party had no official existence in Kentucky. It did not so much as run State tickets under that name but those who held to its principles went by the name of Radicals. Some idea of their strength may be gathered from the election of 1867 when Governor Helm received ninety thousand votes while the two other tickets, one known as Third Party and one known as Radical, counted less than half as many votes between them. A year later, Governor Helm having died in office, a special election was held at which the Democrat Stevenson, received 114,112 votes while Baker, the Radical, had no more than 34,734. After this all factions opposed to the Democrats merged and from this on we have a Republican Party so recognized and functioning more or less determinedly as such."
REPUBLICAN TICKETS FOR STATE OFFICE, 1867-1891

p 152/ Radical Ticket, August 5, 1867
Gov--Sidney Barnes, Pulaski Co, 33,939
Lt Gov--R. T. Baker, Campbell Co.
Auditor--Silas Adams, Casey Co
Atty Gen--John Mason Brown, Franklin Co
Trea--M J Roark, Muhlenberg Co
Register--J. M. Fidler, Marion Co
Superintendent--Rev. Sam'l Stevenson, Franklin Co

Third Party Ticket, 1867
Gov--W.B.Kinkead, Fayette Co, 13,167
Lt Gov--Harrison Taylor, Mason Co
Atty Gen--Gen'l John M. Harlan, Jefferson Co
Auditor--Hurt, Co
Trea--Alfred Allen, Co
Register--Craddock, Co
Supt--Harvey, Co

Republican Ticket, 1871
Lt Gov--Geo. M. Thomas, Lewis Co
Atty Gen--Wm. Brown, Fayette Co
Auditor--Wm. Krippenstopel, Jefferson Co
Trea--Gen. Speed Fry, Boyle Co
Register--John McClary, Magoffin Co
Supt--Rev. Wm. Pratt, Jefferson Co

REPUBLICAN TICKETS FOR STATE OFFICE, 1867-1891

p 152/ Republican Ticket, 1875
Gov--John N. Harlan, Jeff Co, 90,745
Lt Gov--Robert Boyd, Laurel Co
Atty Gen--Wm. C. Goodloe, Fayette Co
Auditor--R.B. Ratcliff, Caldwell Co
Trea--W.J.Berry, Ohio Co
Register--Reuben Patrick, Magoffin Co
Supt--G.W. Griffin, Jefferson Co

Republican Ticket, 1879
Gov--Walter Evans, Jefferson Co, 91,882
Lt Gov--O.S. Deming of Robertson Co
Atty Gen--Albert H. Clark, Christian Co
Auditor--John R. Williamson, Campbell Co
Trea--R. P. Stoll, Fayette Co
Register--John H. Wilson, Knox Co
Supt--Malcom McIntyre, Ohio Co

Republican Ticket, 1883
Gov--Thomas Z. Morrow, Pulaski Co, 84,181
Lt Gov--Gen. S. S. Fry, Boyle Co
Atty Gen--Lewis C. Garrigus, Logan Co
Auditor--L. R. Hawthorne, Campbell Co
Trea--Capt E. Farley, McCracken Co
Register--Rev. J. W. Asbury, Owen Co
Supt--Jas. P. Pinkerton, Carter Co
Republican Ticket, 1887
Gov--Wm. O. Bradley, Garrard Co., 126,873 & lost
Lt Gov--Mat O'Doherty, Jefferson Co
Atty Gen--Maj. A. T. Wood, Montgomery Co
Auditor--R. D. Davis, Carter Co
Trea--J. R. Puryear, McCracken Co
Register--T. J. Tinsley, Muhlenberg Co
Supt--Samuel D. Pinkerton, Woodford Co.

Republican Ticket, 1891
Gov--Andrew T. Wood, Montgomery Co., 116,089 & lost
Lt Gov--Henry E. Huston, McCracken Co
Atty Gen--L. J. Crawford, Campbell Co
Auditor--Chas. Blandford, Breckinridge Co
Treas--Eli Farmer, Pulaski Co
Register--W. J. Rardin, Greenup Co
Superintendent--E. R. Blain, Fayette Co.

1869 WHITE KENTUCKIANS EXPRESS SYMPATHY FOR BLACKS

Catherine Matilda Short to William Short, April 6, 1869, dated "Home," near Elizabethtown, in Short Papers, Filson Club, Mss Div.

"Your father had the exquisite pleasure of travelling up (week before last) from here /Elizabethtown/ to Louisville with the Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana, a negro, he was dressed very genteely, and behaved in a quiet decorous manner. He got inside of the omnibus, but the man in collecting tickets ordered him to take a seat with the driver, which he very quietly did. I should not be at all surprised however if the transfer Company were sued for 8 or 10,000 damages for treating my lord with such indignity. I see that this same negro went on to Washington, and has made application to the sent as Minister to the Court of St. James. Horace Greeley has applied for the same position and I hope the negro will gain precedence in the combat. I would like a little of the delights of freedom to rankle awhile in the mm breast of such a man as Greeley." She also comments that some of the conductors on the RR were uncooperative.
"I was born January, 1840, in Shelby County, Kentucky, twenty miles east of the city of Louisville; and my parents, Andrew and Frances Marrs, were born in Culpepper County, Virginia." Father born 1810; Mother about 1815. His father was free, mother a slave of Jesse Robinson; thus E.P. Marrs born a slave. Reared on a farm of about 30 slaves. 

"His mother was strict. Very early in life wanted to learn to read and write. Some of the white children helped him learn to read and write. "There was an old colored man on the place by the name of Ham Graves, who opened a night school, beginning at 10 o'clock at night. I attended his school one year and learned how to write my name and read writing." 

"After my conversion and baptism I was permitted to attend Sunday-school and study the Word of God for myself. My master then removed all objections to my learning how to read, and said he wanted all the boys to learn how to read the Bible, it being against the laws of the State to write. / Is this true?/ We had to steal that portion of our education,..." 

"Robinson's was general headquarters for the negroes, / Jesse Robinson, Mother's owner/ and I would read to them for hours at a time. It soon became known that I was reading to the slaves of the neighborhood, and that I was also familiar with the pen. At this time the country was full of rebels, and it was not long until they heard of me. I was branded as the Shelby County negro clerk. He feared the rebels might take action against him, as did his owner. "One thing that gave me some notoriety was the fact that nearly all the colored soldiers who had enlisted prior to myself sent their letters to their wives, sons, and daughters, addressed to my care." Says the black soldiers did this because they had confidence in him.
E P MARS DECIDES TO JOIN UNION ARMY (Sept 1864)

p 17/
"I remember the morning I made up my mind to join the United States Army. I started to Simpsonville, and walking along I met many of my old comrades on the Shelbyville Pike. I told them of my determination, and asked who desired to join my company to roll their sleeves above his elbows, and to let them remain so during the day. I marshaled my forces that day and night. I had twenty-seven men, all told, and I was elected their captain to lead them to Louisville. Our headquarters were at the colored church. During the day some one brought the news that the rebels were in Simpsonville, and that they were preparing to make a raid upon the church. For a time the news created a panic—women screamed, jumped out the windows, crying 'Murder!'—strong men ran pell-mell over the women and took to the woods. I, myself, crowded into the corner of the church, and Captain Marrs was about, for the time being, to throw up the sponge. But I did not despair. I picked up courage and rallied my men, and news soon came that the report was false." After a "council of war" they continued on their journey, where, if they died, it would be "fighting for the principle of freedom." Before they left the church, a service was held, that night, the preacher was Rev. Sandy Bullitt, who had been drafted into the army; he was to be a respected chaplain.

JOURNEY OF E P MARRS TO ENLIST IN FEDERAL ARMY (Sept 1864)

p 19/ After the church service, Marrs gathered his 27 men and went to the Robinson farm where he was raised. "I arrived there at about 10 o'clock at night, and I stationed my men around until I could make arrangements to get them something to eat." Then I went into my mother's room where I had concealed about $300 in money, which I had saved during slave times. I took about $200 of it and left the remainder for mother. She being asleep it was my intention to steal off without arousing her, but in getting my money I awakened her, when she screamed at the top of her voice. I immediately ran out of the door, rejoined my comrades, and we took up our march for the army."

"Our arms consisted of twenty-six war clubs and one old rusty pistol, the property of the captain. There was one place on our route we dreaded, and that was Middletown, through which the colored people seldom passed with safety." They circled the town, got back to the Pike. Upon hearing wagons they lay in a ditch for about 25 minutes; saw no one, continued. By 8:00 A.M. they were in the recruiting office in Louisville. "By twelve o'clock the owner of every man of us was in the city hunting his slaves, but we had all enlisted save one boy, who was considered too young."
"I enlisted on the 26th day of September, 1864, and was immediately marched out Third Street to Taylor Barracks, and assigned to Company \text{L}, Twelfth U. S. Colored Artillery. My first night in the barracks was anything but a pleasant one, and an accident occurred that so jarred my nerves that I wished I had never heard of the war. Our bunks were arranged in tiers of three, one above the other. I occupied the top one. During the night the man who occupied the middle one accidentally discharged his revolver. The ball passed downward, striking the man below in the head and killing him almost instantly. In less than two hours afterwards the body of the man shot was robbed of three hundred dollars that he had received that day as a substitute. This was the experience of the first eight hours of my soldier life, and it naturally caused my mind to revert back to my old home and to those I had left behing. I thought it would have been better had I remained there, than to be in the position I then was, liable to be slain at any moment." Fearful he prayed; eventually he fell asleep, but dreamed of "horrible things," only to awaken unharmed.
Marrs says he had a reputation as a writer thought "little confidence in myself," but when the officers learned that there was a little fellow from Shelby County that was killed in the use of the pen, and they sought to find me. They found me surrounded by a number of the men, each waiting to have a letter written home. The officers soon made known their wishes, which was to find a man who was a penman who they wished as a Duty Sergeant. The mere mention of such a thing made me quake with fear, as I knew no more about tactics than a newborn babe. This I told them, but they insisted, and I accepted the position as a non-commissioned officer, with the understanding that they would give me personal instruction in army tactics. At their headquarters I had a consultation with them respecting my duties as a non-commissioned officer. Lieut. Bassworth was my chief instructor, together with Lieut. Vaughn. Early the next day I was assigned as Third Duty Sergeant, Co. L, 12th U. S. Heavy Artillery.

They proposed to have a prayer meeting in the barracks. Rev. Sandy Bullitt (who preached the night they left for the army) presided. Powerful sermon, etc.
**MARRS' THOUGHTS ABOUT BEING ORDERED TO CLEAR PROPERTY FOR BARRACKS**

The fourth day I was ordered by the commanding officer to take a squad of men and go to Tenth and Broadway streets, and clear off ground for the erection of barracks. While I felt myself a free man and an U.S. soldier, still must I move at the command of a white man, and I said to myself, is my condition any better now than before I entered the army? But the idea would come to me that I was a soldier fighting for my freedom, and this thought filled my heart with joy. I thought, too, that the time will come when no man can say to me come and go, and I be forced to obey.

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**MARRS ORDERED TO CAMP NELSON (1864)**

We were at Taylor Barracks three weeks, when we received orders to report at Camp Nelson. Some rejoiced, whilst others wept, the latter thinking we were going on a fighting tour. We went by the way of Lexington, and arrived at Camp Nelson without the loss of a man. The barracks being crowded, we were assigned to tents, mine being pitched beside the bullpen. Marrs met a young female named Emma while passing through Lexington. "She followed me to Camp Nelson, in the neighborhood of which she found employment." She invited him to visit her at night after work. He later learned Emma had died, her last thoughts of him.
E P MARRS MEETS BROTHER AT CAMP NELSON (Oct 1864)

While writing letters for friends at Camp Nelson, Marrs was surprised at seeing his brother "... who had joined the army some six weeks before I did. I had not heard from him since his enlistment, but I knew that his regiment had been ordered to Saltville. He had gone as far as Cumberland Gap, /begin p 27/ when he became sick, and had been ordered back. My brother at that time was Orderly Sergeant, and the man who was detailed to fill his place was killed at the battle of Saltville, ..." His brother was later promoted to Sergeant Major.

Bro Taniet
Aug. 1864

FIRST THREAT OF FIGHTING AT CAMP NELSON (1864) FOR MARRS (Fall 1864)

While at camp Nelson word reached the camp that the rebels were at Danville, "... and in about forty minutes afterwards Gen. S. S. Fry, accompanied by about fifty men, came galloping into camp with all speed. The alarm was at once given, the long roll of the drum was beaten, and every man roused and ordered to prepare for battle. We were at once marched to the various forts surrounding the camp, and though up to that time we had only been drilled in infantry tactics, we were commanded to man the cannons. It is true we belonged to the Heavy Artillery, but had never been drilled in the tactics thereof. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5, however, soon learned their positions at the cannon, and while apparently paying attention to their work, could not keep their eyes from peering into the darkness beyond the river, from which direction they thought they heard the clang of swords and the clattering of horses coming upon us." The next morning, with no attack, they marched back into camp.
MARRS TAUGHT ENGLISH AND VOCAL MUSIC TO MEN WHILE AT CAMP NELSON

Marrs, life & hist, 1885

p 28/ Mars met Sergeant Major Geo. Thomas, "a genial companion and a good officer" with whom he taught the troops English and vocal music during his tour of duty at Camp Nelson.

MARRS TELLS OF DIFFICULT MARCH TO LEXINGTON (transferred to Russellville)

Marrs, life and hist, 1885

p 28/ After several weeks at Camp Nelson Marrs and his men were ordered to Russellville. They believed they were on their way to the front. "We began to pack up on the morning of November 24, 1864, and we were marched on foot to Lexington, there being no railroad. I shall never forget that day. It was my first long march, and I had to carry my knapsack, my gun, my sword, and army equipments. Thought lat in the year, / begin p 29/ the sun seemed to shine with equal force as in the hottest days of July, and the heat was oppressive and overpowering. The roads were inches deep in dust, and it filled my eyes, mouth and ears. Our thirst was intolerable, and no water was to be "had save the stagnated water we would find along the line of our march." They drank the water; Marrs got sick. Lieut. Bossworth, "...who was an old soldier, and who took pride in aiding and assisting his men, came to my relief, took my equipments, transferred them to his own back, and resumed his march with as light a foot as he had started with in the morning." They arrived in Lexington at sunset, a 19 mile march. No provisions had been prepared for them; all they had was hard tack and water. He slept in an old hog car and dreamed of his father, mother, /p30/ and Emma, his lost love, and Bro. Bullet's farewell sermon.
p 30/ They left Lexington in the morning and arrived in Louisville about 2 PM. "On arriving we were met at the depot by an army of women of all classes, white and colored, each with her basket. They had hams, chickens, pies, and everything that was good for the inner man, but unfortunately for us they were all for sale and we unable to buy. Our Captain finally came among us, and told us to 'Press it.' It was not long before we understood what he meant. We were like hungry wolves, and so soon as the idea of 'pressing' dawned upon us the eatables disappeared like magic. Each man helped himself to such dainties as suited his taste. As for my part I was more modest than many others and contented myself with some ham and bread. Some, to use the common expression, 'went the whole hog,' and took basket and all. It was the first time I had ever been guilty of anything of this kind,..." Says "awkward at the business, but my hunger urged me on,..."

MARRS LEAVES LOUISVILLE, ARRIVES IN RUSSELLVILLE (1864) 1309

p 31/ The next morning after arriving in Louisville the men marched toward the Nashville depot, singing "I wish I was in Dixie's land" as they marched through the streets. Saw beautiful countryside as they travelled in open cars. Arrived in Russellville and took up quarters in an old stable. W's beginning to realize the hard life of a soldier. Became quite ill. /p 32/ recieved aid from Miss Henrietta Forees.
Prayed with Christian friends: George Thomas and Jacob Stone.
/p 33/ participated in games in camp unenthusiastically, except wrestling.
While at Russellville Marrs learned of the defeat of Hood by Thomas
at Nashville, Dec 16, 1864. But some of Hood's men crossed the Cumberland
River and "...attacked the Seventeenth Kentucky Cavalry, which latter fell
back upon us in the wildest confusion. The town was full of the defeated
and flying cavalrymen. We, at the same time, received orders to at once
march to Bowling Green." We were eating lunch at noon when the orders came.
The troops began to pack, and began the march on an empty stomach. /begin
p 36/ There were 140 men in the march. The Federal Govt expected the same
group that attacked the 17th Ky Cav. to attack Bowling Green. Thus, Marrs
believed they were marching inside the enemy's lines. They marched 20 miles
the first day; camped in an old school house. Half guarded at a time.
A quiet night; arrived in BG safely at 2 PM. Says there he heard of Hood's
defeat and the men gave 3 cheers for Thomas and his men.

MARRS & MEN ORDERED TO BOWLING GREEN (1864) Dec

CONDITIONS OF MARRS AND MEN AT BOWLING GREEN DEC 1864 (Housin')

Marrs and his men faced cold weather in BG. "Every stable and
out-house in the /begin p 37/ town had been taken possession of, our
company occupying an old school-house, and we crowding it from floor to
rafters. As for myself, individually, I took an apartment to myself,
which I did after the manner of the ground-hog. I dug me a hole in the
ground, covered it with boards and earth, and with straw and my blanket
I was comfortably fixed during the short time we remained at Bowling
Green."
p 37/ Marching orders from BG were for a move to Munfordville, not Nashville, as they expected. During the march they met Gen. Steadman’s cavalry hurrying to the front. It took two days to reach Munfordville. "While there at least twelve thousand prisoners of war passed through on their way to Louisville, and under guard of colored troops." They moved out after several days for Glasgow, arriving there at 5 PM, camping in a grove. They foraged for food and 6 or 7 shots were brought in and some killed. /pe 38/ A man rode up and said rebels at Glasgow, moving in their direction. They grabbed a slice of pork, and in a heavy rain marched back to the junction where they decided to march toward Cave City. During the night they met another force of Federal troops fleeing /p 39/ the same Confed. troops. The two forces decided to march on Glasgow. /p 40/ foraged for food and ate fairly well. When they approached the town of Glasgow they saw a man waving a Union flag which they cheered. /p 41/ At that moment rebels opened fire from a hill above them. They charged the rebels and they fled. They entered Glasgow on Christmas Day. and "...it seemed that all the colored people throughout the county had collected in town that day. I never before saw so many of them congregated together in so small a place."

p 41/ Upon learning the location of the fort the black troops marched in that direction. /p 42/ The fort had been built by Bragg during his invasion of Ky and was on the edge of town. The rebels reentered Glasgow, and sent troops around behind the fort, and the blacks soon realized that they were surrounded, and with nothing to eat. They had only 75 men, and the next day they learned the rebels were marching on them in force. They /begin p 43/ manned their positions, but no rebels appeared. "The next day we began laying plans to get ourselves out of the awkward position we were in, and when night set in we quietly stole out of the fort, in Indian file passed through the enemy’s lines, and took up our march for Elizabethtown, where we arrived after a three days’ tramp, and without the loss of a man." They found Elizabethtown guarded by 1 or 2 companies of white troops, and 2 companies of blacks. They set up headquarters in a school house near the center of town.
MARRS AND BLACK TROOPS LEAVE ELIZABETHTOWN FOR HARDINSBURG (Dec 1864) 1314

ep mars, life and hist, 1885

p 43/ At 8 AM Marrs and troops left Elizabethtown /begin p 44/ for Hardinsburg, a 40 mile distance. They marched 22 miles the first day. Camped, stationed guards, "threw out our pickets." It had rained hard all day. "I made my bed of old sticks, leaves, and moss, and I also built me a good fire. I was soon sound asleep." His bed roll caught fire, but uninjured. Continued toward Hardinsburg; it was Thursday, March 5, 1865. Arrived at 3 PM at /begin p 45/ Big Springs. As they entered one end of town the rebels left by the other.

Says March, but really means January

MARRS TELLS OF BLACK TROOPS BEING ATTACK IN WHITE BIG SPRINGS CHURCH 1315

Jan. 5, 1865 (Jan 5, 1865) (HARDINSBURG)

e p marrs, life and hist, 1885

p 45/ Upon entering Big Springs, the blacks went to a white church; two men were sent into town; it had been raining and was cold; the enemy was in the area. They checked their guns and only 9 in the company were in good conditions. They worked on their guns and loaded them. They placed guards and "... two of our men, Corporal Harriway and W. Nichols, stole off from camp and went down into the town. They were soon surrounded by rebels, who took from them their arms and accouterments, and compelled them to flee for their lives. William Nichols succeeded in reaching the church. Not so with poor Harriway. As he jumped upon the fence surrounding it he fell mortally wounded upon the outside, while a perfect shower of bullets were rained against the sides of the church. At the time of the shooting I was engaged in parching corn, and stooping down over the fire. Behind me was a man of our /begin p 46/ company named Henry Adcock, who was about seven feet high, with weight proportionately great. At the sound of the bullets upon the sides of the church he did not take time to go around me, but on to me and over the fire he went, out of the church and away. On getting to my feet I was literally covered with mud and ashes, so much so, that I was hardly recognized by our Lieutenant, who at once commanded me to take twenty men and proceed in one direction, while Jacob Stone was to take twenty men and proceed in another." When they got to their destination at the top of a hill they saw the rebels retreating. That night Marrs with 30 men guarded the church. The rebels made some
Sergeant Thomas doing the same. The General gave his horse what the Christians sometimes call 'a short rein for a quick turn,' and in five minutes he was back again among his own men. With a quick, sharp command from him, his men speedily spread out in every direction, and in an hour's time we were completely hemmed in on all sides. We quickly realized our position, but rather than surrender unconditionally we preferred to die fighting. When they had tightened their lines they again demanded an unconditional surrender, which we again refused. They drew gradually nearer and nearer, and we could see from the cupola of the church, wherein we had taken refuge, that they out-numbered us twenty to one, and were still coming from the surrounding hills in great numbers. A third time they repeated their demand for a surrender, threatening us with bloody consequences if we refused. We trembled, but refused to accede to their demand. At length the rebels procured a stack of hay, and placing it on a wagon on the hillside, prepared to ignite it and run it down against the church for the purpose of burning us out. Sharpshooters had been placed so as to command every window, and our situation was indeed hazardous. Word was sent us that they would give us ten minutes, which to comply with their terms.

"Here is a test. What must we do?" said the Lieutenant. I said, 'No surrender.' So said Thomas and Stone. But hark! It is all over in three minutes. Lieutenant Love, in a moment of time almost, drew up our terms of surrender in the following language:

"We will surrender our men to you on the following terms: That you immediately parole us and give us a safeguard to our regiment, and that we turn over to you all of our munitions of war.'

"No sooner was the message borne to them than they accepted it. As soon as it was understood among our men that we were to surrender several incidents worthy of note occurred. Henry Graves, a young man who entered the army with me, attempted to escape by running. I caught him by the collar of the coat and drew him back into the house. He said he would rather die than surrender. Another man in my company, Corporal A. Jackson, said to be the bravest man in the command, was so badly frightened at the idea of surrendering that he jerked off his stripes and attempted to dispossess me of mine. I told him if the enemy killed me it would be with my stripes on.

"When the time came for us to march on the field to turn over our arms to our captors, about twenty of the rebel officers met us, shook hands with us and talked as if nothing unpleasant had happened. There was one exception, in the case of a fellow among them who was drunk and felt that he ought to kill somebody. He was quickly placed under arrest and sent to the rear. We formed in line, marched out on the field, and after turning over our arms, proceeded back to our quarters and then down into the town, where we were paroled."

"On the Thursday night previous to the occurrence of the foregoing incidents I had shot a man who was trying to steal upon one of our guards. Some of the rebels were going through our crowd inquiring for the man who did the shooting. I was the first man to deny all knowledge of it. All of my bravery had fled."
"The day I was captured, the 8th of January, 1865, will always be remembered by me. The night we left, the General ordered that those who were sick should be permitted to ride. I claimed to be sick, and four of us got on one mule. After we had reached the woods, our mule shied at a stump and spilled us off in the snow.+

"At midnight we went into camp, and our captors/quartered us at a Union man's house. He had just killed his hogs and he was ordered to give us all we wanted to eat. The gentleman came into camp and informed us we could have all we wanted to eat, as he had plenty. That night I made my bed under the snow. Just before day we all arose from our beds and set about preparing breakfast. I remember when the last hoecake was baked, I jerked it from the griddle and appropriated it to my own use."

The rebel general Williams marched them into Union lines at Elizabethtown. He was given time to leave the area, after explaining the terms of surrender.

MARRS AND PAROLLED TROOPS ENTER CAMP AT MULDRAUGH'S HILL; THEN TO

Bowling Green

MARRS and his troops were given arms and sent into camp at Muldraugh's Hill. They lived on half rations for 2 weeks--"two hard-tacks, one ounce of meat, and a cup of rye coffee without sugar." A trying time for MARRS. Left Muldraugh's Hill the last of Jan. 1865 for Bowling Green. Went into "quarters just under the hill from Fort Smith. That is now a reservoir. It was in that city I received many honors. He does not say what and when the honors were."
MARRS ORDERED TO RESCUE SOLDIER'S WIFE FROM NEARBY FARM

"After Hood's defeat, and during the time our soldiers occupied Nashville, frequent furloughs were given to the colored soldiers to return to Kentucky to see their wives and families. One of them stopped at Bowling Green, his wife living about five miles distant, on the other side of Barren River. He informed our commanding officer, Col. Babcock, that the parties she belonged to had been treating her very cruelly, and to some extent on account of her husband, being in the army. The Colonel immediately sent for me, informed me of these facts, and ordered me to take a guard of ten men to accompany the soldier, who acted as our guide, and to bring the woman into camp; and further, that if the man who owned her had anything to say about it or offered any resistance, to put a ball into one ear so that it might come out of the other." Marrs commandeered a boat on the Barren but could not control it. Fired upon by rebels, and returned to camp. Marrs said they described their retreat to troops in camp as a great victory. The next day he was reprimanded for attempting to take control of the boats. The next day 20 soldiers went to the house where they found the soldier's wife "had fled to parts unknown."
While in Bowling Green I gained many friends among the citizens. Some of the most valued of these were Mrs. Ewing, Mrs. Frances Kersy, Mrs. King, Rev. Mr. G. Graham, Miss Johnson, Mr. Johnson, the famous blacksmith; Mrs. Nealy, a lady with whom I boarded; Mr. Benj. Bibb, now a citizen of Louisville; Mr. George Bleaky, of Louisville, Mrs. Cook, ..."

"My efficiency as a sergeant had proven to the officers that I was capable, and as a consequence I was ordered to report to headquarters for assignment to more important duties. At this time hundreds of women and children, the wives and families of men who had gone into war, had flocked into Bowling Green for protection, their former masters having driven them from their homes. They sought that protection at our headquarters, and I was detailed to collect them together and look after their needs. I made my headquarters in the old colored Methodist Church on the hill, my duties requiring that I should see that their rations were duly distributed among them, and power was conferred upon me to punish the unruly. Unfortunately, the General Government did not provide them with clothing, and as some of these poor people were driven from their homes without even a second garment, their condition was pitiful in the extreme, and in four weeks' time many of them were unable to hide their nakedness. They looked to me as if I were their Saviour. Whatever happened in camp to disturb or annoy them, the story was at once detailed to me, and I was expected to remedy every evil. Sometimes fifteen or twenty would engage in a broil, and the weaker party would invariably come to me for protection. On these occasions I would call a court-martial, sit as judge, examine witnesses, and condemn the guilty to such punishment as in my judgment the offense deserved; as a rule, that..."
MARRS IN CHARGE OF DESTITUTE BLACKS IN BOWLING GREEN; ATTEMPTS TO SEND THEM TO CAMP NELSON

e p marrs, life and hist, 1885

/continued p 62/

betimes, with my little book in hand, to take down the names of those willing to go. Many of them had a grave misapprehension of my object and fled at my approach, but after considerable trouble I gathered together about 750, the majority of those having no place of shelter. They embraced all ages, from the child six months to the woman eighty years. Among them were some of the prettiest girls I ever saw, and every shade of color was represented in the multitude.

"Captain Palmer, myself, and ten men were detailed to go with them, and leaving Bowling Green at 7 o'clock /begin p 63/ at night we arrived in Louisville the next morning at the same hour. But one accident marred the pleasure of the journey, and that was when, awaking in the night, I found three women piled up on my head. Arriving in the city, we found it full of soldiers, and had great difficulty in making our way through the streets. At 5 P. M. we were off for Lexington and arrived there in due time. Late in the night Captain Palmer had passed through the city without leaving orders for me. We had no provisions, our supplies having been left on the L. & N. Road. The women and children were almost famished for want of food, the children even eating dirt. I spent all the means I had for the poor sufferers, and then called upon the commander of the Post, General Burbridge. He agreed to furnish us with one ration apiece, and at one o'clock I received orders to march the women around to Morgan's old negro pen, where we found everything heart could desire. It was astonishing how the colored ladies of Lexington stole these little children in order to take care of them. Some of the women gave their children away in order to get rid of them."

MARRS ARRIVES WITH BOWLING GREEN BLACKS AT CAMP NELSON (1865)

"City of Refuge"

e p marrs, life and hist, 1885.

p 64/

"At 5 o'clock P. M. we were off for camp, where we arrived about 11 o'clock. I was angry, for we were compelled to walk nearly all the way from Nicholasville to the camp. On arriving, the guard ordered me to halt, which I refused to do at the risk of my life. How often I have been frightened about it since!"

"Marching my people around to headquarters, I there met Captain Palmer for the first time since leaving Louisville. Down through the streets of the City of Refuge we went, the scene presented being a beautiful one. Every door was open, and in each of them stood some one with a torch in hand to light us on our way. There was no room for us in the neat little cottages, but abundant shelter had been provided in tents for my troop of females, two families being assigned to each tent. It was late in the night, and I was compelled to leave them in the hands of the Lord and under the care of the commanding officer. Mounting a stump, I delivered to them a neat little speech, wishing them well, /begin p 65/ which called forth such expressions as they would make to a father. With many tears I bade them adieu, telling them to trust in God, who was able to do more for them than I could."
ACTIVITIES OF MARRS IN CAMP NELSON AFTER DELIVERING WOMEN & CHILDREN 1885

After delivering the women and children to Camp Nelson, Mars and his men went to the "Soldier's Home, where we demanded our supper. The cook soon served us a supper in fine style. ..." He then got his first good night's sleep since leaving Bowling Green. The next morning he met Captain Palmer. Palmer "...instructed me to give passes to those who desired to visit the ladies. I did so, and that was the last I seen /sic/ of the Captain until I arrived in Bowling Green."

"Camp Nelson was overrun with troops at that time, and the place looked gay. Thousands of people were coming in from all directions, seeking freedom... All they had to do was to get there and they were free."

"Camp Nelson was overrun with troops at that time, and the place looked gay. Thousands of people were coming in from all directions, seeking freedom. ... All they had to do was to get there and they were free."
Ten days after arriving at Camp Nelson Marrs and his men started for BG via Nicholasville. In that city they helped guard a circus for pay. They arrive in Lexington on Saturday night, reached Louisville on Sunday morning where he expected to meet his parents. He had written telling them that he would be coming through.

There was a circus in town, and the proprietor engaged me and my men to guard the inside ring for him, for which I received compensation. The next morning we were off for Lexington, where we arrived on Saturday night. On Sunday morning we reached Louisville, where I expected to meet my mother and father. I had written to them to meet me on my return to the city, and they had been waiting for a week, expecting me on every train, but the conduct of Captain Palmer prevented my coming, and they returned home with sad hearts at not seeing the boy they loved so well. However, on Sunday I had a fine time in greeting old friends I had not seen since I enlisted, among them many young ladies to whom I had paid my regards before I enlisted, and included in the number my late wife, of whom I will speak hereafter. I done my share of boasting that day.
Hiring Out of Blacks During Civil War

Savage, Savage

Letter from Mary & Frank A. Savage, "Dear Husband" Jan 14, 1863, in Frank A. & Mary Savage, Letters, 1854-1865, Filson Club, MSS Dept.

"I thought I was don writing about the darkies but Billy has come with a note from Ben. He wants Billy and says 'I hired Henry yesterday to miles Wilson at 85 dol's and his clothes - 20 dollars more than I could get from any one else.' I shall write to him to keep Billy. He will certainly pay us what he is worth."

Difficulties with Slaves Expressed by Whites During the Federal Occupation of Bowling Green


"You must give us your opinion when you write as to whether we are to have slaves or no slaves. One of our men ran off & joined them here in town, after he had been with them a week Albert heard where he was, he then went to one of the highest officers in command to know if he could get him, he sent him to another & the other to the third, he got a letter from Warren (Warner) Underwood the strongest Union man in the county, & that was not sufficient he must have witnesses proof & I dont know what all as if happened to be here at home he got them got the negro & he is now in jail but if it had been in the nearest town to this he could not have furnished all that was required so lost the negro, Albert says although they pretended to restore negroes he saw that they did not want to, & were making it an impossibility. One of the highest officers was applied to by another person to give him an order for his negro, he raised his arm & in a most bombastic style said 'What care I for your negroes my business is to plant the stars & stripes.' Since that three others of our men have gone off & were seen marching through town armed & uniformed in the ranks, also four of Euclids. Albert has an idea of going to Nashville to see if he can get them...." Mrs. Covington expressed her opposition to Frank's ever buying slaves, said they still have 3 but fears they will leave soon.
Account Book, 1838-1859. XXXXXX Benjamin Franklin Summers, 1 vol., Filson Club, Mss Division.

p 260, Dated August 7, 1841/ Pills sold to Henry Walker, a free negro.

SCHOOL FOR BLACKS OPENED IN LEXINGTON IN 1820


"Thiah (?) Black has commenced a school for negro Children he teaches at the tasyard (?), and Selm (?) and Henry have commenced their literary career this morning." signed XXXXXX M. Brown
1865 ISSUE OF COST OF BURIAL OF BLACKS (CONTRABAND) IN LOUISVILLE


Brisbain was answering a letter from an officer (Jas H. Cochran, 10th US C. I.) in reference to the burial of "Contraband Refugee dead, referred to Brisbain by Col Geo. F. Clark, Chief Q Master at this Depot. Brisbain says Clark "states that the expenses of such burials are a proper charge against the Q Master's Department."


"You will perceive (?) by the endorse of Maj Gen Howard (whose decision is sustained by the Secretary of War) that in cities and towns whose Civil law is in force, the expense of burying paupers must be borne by the City or town Corporation."

VIEWS OF LANSFORD P. YANDELL ON DISEASES OF "AFRICAN POPULATION"


p 81, under date Jan 15, 1830/ Says he will leave the question of whether or not blacks should be transported to their native climate to the statesmen. He believes the African is constituted for the torrid zone. "Negroes sustain the heat of our summers with comparative inconvenience. They perform labors under our (?) sun which would be fatal to a majority of the whites." Can't stand cold weather. "They attain to maturity earlier than the whites. The menstrual flux occurs earlier in the females; and the sexual propensities are sooner manifested to the males. They commence child-bearing earlier, keep it up more regularly, & produce more rapidly... They suffer less with the diseases of utero-gestation, /p 83/ and bring forth with less pain." Prevailing temperament of blacks is phlegmatic, and muscular. Circular system has "undue development. Their heads are smaller - the front less elevated." Inclined to sleep more than whites, but if deprived of their ordinary amount, they experience less inconvenience." "In sickness they are more stupid, & drowsy, less inclined to speak (?) of their sufferings. /p 84/ Their diseases are those of the phlegmatic temperament - dropsies, cashexies, and glandular indurations. The great killer of blacks is Scrofula (?) "which under the vague name of negro poison or negro consumption" kills thousands. He thinks this is caused by the change in climates. Talks about "Complexion & appearance of Subjects ill with these diseases; "Symptoms," gives "Cases," "Treatment," then "Miscellaneous Facts. These last items cover pages 86-93."
OFFER TO SELL SLAVE HARRY, TO BE NEAR HIS WIFE (1844)

C. Engleman to Genl. Lillard, Jan 3, 1844, Lillard Family Papers, 1801-1925; posted in Stanford, addressed to Gen Lillard, Lawrenceburg, Ky.

"I have promised Harry that if he could get some person to bye /sic/ him near his wife that I would sell him. He informs me that you would bye him provided we can agree upon the price. The price is $550 which I think is not too much taking his good qualities in to consideration. I would buy him myself at that price if I had not as many as I want. I was offered that price for him by a negro trader but do not intend to sell him to them if I can avoid it. Harry is between 29 and 30 yrs of age and remarkable /sic/ healthy. I have the selling of him as Trustee for Mary Thurman."

2d LETTER (1844) REGARDING SALE OF SLAVE HARRY, TO BE NEAR WIFE

C. Engleman to Genl C. Lillard, Lillard Family Papers, Jan 14, 1844, in Lancaster, Ky, to Lillard in Lawrenceburg, Ky.

Engleman is responding to a letter from Lillard asking the lowest price he would take for Harry. Engleman answered $500, but only because he wants to place him near his wife.

Bill of Sale, Jan 22, 1844. Christian Engleman sold Harry to Christopher Lillard.
Enrolling Form, dated Sept. 25, 1866, in Lillard Family Papers, Filson Club, Mss div. [Christopher Lillard]

"Headquarters Kentucky Volunteers, Adjutant-General's Office, Frankfort, Sept 25, 1866.+

"I hereby certify, that it appears from the U. S. Muster in Rolls on file in this Office, that Jefferson Hayden was enrolled on the 19th day of August, 1864, at Camp Nelson Ky, by J. C. Randolph, and mustered into the U. S. service on the 19th day of August, 1864, at Camp Nelson, by Capt N. C. Kinney, to serve three years. Said Jefferson Hayden is described as follows: 19 yrs age, black eyes, black hair, black complexion, 5 ft 7 in height. It further appears from said rolls that he owed service to James Rippy, and is credited to Anderson Co Ky

"In Testimony, thereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and affixed my Official Seal, this 25 th day of Sept, 1866. D. W. Lindsey Adjutant General of Kentucky."

BROADSIDE ADVERTISING FAIR FOR COLORED BAP CH, FRANKFORT, 1847

"LADIES FAIR." The Colored Ladies of the Baptist Church in this place, will give an entertainment in the upper room of the COURT HOUSE, On this (Thursday) Evening, Dec. 2d, 1847, AT 7 O'CLOCK. A Good Supper, Oysters, Jellies, Salads, Ice Creams, Cakes, &c. &c., will be offered for sale on reasonable terms. As the proceeds of the FAIR, are to be appropriated to Benevolent purposes, it is hoped the citizens will patronise the entertainment. Admittance 25 cents--children half price. Those white Ladies and Gentlemen that may desire to extend to us their kind attendance, will be waited on from 5 to 6 o'clock, this afternoon. Frankfort, Ky., Dec. 2, 1847." A. G. Hodges & Co., Printers, Frankfort, Kentucky.

"Our Town has been run down with 'fuss at fever' during the last week as you well have seen fully set forth in the Commonwealth. Several days have passed without any more alarms and we hope that the danger is pretty well over. There is at this time a perfect panic among the negroes. They break for home as if the Devil was after them whenever the ten o'clock bell rings. Wes, is almost afraid to go up town even in the day time. On Monday morning a hand bill appeared signed 'Many Citizens,' publishing a 'Black List' of about a dozen free negroes who were notified to leave town by 6 o'clock of last evening, and that has operated like a bomb shell among them. In the list our 'nigger in law' Tim Asbury (?) was notified and like a smart man he has vanished. He (?) leaving Lucy Bach like (?) 'all tears.' Henry Clarke is also amongst the proscribed. What will be the end of it all I don't see. It is the San Francisco movement on a small scale." He goes on to tell of the danger of such vigilanti movements. He though the "Many Citizens" should go no further, for they had gotten rid of a "pack of scoundrels."

Scores, Averages of Black Students in Louisville, 1876-1881

Louisville Female High School, Records, 1867-1913. Vol 6, Entrance Exam Results, 1876-1881. Filson Club, Mss Div.

June 19, 20, 21, 1878. average age colored pupils 18.73/100; average grade 5.41 (6.0 perfect) in "Heavy Subjects" 97% passed final; 3% failed, in the June 1878 examination period. Students were from Central School.

In Aug 1879 73% passed; 27% failed, colored first grade.

In June 1877, 13 blacks took the exam: apparently all passed. 1877 wards

Wards: 2d Ward, Miss Sallie Clarke
        5th Ward, Miss C. Clarke
        8th Ward, Miss A. Henderson
        Miss O. Henry
        11th Ward Miss Tillie Bell
        Mrs. B. Middleton
        12th Ward Mr. Salisbury

1879 Prof Spencer teaching in 12th Ward. 30 blacks took exam in 1879

1880 Miss Summers teacher in 8th Ward, Mrs. Travers in 10th Ward, Mrs Bettison in 11th Ward, 13 blacks took exam and passed, 2 failed
Preston Taylor was born in Shreveport, La, Nov 7, 1849. "He was carried to Kentucky when a year old; he was a promising boy and shed sunshine wherever he was." At an early age he told his mother he wanted to be a preacher. "When the war broke out he saw the soldiers marching, and determined to join them at the first opportunity, and so he enlisted in Company G, One Hundred and Sixteenth United States Infantry, in 1864, as a drummer, and was at the siege of Richmond, Petersburg, and the surrender of Lee." After garrison duty in Texas and N. O. he was mustered out. "He then learned the stone cutter's trade and became skilful in monument work and also in engraving on marble. He went to Louisville, Kentucky, and in the leading marble yards found plenty of work, but the white men refused to work with him because of his color. He was offered a situation as a train porter on the L. & C. (?) railroad, and for four years he was known as one of the best railroad men in the service, and when he resigned he was requested to remain with a promotion to assistant baggage-master;..." He visited the north and "... on his return, a call to the pastorate of the Christian church at Mt. Sterling, Kentucky. He remained there fifteen years, and the Lord prospered him in building up the largest congregation in the State among those of his faith, besides building them /begin p 191 (after picture)/ the finest brick edifice, as a place for the worship of God, in that section of the State. During these fifteen years he became known as the leading minister of his church in the United States. Not only in Kentucky has he been instrumental in organizing and building both congregations and meeting-houses, but he was unanimously chosen the general evangelist of the United States, which position he now holds, besides assisting in the educational work of his race.

He very recently purchased the large, spacious college property at New Castle, Kentucky, which originally cost eighteen thousand dollars, exclusive of the grounds, and at once began the task of paying for it. The school is in operation with a corps of teachers, and has a bright future before it. He is still one of the trustees, and the financial agent of what is now known as the 'Christian Bible College,' at New Castle. Some idea can be given of this man of push and iron nerve and bold undertakings/sic/ by giving a passage in his life. When the Big Sandy railroad was under contract to be completed for Mt. Sterling to Richmond, Virginia, the contractors refused to hire colored men to work on it, preferring Irish labor. He at once made a bid for Sections 3 and 4, and was successful in his bid; he then erected a large commissary and quarters for his men, bought seventy-five head of mules and horses, carts, wagons, cans and all the necessary implements and tools, and, with one hundred and fifty colored men, he led the way. In fourteen months he completed the two miles of the most difficult part of the great trunk line at a cost of about twenty-five thousand dollars." The RR company was very impressed and offered other work as did a Nebraska coal company; all offers were declined since they would take him from his calling. He edited for a number of years "Our Colored Brethren," a department of the Christian Standard published by his denomination, in Cincinnati. He serves (1886) the large Gay Street Church in Nashville.
p 234/ George French Ecton was from the Third Senatorial District, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois. "From the Plowhandles to the Legislature--From the Capacity of a Waiter to that of a Legislator." These moves by Ecton were not made in a single jump. "He first saw the rays of light at Winchester, Clark county, Kentucky, in 1846, and is the eldest of three living children. His father's name was Antonio Ecton, and his mother's, Martha George." Spent early life in slavery, weeded crops as a lad. When about 15 or 16 the Civil War came. "At the close of the war, about June 1865, George and a friend determined to 'make way for liberty,' having received a set of 'free papers,' written for them by a white Abolitionist, which even at that late date were necessary to every traveling Negro to insure recognition of freedom, as slaves in Kentucky were not liberated until some months after the Emancipation Proclamation. With the amount of thirty or forty dollars which they had saved up, they started." Went to Paris, Ky., and boarded the train for Cincinnati. They took jobs as deck hands on a steam packet. George only made one trip on the packet; took a job in Cincinnati at the old Broadway House during which he saved $100. Later he worked at the Walnut Street House," the "Burnett House," and the "Spencer House." He attended night school taught by Miss Luella Brown, who still teaches in the suburbs of Cincinnati. In Oct 28, 1873, he went to Chicago "...and took charge of a dining room at the 'Hotel Woodruff,' where he remained up to his nomination and election to a seat in the Thirty-fifth General Assembly. As a legislator he will reflect credit upon his constituency." He wedded Miss Patti R. Allen of Winchester, Ky.

BRIEF BIOG: OLD CAPTAIN, EARLY BLACK RELIGIOUS HERO (Baptist)

Robert H. Bishop, Outline History of the Church in Kentucky, 1824

p 230/

"Old Captain, the founder of the first African Baptist Church in Lexington, and who died at the advanced age of 90, in the summer of 1823, was originally the property of a Captain Duerett, of Caroline County, Va. He was awakened under the faithful preaching of the gospel, and felt his situation as a lost sinner when he was about twenty-five years of age. When he had been almost reduced to despair, he was relieved by getting a clear and distinct view of Christ as the only Saviour, and the only way of life and salvation, and felt, as he thought, that he was delivered from the power of sin.+

"Having made application to a regular church of Christ, and having been conversed with and examined in the usual way, he was publicly baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. His heart also felt for the situation of his fellow sinner, and he commenced immediately the work of exhorting from house to house, walking sometimes many miles during night, and on the Lord's day, that he might have an opportunity of warning them of their danger.+

"The gentleman who owned his wife, who was also pious, having determined to move to Kentucky; that man and wife might not be separated, an exchange took place, by which he became the property of another master, and an inhabitant of this country. His new master having settled some eight miles east of Lexington, he was for several years connected with a small Baptist church on the head of Boon Creek. After a few years this church was
BRIEF BIOG: OLD CAPTAIN, EARLY BLACK RELIGIOUS HERO (Lexington) 1339-A

robert h bishop, outline hist of the church in kentucky, 1824

p 231 cont'd/
The vicinity of Lexington. They were there kindly received by several, and particularly by John Maxwell, of whom the old Captain spoke with great affection till his very last. Mr. Maxwell allowed them to settle on his land, close by a noted spring, where the 4th of July was regularly celebrated for many years. He assisted them also to build a cabin, and continued, while he lived, to protect and comfort them as part of his own family.

"Having now something like a house and territory of his own, he invited to this house and to this territory his fellow servants, and on Sabbath days he preached to them, as God enabled him, the way of salvation. His wife was also particularly active in providing accommodations for the people, and in encouraging them to be in earnest about the things which belonged to their everlasting peace. He also regularly attended a meeting-house on the lands of General Levi Todd, which had been appropriated by the General for the use of the Methodist and Baptist people of colour. His ministrations appeared to be blessed, and several, professing a hope of conversion, applied to him for the administration of the ordinance of baptism. But as he was yet a slave, and not recognized as an ordained minister of the gospel, he felt great reluctance in encouraging such applications. He at last, attended by upwards of fifty of these professed converts, applied to an association for regular ordination. The fathers and brethren, after having taken the matter into consideration, did not consider it proper to ordain him in form, but, being fully informed of his character and labours, they gave him the right hand of Christian affection, and directed him to go on in the name of their common Master." Being thus encouraged, he proceeded to hold meetings for the purpose

BRIEF BIOG: OLD CAPTAIN, EARLY BLACK RELIGIOUS HERO (Lexington) 1339-B

robert h bishop, outline hist of the church in kentucky, 1824

p 232 cont'd/

of conversing with those who professed to be awakened, and when he had evidence of their being passed from death unto life, he administered to them the ordinance of baptism. Upon sufficient number being baptized, they united with one another in the Lord in a church capacity, and he administered to them the ordinance of the Supper. His church increased in numbers, and evidence of genuine piety was exhibited by many of the members. They kept no records, nor could they often meet in one place at the same time—but it was supposed that at one period there were upwards to three hundred in Lexington and the county who acknowledged him as their spiritual father, and who regularly attended upon him as their spiritual instructor. He continued to pay yearly a stipulated hire to his master, till he was so far advanced in life that no family would have supported him merely for the services which he was capable of performing.

"Their mode of discipline in the church over which he presided was in substance thus:" The Captain was called the head (under the great head of the church). He was their pastor and their standing moderator, and they had under him one or two ruling elders, with two or three deacons. In matters of dealing, complaint was first lodged with the elder or pastor, either of whom directed a deacon or two to visit the person complained of—if this failed, an elder next visited him—and if that failed, the pastor, if it was in his power, visited him. And if all these methods failed of giving satisfaction, the matter was then brought before the church, when they decided.
It is not easy to determine on the one hand how little knowledge is merely sufficient for personal salvation—and on the other hand how much knowledge of divine things may be acquired, and may be really necessary for the different departments of human life. This, however, is clear, that in the family of the Redeemer there is a vast distance between the one of these extremes and the other. There are in this family men who have grasped nearly the whole of what has been revealed—who are masters of all the facts, and who understand, to a great extent, all the doctrines—and who are capable of making application of all these facts and of all these doctrines to all the varied states of human life, and to all the varied dispensations of divine providence. And they find almost daily use for all these acquirements. And on the other hand, there are members of this family who know little more than that they are lost sinners—that the Lord Jesus Christ is able to save to the uttermost, and—that there is salvation nowhere else. And they know and believe these truths merely upon the testimony of God, without being able to understand much even of their connection with one another. It is probable that old Captain's knowledge of divinity did not extend much beyond these three points. They were enough for his own personal salvation, and they were enough for the salvation of those among whom he laboured. And to these three points Dr. Scott, and Dr. Watts, and the apostle Paul himself, had to come for relief, again and again, when their extensive knowledge of human nature, and of the whole range of what God has been pleased to reveal, was of little use to them.
r h & e s wright, hist of cox's creek baptist church, 1935

p 7/ Says the church had 369 members in 1858, but declined sharply after the Civil War, and cited several reasons:

"Another cause for this decrease in membership after the freeing of the slaves was the gradual withdrawal of negro members to churches of their own color. Many withdrew to Fairfield, though as late as 1913 we read of the exclusion of a negro member, possibly the last, because, for a number of years, he had not communicated with the Church. During these early years the negro membership of the Church was considerable, sometimes approaching half. In 1860, when the roll was revised, 135 colored members were reported."

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p 5/ Cox's Creek Baptist Church is located 6 mi north of Bardstown and said to be 3rd oldest in Ky. The author mentions that discipline was previously stricter than today. "In 1860, twenty-six were excluded, and in 1871, twenty-three. Sometimes members accused themselves, and, if they did not give satisfaction to the Church, were excluded. Some of the causes for exclusion follow: Un-Christian conduct; cursing; pilfering; driving a wagon to and from Louisville on the Sabbath; playing cards; drinking; dancing; refusing to shake hands in public; playing fives; non-attendance; raffling a watch; purchasing littery tickets; refusing to return a hat gotten through mistake; nailing a shoe on a horse on the Sabbath; suing at law; playing the fiddle; betting a bag of salt; pitching quoits on the Sabbath; going away without a letter of dismission; selling a negro on the Sabbath; and other forms of immorality."
New Salem Baptist Church is located in Nelson County (title page)

p 6/ "In the first year of our history Negroes began to be received. Except for about half the time, it is impossible to determine at all accurately the number of Negro members, though they are included in the numbers given above. They were most numerous from 1850 to 1880, the greatest number discovered being 47, in 1864. They were encouraged to leave by letter and discouraged from joining after 1880, and in April, 1892, a committee was appointed to advise all the remaining ones to get letters and unite with the negro churches. The minutes do not record the accomplishment of this purpose, and it is likely that two or three still have formal membership in the church."

FIRST KNOWN BLACK PREACHERS, CHURCH IN KNOX CO, KY [S.E. KY] 1344

elmer decker, hist of knox co, ky, 1674-1941, n. d.

p 77/ Says the first black licensed to "solemnize the rites of matrimony in Knox County" was in 1866. '"Willis Eve (of color)' was thus licensed as a Baptist minister. Another Negro to be licensed early after slavery was abolished was Sandy Mills, of the Christian denomination, in 1878. June 22, 1888, Ellen Eve Matthews sold Willis Walker, James May and Peter Gregory (Baptist Church committee) the present site of the Negro Baptist Church in Barbourville. There was an African M.E.Church, organized in 1887 by J. R. Knight, which stood at the end of Liberty Street in the rear of the Christian Church. W. F. Westerfield, Com., deeded to John Jones, Alfred Bryan and John Cain the property described above No. 26, 1890." Should be Nov. 26, 1890?
IMPORTANT BLACK SCHOOLS IN POST-CIVIL WAR KY

p c kimball, "freedmen's harvest, freed schools in ky after cw," filson Club Hist Quar 54 (July 1980)

FREE BLACKS IN UPPER SOUTH MORE HIGHLY SKILLED THAN FREE BLACKS IN THE NORTH


p 106/
"Still, as a group, Upper South freemen achieved considerably higher levels of skill than free Negroes in the northern states. In Richmond, for example, over 30 percent of the free Negro population worked at silled trades in 1860." That's Richmond, Va.
GENERAL STATEMENT ON MANUMISSON BY ISIAH BERLIN

Common People in 19th century, 1980

p 111/ "Manumission was generally paternal in origin and extremely
selective. Few slaves found their way out of bondage who did not
have close connections with their owners."

GENERAL STATEMENT ON OPPORTUNITIES OF BLACKS, NORTH AND SOUTH

I Berlin, "Structure of free negro cast," magdol & wakelyn, eds, The
Sou Common Peopoe; 19th cen, 1980

p 113/
"Differences among free Negroes explain much about the history of black
people in the United States and American history generally. It suggests why
so few southern freemen sought to leave the slave states for 'freedom' in
the North or, for that matter, why so few northern blacks went South in
search of better jobs. While southern free Negroes could explain their
political and social liberties greatly by migrating to a free state, they could
do so only at the expense of their economic opportunities. A Charleston
carpenter might say and do things in Philadelphia which would be suicidal
if said and done in South /begin p 114/ Carolina, but he would have great
difficulty finding work at his chosen profession. In many parts of the
North, it would be impossible for him to work get work at any skilled trade.
Similarly, northern freemen might be tempted to migrate south in search of
work, but they understood their social and political liberties would be
severely constrained."
Bruner was born in Clark County, at Winchester, Kentucky, in 1845. His mother had two other children. His owner’s name was John Bell Bruner. John Bruner was a tanner. Peter said that he saw slave traders march slaves they had bought off toward the river to take then southward, during his childhood. He heard them sing: "O come and let us go where pleasure never dies, / Jesus my all to Heaven is gone, / He who I fix my hopes upon. / His track I see and I’ll pursue / The narrow road till him I view. / Oh come and let us go, / Oh come and let us go where pleasure never dies." Peter remembered.

At age 10, apparently, Bruner punished for the only time at Winchester. "One day my master sent me from the shop to the house to procure some paste, and I forgot to bring it for him, so he whipped me with a stirrup-strap and sent me back after it. And that made me so mad, for revenge I went immediately and poured it down my breast, which almost killed me; they had to send for two doctors to spare my life. That was the only time that he ever whipped me while I resided in Winchester."
GENERAL FACTS ABOUT LEVI COFFIN

1 coffin, reminiscences, 1879

p 12/ Coffin says he was age 7 when he was "converted" to abolitionism. He lived with his family in N. C. at the time, and a group of slaves were being herded down the road in chains. When his father asked the slaves why they were chained, one black responded that they were being taken from their wives and children. Coffin turned to his father and asked a number of questions about slavery. /p 14/ Later he saw a slave beaten without cause; this stirred his anger. He objected to "man's inhumanity to man." /p 69/ In the summer of 1821, at the age of 23, Coffin and his cousin Vestal Coffin, organized a Sabbath school for "colored people" in the brick school house near New Garden Meeting House, in N. C. /p 71/ After one summer pressure from neighboring slaveholders led to the demise of the effort. /p 73/ Coffin read the Greensboro Patriot, an anti-slavery paper. /p 103/ got married in 1824, (Oct 28) on his 26th birthday. /p 106/ emigrated to Indiana with wife and son, and settled in Newport, Wayne Co., Indiana. /p 107/ In 1836 engaged in first UGRR activity.

LEVI COFFIN'S FIRST ACTIVITIES IN UGRR (winter 1826-1827)

levi coffin, reminiscences, 1879

p 107/ In 1836 Coffin began manufacturing linseed oil in Newport, Ind. "Soon after we located at Newport, I found that we were on a line of the U. G. R. R. Fugitives often passed through that place, and generally stopped among the colored people. There was /sic/ in that neighborhood a number of families of free colored people, mostly from North Carolina, who were the descendants of slaves who had been liberated by Friends many years before, and sent to free States at the expense of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. I learned that the fugitive slaves who took refuge with these people were often pursued and captured, the colored people not being very skillful in concealing them, or shrewd in making arrangements to forward them to Canada. I was pained to hear of the capture of these fugitives, and inquired of some of the Friends in our village why they did not take them in and secret them, when they were pursued, and then aid them on their way to Canada? I found that they were afraid of the penalty of the law." Coffin informed his Quaker friends that he /p 108/ "thought it was always safe to do right." He based his belief on the Bible.
In the winter of 1826-27, fugitives began to come to our house, in Newport, Ind., and as it became more widely known on different routes that the slaves fleeing from bondage would find a welcome and shelter at our house, and be forwarded safely on their journey, the number increased. Says his activities encouraged others to provide food, clothing, and shelter.

Coffin admitted that some of his Quaker associates were opposed to his activities. Coffin considered himself to be like a Good Samaritan. Nevertheless, Coffin lost some business from pro-slavery people in the vicinity, but the loss was not permanent. "The Underground Railroad business increased as time advanced, and it was attended with heavy expenses, which I could not have borne had not my affairs been prosperous. I found it necessary to keep a team and a wagon always at command, to convey the fugitive slaves on their journey. Sometimes, when we had large companies, one or two other teams and wagons were required. These journeys had to be made at night, often through deep mud and bad roads, and along by-ways that were seldom traveled. Every precaution to evade pursuit had to be used, as the hunters were often on the track, and sometimes ahead of the slaves. We had different routes for sending the fugitives to depots, ten, fifteen, or twenty miles distant, and when we heard of slave-hunters having passed on one road, we forwarded our passengers by another." Coffin said the UGRR from Cincinnati, Madison, and Jeffersonville led to his home in Newport. "The roads were always in running order, the connections were good, the conductors active and zealous, and there was no lack of passengers. Seldom a week passed without our receiving passengers by this mysterious road. We found it necessary to be always prepared to receive such company and properly care for them. We knew not what night or what hour of the night we would be roused from slumber by a gentle rap at the door. ... I have often been awakened by this signal, and sprang out of bed in the dark and opened the door. Outside in the cold or rain, there would be a two-horse wagon loaded with fugitives, perhaps the greater part of them women and children. I would invite them, in a low tone, to come in, and they would follow me into the darkened house without a word, for we knew not who might be watching and listening. When they were all safely inside and the door fastened, I would cover the windows, strike a light and build up a good fire." His wife would prepare food, while he accompanied the "conductor" to the stable to feed and care for the horses. "Frequently, wagon-loads of passengers from the different lines have met at our house, having no previous knowledge of each other." "The number of fugitives varied considerably in different years, but the annual average was more than one hundred." The fugitives were more often than not poorly clad.

When they first came to us they were generally unwilling to tell their stories, or let us know what part of the South they came from. They would not give their names, or the names of their masters, correctly, fearing that they would be betrayed." Sometimes they were sick; often mothers only with their children. Coffin says he often received threats on his life, and numerous anonymous warnings that injury might be done to him or his property. Says most of the inhabitants of Newport
COFFIN NEVER BOTHERED BY SLAVE HUNTERS

levi coffin, reminiscences, 1879

p 118/
"Slave-hunters often passed through our town /Newport/ and sometimes had hired ruffians with them from Richmond, and other neighboring places. They knew me well, and knew that I harbored slaves and aided them to escape, but they never ventured to search my premises, or molest me in any way." /p 119/ Often, if the pursuit of fugitives was hot, they would be scattered throughout Newport until the threat diminished. /p 118/ Coffin said slave hunters knew if they interfered with his business he would have them arrested.

17 FUGITIVES ARRIVE AT COFFIN'S HOUSE FROM KENTUCKY ORIGIN "UGRR" TERM 1355

levi coffin, reminiscences, 1879

p 178/ Coffin said the largest number of slaves to seek help at his home as fugitives was 17, at any one time. They arrived at Coffin's home at about dawn one morning, with two conductors in covered wagons, having traveled about 30 miles that night. "They were all from the same neighborhood, a locality in Kentucky, some fifteen or twenty miles from the Ohio River, but belonged to different masters."

"For some time they had been planning to escape, but had kept their own counsels, not venturing to divulge their secrets to other slaves. A place of rendezvous was agreed upon, and at the appointed time they repaired to it, carrying small bundles of their best clothes...." A poor but trustworthy white man had agreed to take them across the river for pay. They hid the first night in the vicinity of the Ohio River, the following night they began their journey northward /p 180/ they were pursued when part of their party was discovered. They scattered and escaped, but not before being fired upon. Miraculously regrouped, about half the escapees. /p 181/ They approached a black man chopping in the woods; he was friendly. He led them to a safe place in the woods and provided food. They had lost their belongings in their hasty flight. The black man they met "...conducted them to a depot of the Underground Railroad, the Hicklin settlement, where fugitives were always kindly received and cared for, and helped on their way to other stations." /p 182/"During the day, however, Hicklin, at whose house they were, learned that there were other fugitives in the vicinity, among his neighbors who were abolitionists..." They were the lost "comrades of the party at this time and for some time thereafter.
p 197 cont'd/ Coffin said the pursuers, unable to find the fugitives, "...declared that there must be an Underground Railroad, of which I / Coffin/ was president. They repeated this several times in Richmond, and I heard of it when next I went to attend the board of bank directors at that place. + "Some of my friends asked me if I had heard of my promotion to office, and when I said I had not, they told me what the Kentuckians /the pursuers/ had said. I replied that I would accept that position or any other they were disposed to give me on that road--conductor, engineer, fireman or brakeman. This was the first time I ever heard of the Underground Railroad. + 

"The saying of the Kentuckians soon became widely circulated, and I frequently received letters addressed to 'Levi Coffin, President of the Underground Railroad.' I had the honor of wearing that title for more than thirty years..."

ppl86-190/ the Kentucky hunters had remain in the vicinity of Richmond-Newport for days looking for the fugitives, and during that time attempted to overawe Coffin.

SLAVE HIDES IN HAY STACK FOR 6 WEEKS BEFORE ESCAPING (while master searches neighborhood)

levi coffin, reminiscences, 1879

p 203/ Coffin, while in Cincinnati picked up fugitive female and learned of her story of escape. "She had come from Boone County, Kentucky, having run away because she learned that she was to be sold to the far South. Knowing that she would be pursued and probably retaken if she started northward immediately, she conceived a plan like that adopted by Cassie and Emmeline when they ran away from Legree, in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' She hid herself in the interior of a large straw pile near her master's barn, having previously arranged apertures for air, and a winding passage with concealed entrance, by which her fellow-servants who brought her food could enter. Here she remained six weeks, while her master with a possee of men scoured the country in search of her. Like Cassie who looked for her hiding-place in the garret, and heard the discomfited Legree swearing at his ill luck as he returned from the unsuccessful pursuit, this young woman could hear in her hiding-place in the straw pile, the noise of horses' feet and the sound of talking, as her master and his men returned from their fruitless search for her. When the hunt was over, she stole out and made her way /begin p 204/ safely to the Ohio River, crossed in a skiff and reached the house of a family of abolitionists in Cincinnati, where she was kindly received, and furnished with comfortable clothing."
p 297/ Coffin and his family moved to Cincinnati in 1847 (the spring). "... when I came to the city to live, I found that the fugitives generally took refuge among the colored people, and that they were often captured and taken back to slavery." /p 298/ Coffin says most whites there who were sympathetic with fugitives were willing to give money to aid them, but few were willing to take them in, fearing legal problems. Most blacks were too careless in handling fugitives leading, frequently, to their recapture. /p 299/ Coffin saw himself as soon becoming the leading UGRR person in Cincinnati.

p 343/ Coffin said that occasionally blacks who were traitors to their race came to Cincinnati to spy on him. "A man of this character, who had been sent as a spy from Kentucky, applied to me, asking my help and protection, and seeming to be much alarmed lest he should be captured. As other attempts /sic/ of similar character had often been made, I was on the lookout, and was wary and guarded in what I said. I took the man to the house of one of my colored friends, whom I privately informed of my suspicions, and told him to be on his guard till it should be discovered whether the man was a fugitive or spy. It was soon ascertained that he was the latter, and the colored people, among whom he had been staying, arose in their indignation, took him out of the city, and administered punishment in the shape of a severe whipping. After this he returned to Kentucky, and was never known to play such a part again." Says a black appeared at a black church, a male in female clothing, and was discovered to be a spy seeking to learn information on UG RR. /p 344/ A white Kentuckian appeared at Coffin's home suggesting the freeing of slave in Ky with Coffin's aid. Coffin suspicious; told the man he did not interfere with slavery in Ky, only aided poor and destitute of either race north of the Ohio. /p 345/ All attempts to entrap him, Coffin wrote, failed.
Isaac Johnson, Slavery Days in Old Ky, 1901

p 7/ Johnson was born in Ky in 1844. As a child he remembered life on the Green River. His father was Richard Yeager, his mother was Jane; there were three other brothers. His last name Johnson was his mother's maiden name. "As I look back to my boyhood days I can see that my mother was an intelligent woman, considering her station in life, and it is from her, and my paternal uncles in after years I learned as to my ancestry." Says his grandfather was an Irishman named Griffin Yeager whose brothers were slave traders. /p 8/ His mother was "stolen" from Madagascar in 1840 and given to his grandfather who made her a servant. Upon the death of the grandfather, Dick Yeager, his son, inherited Jane; he made her his wife in all but name. They had no neighbors nearer than 10 miles. /p 9/ As whites moved into the neighborhood where they lived, they disapproved of Yeager's living with a slave and Yeager was ostracized socially. Yeager sold the farm and left for New Orleans to sell their horses. While he was gone the sheriff appeared and took Jane and the children to Bardstown, Nelson county, a 2 day journey eastward. The next morning after arriving in Bardstown, they were placed "on the auction block" and sold.

Black Who Escaped from Lexington, Dies at Coffin's House, 1879

p 391/ While in Cincinnati, living at the corner of Franklin and Broadway, a runaway from Lexington who had been the slave of a well-known politician with the initials of T.M. arrived. "Uncle Tom" had been hired out to a cruel master who lived about 20 miles from Lexington. /p 392/ Tom decided to escape after his master was informed of his cruel treatment and did nothing. Tom heard of Coffin through free blacks in Lexington, and followed the railroad from Lexington to Cincinnati, hiding during the day. /p 393/ In 3 days Tom reached Covington, was aided by a free black in getting across the river. He was sick when he arrived at Coffin's home. /p 394/ A doctor called, Tom very ill. /p 396/ Tom died.
ISAAC JOHNSON DESCRIBES HIS OWN SALE ON THE AUCTION BLOCK (1851)

Isaac Johnson remembered that when put on the auction block "...the auctioneer cried out: 'How much do I hear for this nigger?'" Johnson believed that the poorer classes used the term nigger; that the upper classes referred to blacks as "colored folks." Age 7, year 1851 / page 10/

"Then the auctioneer called for Isaac and I was led out, the auctioneer saying, 'Time is precious, gentlemen; I must sell them all before night; how much do I hear for this nigger?' We were instructed beforehand that we must answer all questions put to us by 'Yes, sir,' and 'No, sir.' I was asked if I had ever been whipped, or sick, or had had the toothache, and similar questions to all of which I answered. The first bid was four hundred dollars. This was gradually raised until I was struck off for seven hundred dollars, and sold to William Madinglay, who came forward and said: 'Come along with me, boy, you belong to me.' I said to him, 'Let me go and see my mother.' He answered me crossly: 'Come along with me, I will train you without your mother's help.' I was taken to one side and chained to a post as though I had been a horse. /sic/ I remained hitched to this post till late in the afternoon.

COFFIN TELLS OF LOUISVILLE WHITE WHO HELPED BLACKS ESCAPE

Coffin, reminiscences, 1879

"At the time that I was engaged in the work of the Underground Railroad at Cincinnati, there lived in Louisville, Kentucky, a man whom I will call Jones, who was in sentiment a strong abolitionist, and who aided runaway slaves whenever it was in his power. The colored people of Louisville, learning that he was kindly disposed toward their race, frequently applied to him for counsel and assistance when in perplexity or distress." When slaves escaped from slave traders who centered their business in Louisville Jones often aided them. "After waiting till pursuit was over, he would proceed to the Cincinnati and Louisville packet, lying then at the wharf, and in his own or some fictitious name engage a state-room for the passenger to Cincinnati, and get the key of the room." The fugitives would then enter the room and escape. /p 399/ Occasionally Jones went with the fugitives, taking them to Coffin's house. /p 400/ Following these well laid plans 27 slave escaped to Cincinnati one spring and summer. Jones, under suspicion, was arrested and convicted in a case of helping a fugitive in which he was not actually involved. Sentenced to 3, then new trial to 2 years. /p 402-403/ A new trial ordered, but an bond of 1,000 dollars. /p 404/ Coffin took the money to Louisville; /p 405/ Jones went to Cincinnati /p 406/ was talked into not returning for the trial. /p 107/ Jones now (1879) a physician in Cincinnati.
Simmons, men of mark, 1887 (1970)
p vii, 1970 preface of Lerone Bennett Jr/
"Simmons wrote out of a deep sense of identification with the struggles and achievements of his subjects." Simmons was born in SC a slave; escaped, member of 41 US Colored Troops in Civil War. Graduated from Howard Univ, served as minister, teacher, editor; later president of Kentucky Normal and Theological Institution, "...and participated in the major political and ideological struggles of the late nineteenth century."
"Simmons was a man of his times and he writes with the full, rhetorical style of the nineteenth century. An unabashed partisan, he rejects the pseudo-objective approach and situates himself on the terrain of his subjects. He takes sides with them, rejoices in their achievements and bemoans their setbacks. The limitations of this approach (overemphasis of personal agencies and the failure to report negative factors) are obvious and Simmons was probably aware of them." Simmons hoped for a companion book on black women. The book was sold on subscription to raise money for the project. Evidently not enough money was made to print the book on women.

Coffin tells of the exploits of John Fairfield; helps blacks escape from northwest Kentucky (no date)
Coffin, reminiscences, 1879
p 434/
"At one time he took a company of slaves from the northwestern part of Kentucky, and to elude pursuit made directly toward Nashville, Tennessee. The company consisted of able-bodied men, who were all well armed. They took horses belonging to their masters, and rode as far as they could the first night, then turned the horses loose and hid themselves during the day. The next night they took other horses, and so on, night after night, until they reached the Ohio River, near Maysville, Kentucky. Fairfield managed to get the men over the river and started safely on their way to Canada, then he returned to the South to continue his adventurous business."
Fairbank was born in Pike, Wyoming Co., New York in Nov. 1816. Family strongly religious. Graduated from Oberlin in 1844 & preacher in Methodist Epis. Ch. Says he "grew to manhood with a positive, innate sense of impartial liberty and equality, of inalienable right, without regard to race, color, descent, sex or position." Says he found slavery inimical to God's and man's law, and did all in his power to help slaves to freedom. "Forty-seven slaves I guided toward the North Star, in violation of the state codes of Virginia and Kentucky. I piloted them through the forests, mostly by night,--girls, fair and white, dressed as ladies; men and boys, as gentlemen, or servants,--men in women's clothes, and women in men's clothes; boys dressed as girls, and girls as boys; on foot or on horseback, in buggies, carriages, common wagons, in and under loads of hay, straw, old furniture, boxes, and bags; crossed the Jordan of the slave, swimming, or wading chin deep, or in boats, or skiffs, on rafts, and often on a pine log. And I never suffered one to be recaptured. None of them, so far as I have learned, have ever come to poverty, or to disgrace. I have visited a score of those families, finding them all industrious, frugal, prosperous, respectable citizens."

"For aiding those slaves to escape from their bondage, I was twice imprisoned--in all seventeen years and four months; and received, during the eight years from March first, 1854, to March first, 1862, thirty-five thousand, one hundred and five stripes from a leather strap fifteen to eighteen inches long, one and a half inches wide, and from one-quarter to three-eights of an inch thick."

Fairfield was once betrayed and captured in Bracken County, Kentucky, and put in prison where he remained through a winter of unusual severity. Before the time for his trial came, he escaped from jail by the aid of some of his friends, and crossed the Ohio River to Ripley." He was sick for weeks from a bad cold he got in prison.
GENERAL ACCT OF FAIRBANK HELPING BLACKS ESCAPE FROM KY
1837: Opposite Little Miami River area
Fairbank, rev Fairbank during slavery times, 1890

p 13/ In April 1837 Fairbank was in Ky, having just crossed the river opposite the Little Miami river, and met a black woman age about 80 who asked help in getting her 7 children to freedom. It was decided that the blacks /begin p 14/ should appear after dark with clothes, etc, and Fairbank would take them across the Ohio. Fairbank was aided by Almon Carpenter. Fairbank never saw them again until 1849 in Detroit, bumped into someone who told them they were doing well in the area.

KY SLAVES DECIDE TO ESCAPE UPON HEARING IMPENDING SALE SOUTH
1879

Coffin, reminiscences, 1879

p 447/ John and Mary lived near Lexington. He was intelligent and trusted by his master. Mary, intelligent, belonged to a separate master, but they lived together. John learned that his owner intended to sell him during their next trip southward to sell horses and mules. They decided to escape. "John had some free colored friends in Cincinnati--one of whom was on a visit to that neighborhood at that time, and to him he communicated his resolve, requesting him when he returned to Cincinnati to send someone who would conduct them out of Kentucky and across the Ohio River. He had saved some money, and authorized his friend to offer fifty dollars to some suitable person who would thus run the risk of aiding slaves to escape. The services of a young white man, who was no stranger to the business, were secured, and in due time he came into the neighborhood and made himself known to them." They began the trip north, travelling on foot all night, hiding during the day, for one week. The trip was very difficult because Mary had been sick. They reached Cincinnati and /begin p 449/ sent for Coffin. Mary, very ill, took two weeks to recover. /begin pp 449-454/ Coffin escorted them to Newport to escape.
FAIRBANK: HELPS HELEN PAYNE ESCAPE IN WASHINGTON-MAYSVILLE AREA

no date given

c fairbank, rev fairbank during slavery times, 1890

p 15/ "Helen Payne was the next slave I helped to escape. I met her between Washington and Maysville, Kentucky, with carpet-bag in hand. I put her on board a steamer, went with her to Pittsburg, where I left her in good hands, and returned to Cincinnati, Ohio. She afterward went to New York City." This acct follows an account dated about 1837

FROZEN OHIO PROVIDED A NATURAL BRIDGE FOR KY FUGITIVES (COFFIN)

coffin, reminiscences, 1879

p 471/ Coffin says that the Ohio R. was a formidable barrier for fugitives, especially for those who did not know how to handle a skiff. "In the winter, however, when an unusually cold spell of weather stopped navigation and bridged the river over with ice, the main obstacle in the way of the slaves who wished to reach Ohio was removed. At such times we always expected a stampede of fugitives from Kentucky."
"A man and wife escaped from Louisville and reached Cincinnati by aid of the chamber-maid on the regular packet, who secreted them during the passage and fed them. They were acquainted with a free colored woman, a washerwoman, who had formerly lived in Louisville, and on their arrival in Cincinnati made their way to her room, which was in the basement of a building on Third Street, near Walnut. She secreted them, and they remained with her several days."

"Upon my return to Cincinnati, finding some colored people in great peril, I crossed the river with fourteen in a scow and placed them beyond danger. A hairbreadth escape occurred during this crisis." One of the girls, concealed in a log, was luckily by-passed by the dogs of her pursuing master.
Coffin, reminiscences, 1879

p 557/ Coffin thought this case involving "...Margaret Garner, the slave mother, who killed her child rather than see it taken back to slavery." one of the most famous he knew of. In Jan. 1856 when the Ohio R was frozen She fled with 17 others to Ohio. /p 558/ They reached the Ohio R. at daylight and crossed in plain view.

"An old slave man named Simon, and his wife Mary, together with their son Robert and his wife Margaret Garner and four children, made their way to the house of a colored man named Kite, who had formerly lived in their neighborhood and had been purchased from slavery by his father, Joe Kite." They were easily traced by pursuers. /p 559/ Coffin, realizing that they could be traced easily, urged that they be moved, but their efforts were too late. Before they could move, the house was surrounded. "Margaret, the mother of the four children, declared that she would kill herself and her children before she would return to bondage. The slave men were armed and fought bravely. The window was first battered down with a stick of wood, and one of the deputy marshals attempted to enter, but a pistol shot from within made a flesh wound on his arm and caused him to abandon the attempt. The pursuers then battered down the door with some timber and rushed in. The husband of Margaret fired several shots, and wounded one of the officers, but was soon overpowered and dragged out of the house. At this moment, Margaret Garner, seeing that their hopes of freedom were /begin p 560/ vain, seized a butcher knife that lay on the table, and with one stroke cut the throat of her little daughter, whom she probably loved the best. She then attempted to take the life of the other children and to kill herself, but she was overpowered and hampered before she could complete her desperate work. The whole party was then arrested and lodged in jail.+
A short time after, I learned that a man, his wife and three children, were in peril. They had traveled from East Tennessee and were secreted in Lexington; some one must be their Moses. I therefore started at nightfall, traveling by a compass and bull's-eye lantern at night, and lying in the cedars through the day. We were four days and night on the road, raiding cornfields and out-door ovens, and milking the cows, for subsistence. We crossed the river at last on a skipper constructed out of slabs and a few planks, and were out of danger.
ELIZA HARRIS: BASIS FOR COFFIN & WIFE'S ASSOCIATION WITH UNCLE TOM'S CABIN AS SIMON & RACHEL

coffin, reminiscences, 1879

 seemed little prospect of any one being able to cross in safety, for during the day the ice became more broken and dangerous to cross. In the evening she discovered pursuers nearing the house, and with desperate courage she determined to cross the river, or perish in the attempt. Clasping her child in her arms she darted out of the back door and ran toward the river, followed by her pursuers, who had just dismounted from their horses when they caught sight of her. No fear or thought of personal danger entered Eliza's mind, for she felt that she had rather be drowned than to be captured and separated from her child. Clasping her babe to her bosom with her left arm, she sprang on to the first cake of ice, then from that to another and another. Sometimes the cake she was on would sink beneath her weight, then she would slide her child on to the next cake, pull herself on with her hands, and so continue her hazardous journey. She became wet to the waist with ice water and her hands were numb with cold, but as she made her way from one cake of ice to another, she felt that surely the Lord was preserving and upholding her, and that nothing could harm her.

When she reached the Ohio side, near Ripley, she was completely exhausted and almost breathless. A man, who had been standing on the bank watching her progress with amazement and expecting every moment to see her go down, assisted her up the bank. After she had recovered her strength a little he directed her to a house on the hill, in the outskirts of town. She made her way to the place, and was kindly received and cared for. It was not considered safe for her to remain there during the night, so, after resting a while and being provided with food and dry clothing, she was conducted to a station on the Underground Railroad, a few miles farther from the river. The next night she was forwarded from station to station to our house in Newport, where she arrived safely and remained several days.

Other fugitives arrived in the meantime, and Eliza and her child were sent with them, by the Green ville branch of the Underground Railroad, to San...
me an' you hid me in de feather bed and saved me? Why, bress your heart! If it hadn't been for you I should neber been here. It's more dan twenty years ago, and my head is white, but I hasn't forgot dat time."

She shook his hand heartily, and said: "Now I remember thee."

At Amherstburg, generally called Fort Malden, and many other places, we met with many, both men and women, whom we had assisted on their way to liberty, and their expressions of thankfulness and regard were very gratifying to us.
The subject of this sketch was the property of a man living near Lexington, Kentucky. He had a wife and several children whom he was permitted to visit frequently, was well treated by his master, and had no fear of being sold away from his family; so his condition was a very favorable one, compared with that of many other slaves. But this state of security came suddenly to an end. The master died and the heirs decided to sell Sam, but as he was very powerful, and a dangerous man to deal with when his spirit was roused, no one dared to take possession of him and tell him that he was sold away from his family. What could not be done by force was accomplished by stratagem. Sam was sent into the jail to take a box of candles, and, all unsuspecting, walked into the trap. Several men were hidden behind the door, and leaping out suddenly, they knocked him down, overpowered and bound him. He then learned that he was bought by a negro trader, who intended taking him to the South. Just before the coffin started, Sam's wife was permitted to come to the jail to bid him good-by, but her distress was so great and she wept so loudly that she was hurried out and taken away without having been able to say a word. Sam was taken to Mississippi and sold, but after several months managed to escape, and after much difficulty and many hardships found his way back to Lexington, Kentucky, where he hoped to find some one who would purchase him and allow him to remain near his family, but in this effort he did not succeed.

Hearing that pursuers were on his track, he left that neighborhood, and succeeded in making his way to Newport, Indiana, where he arrived in the dead of winter, in a destitute and suffering condition.

I persuaded him to remain till better weather, when the roads would be open and traveling easier, and he remained till spring. I in the meantime furnishing him with employment at good wages. It may be in place here to mention that the abolitionists were frequently accused, by pro-slavery people, of availing themselves of the labor of the fugitive slaves by employing them several months on the promise of good wages, then raising the alarm that the masters were in pursuit, and hustling them off on the road to Canada without paying the wages due them. It is almost needless to say that this accusation was false. During that winter there was a monthly prayer-meeting, held in the Wesleyan Chapel at Newport, on behalf of the slaves, and I asked Sam to attend one of these meetings with me. He at first hesitated, so fearful was he of being betrayed, but on being assured that there was no danger, he consented to go.

It seemed strange to him that white people should pray for slaves; he had never heard of such a thing before. As others were telling stories of the sufferings of slaves, I suggested to Sam that he should give his experience. To this he consented, with reluctance, and I rose and informed the meeting that a fugitive slave was sitting by my side, whose story I was sure would be interesting to all present. Sam then rose from his seat and gave a short history of his sufferings, together with a vivid description of the horrors of slavery, and so interested his hearers that a meeting was appointed for this purpose. When the evening came the church was crowded. Sam was conducted to the pulpit by the minister and myself. We made short introductory speeches, then Sam spoke for more than an hour to the attentive and deeply interested audience.

He was prevailed upon to speak another time, when a larger number would have an opportunity to hear him, and a meeting was appointed for this purpose. When the evening came the church was crowded. Sam was conducted to the pulpit by the minister and myself. We made short introductory speeches, then Sam spoke for more than an hour to the attentive and deeply interested audience. They had not expected to hear good language from a slave who had had no educational advantages, and were surprised to find his speech resembling that of a practiced orator. Sam had, during the life of his indulgent master, had frequent opportunities of hearing public speeches in Lexington, and this experience, which had been a sort of education to him, added to his native eloquence, enabled him to hold his audience spellbound, while he depicted in glowing words the cruelty of slavery and the manifold sufferings of the slaves. He then gave an account of his own trials, and pictured in a touching manner the scene of his wife's separation from him when he
COFFIN TELLS OF ELOQUENT KY FUGITIVE

coffin, reminiscences, 1879

one was touched, and nearly all his hearers were melted to tears.

Some of them declared afterward that they thought Henry Clay could not surpass him in eloquence. Shortly after this the United Brethren held a Conference in Newport, and wishing to have Sam address them, a deputation called at my house, to speak with him on the subject. They were shown into the parlor, where a fire was burning, and

as I sat talking with them, Sam came in with an armful of wood to replenish the fire.

One of the deputation said: "Is this the man?" and I answered, "Yes:" then remarked to Sam that these men wished to see him. Sam went out quickly and did not return. When I went to look for him, I found him outside the kitchen door, with a large butcher knife in his hand, ready to defend himself. He thought that the men had come to take him, and was determined to sell his life or liberty as dearly as possible. When the matter was explained, he went in to see the men, and afterward spoke for them. In the spring he was sent on to Canada, where he was out of the slave-dealer's power forever.

FAIRBANK RESCUES EMILY WARD, 1842

fairbank, rev fairbank during slavery times, 1890

p 20/ Emily Ward, about 17, was "of a bright brunette complexion." Fairbank learned she had been sold to a slave trader and confined in an attic awaiting removal to New Orleans. "I wrote a brief letter as follows: 'I come to release you. Dress in boy's clothes quick, if you can, and come down from the window on a rope if you have one. If not, make one of blankets, and come down.'" Fairbank crossed the Ohio on the ferry. He tossed pebbles at the window to attract the girl's attention; threw the note up to her, and soon lowered herself. Fairbank took her to Levi Coffin who aided her. Before she could escape northward hunters, including her old master, appeared in the neighborhood. The hunters entered the front of Coffin's house as Fairbank and the fugitive went out the rear. Fairbank followed the sidewalk around in front of the house; the pursuers stayed only a moment, then came back out the front. /p 23/ The master actually bumped into the disguised Emily, but did not recognize her. She escaped to Canada eventually.
p 23/ Shortly after rescuing Emily Ward, Fairbank met John Hamilton, "thirsting for freedom." /p 24/ Fairbank helped Hamilton escape Ky astride a pine log. He took the young man to Levi Coffin. Fairbank believed that Hamilton was later shot in SC during an election campaign.

p 24/ about 1842 Fairbank learned of a family sold to a slave dealer. "Casey was an expert, and he and I at once laid our plans to go over to the Kentucky side for a load of straw. We constructed a rack just the size of the interior of the straw rack, two feet high, and strong enough to protect a part of the family under it, and proceeded to the barn of a free African, very near the Stanton family, who were promptly on the spot. We spread about one foot of straw on the bottom of the wagon, upon which five of the children were laid, and then three feet more of straw loaded over them. Upon this, Mr. and Mrs. Stanton, and the oldest son were placed, and carefully covered with another layer of the straw. Then we had a load worth twenty-four hundred /begin: p 25/ dollars. Once in Cincinnati, there were as many places of safety as the number of fugitives demanded. There were a father, mother, and six children saved from the jaws of hell, through the exercise of charity, courage, and prudence, disciplined by experience."
Fairbank Purchases Mulatto, Then Frees Her, May 1843

Fairbank learned of a beautiful young girl, only slightly of African descent, self-educated, named Eliza, who was auctioned on the block in Lexington. Fairbank collected money from antislavery leaders in Cincinnati and went to the sale and began to bid. Fairbank got the bid at $1485 and ordered that she be freed. Fairbank took Eliza to Cincinnati where she was educated, married, and successful with her family.

Fairbank Aided William Minnis who was illegally sold into slavery in Arkansas 1843

William Minnis was freed by his master's will, but the master's son did not tell William. A group of antislavery people such as Levi Coffin raised money to try to secure Minnis' rights. Minnis had been sold to Little Rock, Arkansas. Fairbank went to Little Rock and tried to locate Minnis. Fairbank located Minnis and told him he was free by his master's will. Fairbank made plans to disguise Minnis. Minnis later changed his name to John Crawford. They made it to Cincinnati and freedom eventually; Crawford going on to Canada, later returning to fight as a Union soldier.
FIRST IMPRISONMENT OF CALVIN FAIRBANK: 1844-49; THE D WEBSTER INCIDENT; pardoned by Gov John J. Crittenden 1849

Capt Newton Craig was the warden; he was "very considerate" to Fairbank, giving him his coice of labor. Fairbank chose making shoes, but upon becoming sick was made a hospital steward. James Canning Fuller of New help Fairbank financially while he was in prison.

On Aug 23, 1849, Gov John J. Crittenden pardoned Fairbank whose savings were gone and he was broken in health.

SECOND IMPRISONMENT OF CALVIN FAIRBANK (1851-1864)

Fairbank was in Cincinnati making plans to retrieve the body of his father who had died in Ky while visiting Fairbank during his first imprisonment. Fairbank learned that a mulatto woman "doomed to be sold on the block," needed to be rescued from Louisville. Fairbank secured a leaky boat and rescued the female Tamar on the night of Nov 2, 1851. At 4 AM on Nov 3, 1851, Fairbank and Tamar sped northward toward Salem Indiana, but the buggy was disabled. Tamar was taken to a place of safety, and Fairbank returned to Jeffersounville, Ind., planning to return to Lexington where his father was buried. But Fairbank was kidnapped back to Louisville by several Kentuckians before he returned to the Commonwealth.

While in jail Fairbank made plans to get bail or break jail. Bail was $5000; he breaking jail as "... just fitting keys, getting them into the jail, together with saws, etc., for cutting the bars our of the window after getting out of my cell." Their scheme of breaking jail failed.

After the failure of the jailbreak Fairbank was kept in irons. The trial started in mid-February 1852. Fairbank objected to the trial being tried in a state court, maintaining that it should be before the Federal courts. Rejected by Ky court. Convicted, Fairbank left for jail in Frankfort on March 9, 1852.
p 2/ Letter from S. Burbank to O O Howard gives following info:

"Twenty-two (22) boxes and one (1) bale of clothing were received from New York, January 13, 1868, and, immediately after the receipt of the invoices, distributed to the suffering poor of the State." Mentions that the "rebel" press criticized this; Burbank concluded that whites refused to help blacks get started, and criticized those who did.

p 2/ The Freed. Bureau had made and approved 96 contracts involving 119 people for the period Jan. 1868. The wages were $12.50 for males and $6.74 for females, including rations and quarters.
Robert Harlan was born in Mecklenburg Co, Va., Dec 12, 1816. When 8 yrs old he was taken to Ky where he became the Slave of Hon. James Harlan, the father of Hon. John M. Harlan, later assoc justic of the Sup Ct of the U.S. James claimed his father was white, and his mother 3 parts white.

"As a boy, Mr. Harlan was bright, intelligent, and ambitious; and although a slave under the law, he was allowed unusual freedom. There were no schools in Kentucky for colored people, and no provisions for their education; but he was taught the elements of an education by Mr. Harlan's older sons, and with this start he displayed an intelligence beyond what was usual with the better class of his race. Allowed to hire his time, as was not unfrequent in slave States, he learned the barber's trade in Louisville, and opened and conducted a barber shop in Harrodsburg, and subsequently a grocery at Lexington." He went to Calif. in 1848, amassed a fortune of $45,000, and returned to Cincinnati. Entered several businesses, went to London, Eng., in 1851, visited numbers of states, and Canada, "... he voluntarily returned to Kentucky and arranged for a formal acknowledgment of his freedom, paying five hundred dollars for the same." /p 422/ He returned to Cincinnati and engaged in business and politics; a delegate to the national convention that nominated Grant in 1872, etc, in Ohio.

Matt was born in Madison Co, Ky, Sept 1, 1823. He became a Christian in 1841, influenced by Rev. Edmund Martin, a black Baptist preacher in Richmond, Ky. /begin p 502/ Married Polly Woods Ballard in 1843, licensed to preach in Methodist church; in 1856 joined the Baptist church & baptized by Rev. Jacob Bush, of Clark Co, Ky, second pastor of the black baptist church in Richmond. Became pastor of the Richmond black baptist church in June 1858 where he has remained.
Marshall W. Taylor was born free July 1, 1846, in Lexington, Fayette Co. His mother persuaded his father to move to Lexington in an effort to acquire an education for her children. "For a short time he attended school and then moved to Louisville with his mother and brothers, his father having died some time before. Finding no school, they continued to Ghent, where they stayed two years, obtaining instruction from little white children by stealth, who attended school." They returned to Louisville where Marshall became a messenger in the law firm of J. G. Kincaid and John W. Barr. "He first taught in 1866, in Breckinridge county, Kentucky, and was bitterly opposed by men to whom a Negro school was obnoxious. In 1868 Mr. Taylor was elected president of an educational convention held in Owensboro, Davies County, Kentucky. This year he was also a member of a convention at Jackson Street church, Louisville, which inaugurated the movement for the Lexington M. E. conference." He was licensed to preach and moved to Arkansas.

WHITE CHURCH, STAMPINGGROUND REALIZES BLACKS WANT SEPARATE CHURCH (1855) (Scott Co., just NW of Georgetown)

j w singer, The Negro Members of the Stamping Ground Baptist Church, 1967

Taken from the church records. In Jan. 1855 the white Baptist church set up a committee to look into the separation of the white and black congregations in the church. Under the date of Jan. 28, 1855, a report was made. The committee stated that there were "...strong objections that present themselves against matters as they now exist."

"First, it is a fact that cannot be contradicted that there is a growing disinclination upon our colored membership to attend our meetings. This we have beheld with feelings of mortification and solicitude. Charity would induce us to hope that this grows out of the fact that they have a comfortable house in which they meet with those of their own color, which no doubt is more desirable to them; be this as it may something ought to be done so the present state of things should not exist. And again it is known to all that the colored part of our church cannot enter a complaint or bear testimony against the white portion of the church. There seems then to be such a glaring inconsistency in holding members in church fellowship who are denied these privileges of church membership, that the objections brought against such an organization do not weigh equal to the arguments in favor of it. We have inquired of the committee of attendance and they inform us that they are sufficiently strict in discipline, that they would compare well with white churches on that subject. We also learn from said committee that they have their moderator and clerk and that their book in which they record the acts and doings of their meetings do credit to them, and would compare well with the books of our white churches."
Circular No. 2; printed order, Freed Bureau, Louisville, May 25. 1866,
"All teachers of Freedmens Schools in the State of Kentucky, are hereby directed to make a monthly written report, on the last day of each month, to the local Superintendent of this Bureau, in the County, city, or town where such schools are located, of the number of scholars, the average number of daily attendants, and average cost per scholar for tuition per month or quarter of their respective schools." They had to be signed by the teacher. by order of John Ely, Brev. Brig Gen US Vol, Chief Supt Bureau Refug, Freed &Aband Lands, Dist of Ky.

INSTRUCTIONS ON CONDUCT OF FREED. BUREAU OFFICE IN LOUISVILLE:
ISSUED BY JEFF C DAVIS, June 26, 1866.

Circular No. 3; printed, dated Louisville, June 26, 1866, signed by Jeff C. Davis, Bvt Maj Gen & Asst Commissioner for Ky.

These rules and regulations were furnished to act as a guide for Bureau officials. "III. When complaints are made by Freedmen of outrages having been committed upon their persons or property by white persons, the complaint will be required to swear or affirm, to the same, after which the Superintendent will bring the case before the proper court of the city, county, or circuit in which the crime has been committed, produce the witness, and ask the court to commit the parties charged for trial." The Bureau would aid in securing labor contracts; blacks were to be urged to fulfill their contracts. Freedmen claiming to be married were to be urged to be married legally. The Bureau would charge $1.25 for a marriage license (that is Superintendent's fee); "Superintendents fee for issuing a license to colored Preachers to solemnize the rites of matrimony will be $3.00." Davis was trying to end "indiscriminate 'taking up with each other.'" V. When a Supt. was involved in apprenticing a black orphan, he could charge a fee of $10.00; a fee of $1.00 was charged to register a contract.

Circular No 2; Feb 11, 1867, John Ely, printed, Louisville, There will be no further changes "...for approving contracts, apprenticing minors.
1. Bureau Courts shall be composed of three members one of whom shall be an officer or agent of this Bureau and one selected by each of the parties interested. Should one or both the parties interested refuse to choose a member of the Court the Ass't. Com. shall himself make such selection.

2. Bureau Courts shall have jurisdiction of all cases relating to compensation for labor 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, they may also try offences committed by or against freedmen provided the punishment imposed shall not exceed a fine of $100, or imprisonment at hard labor for 30 days. The judgement of these Courts may be enforced by military authority and shall not be obstructed by the staylaws of any State. The Agent of the Bureau serving on a Bureau Court shall keep a concise record of all cases adjudicated by the Court, including fines imposed or other punishments inflicted. On the last day of each month he shall pay to the Chief Disbursing Officer of the Bureau in the State, all moneys accruing from fines thus imposed and shall furnish him a tabular statement of all the cases giving the names of the persons fined, the offences charged, and the sentences of the Court, which statement shall be used by the Disbursing Officer in the settlement of his accounts as a voucher for moneys received.

3. The members of the courts were to receive a reasonable compensation.

4. The Bureau, having been established by Cong., to be paramount in issues involving freedmen, "...will not be subject to revision before State Courts, or Magistrates, but will be treated precisely according to the usage of military tribunals."
SIDNEY BURBANK APPOINTED KY ASST COMMISSIONER OF FREED BUREAU
March 1, 1867

Gen orders, circulars, asst comm, freed bureau, ky 1866-68, 1869; General Orders No. 1; printed, Louisville, March 1, 1867.

Sidney Burbank appointed Asst Commissioner of Freed Bureau in Ky. John Ely signed the order.

FREED BUREAU DROPPED CHARGE FOR MAKING CONTRACTS; BLACKS REJECTING CONTRACTS FOR NEXT YEAR (1867)

Gen orders, circulars, asst comm freed bureau, ky, 1866-68; 1869; Circular No. 1, John Ely, dated Jan 24, 1867, printed, Louisville, Asst Comm's Office, Louisville.

The Assistant Commissioner regrets that reports received at this office from some sections of the State, represent a disposition among the Freedmen to leave their places of employment in the country, and refusing to contract for the present year where their services are required, congregate in towns and villages, without any visible means of support, which action tends to create additional destitution and vagrancy." The order points out the evils of this practice:

"All Freedmen are advised to make yearly contracts for their labor at the highest price they can obtain, and it is thought that employers will advance their own interests by paying a fair price of wages for the labor performed in monthly instalments to enable the laborers to provide for their current expenses."

"Major Genl. O.O. Howard, Commissioner, &c. has directed that until further orders no fees or charges will be exacted by Officers or Agents of the Bureau for services they may render in connection with Contracts between freed people and their employers, either in the examination, approval, witnessing, or registry of such contracts, or otherwise, except for the necessary Internal Revenue Stamps which will be paid for by Employers."
In anticipation of Cholera epidemic and its "... ravages among the colored people of this city," instructions were given to white-wash every house occupied by freedmen within one mile of the city limits, and clean yards, garages, out buildings, etc, within 15 days. Those refusing the order would be arrested. The unemployed were urged to leave the city for the countryside. Those needing medical attention should go to the Bureau Dispensary at the corner of Green and Centre streets.

April 16, 1867, Circular No. 5, signed by Ely, stated that within next 30 days "...every house occupied by Freedmen in Louisville and within one mile of the city limits must be white-washed." in anticipation of the expected cholera epidemic. Sewers, other garbage, filth must be cleaned and removed from the city. Those with irregular employment must leave for the countryside. A hospital at the corner of Broadway and 14 St, and the Bureau Dispensary on 3rd street will aid the ill.

Apr 6, 1868, from Benjamin Runkle, Asst Comm Ky, Freed Bureau, dated in Louisville, hand written, same as above on cholera.

Uncle Peter or "Old Captain" with Travelling Church (Sept 1781) Going to KY

ranck, The Travelling Church, 1910

p 22/ "And at times there was a mighty lifting up of voices among the negroes for 'Uncle Peter' was with them and he set the example. Uncle Peter, afterwards known as 'Old Captain,' is the first negro preacher mention in connection with the settlement of Kentucky and was the first of his race in all probability to deliver a sermon on Kentucky soil. As Uncle Peter belonged to the Craigs--a family almost composed of Baptist preachers--it accorded exactly with the fitness of things that he was a Baptist preacher himself and he not only did well in that line but frequently assisted Capt. Ellis as a guide for he had travelled the road before. In fact it is more likely that he was sent out to Kentucky when Capt. Ellis made his first trip to the Blue Grass Region in 1779, for one writer begins locates him about that time near the station Ellis and Grant founded and has him returning to Virginia for the same reason that they returned, viz; on account of Indian outrages. The savages destroyed a crop of corn Peter had planted in his master's interest and he evidently sought shelter at Bryant's Station until he got a favorable chance to go home. Peter had more reasons than one for remembering the road he was now on." /p 22n/ Old Capt a member of Baptist Church at head of Boone's Creek in 1874; his master Rev Joseph Craig, was the pastor. 'Shortly after this Peter and his wife hired themselves and were allowed by the pioneer John Maxwell to build a cabin on his land near noted Maxwell Spring in Lexington, were Peter founded the First African Baptist Church of
LETTER AUTHORIZING EMPLOYMENT OF BLACK MAIL CARRIERS (1807)  

Jos. Habersham, to Edmund Taylor, April 4, 1807, Washington City,  
file 388, microfilm, Ky Hist Soc, Frankfort  

To: Edmund Taylor:  

"There is no objection to your employing a Negro for a Mail Carrier. This was allowed by my Predecessors in office and is presently practised /sic/ in the Southern / word illegible/."  

signed Joseph Habersham  

__________________________  

Joseph Habersham  

BLACK MAJORITY LEAVES WALNUT ST. BAP CHURCH IN LOUISVILLE, 1842  

frank m masters, a hist.of baptists in ky, 1953  

p 110/ "In 1842, 559 colored members were dismissed to form the First Colored Baptist Church of Louisville, leaving only 279 members in the /white/ First Church. This is an article on Walnut St. Bap Ch, which entered the Long Run Assn in 1815, when it began.
In 1834, the membership of the church had increased from 43 to 177. This growth was the result of several real revival meetings. At this date the colored members numbered about eighty, who had a separate meeting house of worship, and their own pastor and deacons, but they transacted their church business under the direction of the white brethren. In 1868, there were 242 colored members, and 174 whites. About that time, the negro /sic/ members requested letters to organize the Negro Baptist Church of Simpsonville."

Frank M. Masters, A History of Baptists in Ky, 1953

The Long Run Association continued to prosper until the Civil War period, when the body numbered twenty-six churches with 5350 members in 1861, but it lost over 2000 colored members, as a result of the war."

Frank M. Masters, A History of Baptists in Ky, 1953

The First and Second Baptist churches of Louisville went together in 1849 to form Walnut Street Baptist Church.
By 1860 the Franklin (County) Association of Baptists numbered 19 churches with 3125 members, which was reduced to about 2500, caused by the loss of the colored members at the close of the Civil War.

"In 1860 there were sixty-two cooperating churches, aggregating 7312 members. These churches were located in Logan, Simpson, Warren, Christian, and Todd Counties in Kentucky; and in the counties of Montgomery, Robertson, and Steward in Tennessee. In this territory were the important towns of Springfield, Clarksville, Franklin, Bowling Green, Russellville, Elkton, Hopkinsville and many smaller towns and villages, in all of which were live Baptist churches. The membership of the churches was reduced in number in 1868, when 1,864 colored members withdrew."
REPORT ON NUMBER OF BLACK BAPTISTS IN KY IN 1880

p 378/ Says in 1880: "Of the colored Baptists, there were twelve district associations and **443** churches with 50,368 members."

"Black History and S. L.'s" file, Loretto Archives
(xerox copy of document)
(typed copy of original in Loretto Motherhouse)
Christine & Clements sold to Nerinckx, "woman Nanss, her children, Josse, Jerry, George, John, Francis & all her increase,..." Jan 8, 1822; Nanss' son George was well known as Black George or George of Loretto, a most respectable and trustworthy servant, and overseer at Loretto for years; and George's son Leo is equally worthy of note, the comment of the compiler continued, respected everywhere; lived there till his death.
(typed copy of original in Fr. Nerinckx's writing, dated March 1820)
Black History and S. L.'s file, Loretto Archives, newspaper clipping from The Record, Nov 2, 1911, written by "Virginia", (Record-a Louisville paper)

Leo died Oct 27, 1911. His wife, Matilda, and five children remain. Leo was a son of black "George of Loretto", /sic/ so well known and respected among the earlier residents of Kentucky as faithful overseer for Loretto during many long years. George's mother was black Nancy, owned by Sister Angelica Clements, 20th member of the Loretto Society, who, on becoming a religious could no longer administer property, and sold Nancy and her children to Father Nerinckx. Recently, the paper recording this sale, in Father Nerinckx' handwriting, was shown to Leo,... It was explained that Leo could make Nerinckx his last name after his owner. (copy of letter from granddaughter of Leo Clements Nerinckx (colored) dated Aug 28, 1941, Mrs. Jas. B. Harris and Miss Irene Clements to "Dear Mother Superior, dated from 5855 Calumet Ave, Chicago, Ill, sent to Mother Superior at Loretto Academy, Louisville, Ky, saying Mrs Harris and Miss Clements would be visiting Kentucky Aug 30 or 31, 1941, and that they would love to visit the Academy if permission were granted.

LEBANON SCHOOL FOR BLACKS, RUN BY LORETTINES, CALLED ST. MONICA SCHOOL about 1883 or 1884

"Lebanon, Ky., St. Monica's Negro School" file, Loretto Archives, Nerinx, Ky.

In 1883-1884 period Father De Praine was pastor, Sister Mary Barbara Everen, teacher;

Sister Barbara also helped organize Raywick Colored Public School about 1885

Lebanon > just Reaywick
"St. Catherine's School for colored children was opened by the Sisters of Loretto in 1869 at the request of Father De Meulder, and they continued their instruction there until 1919, exactly fifty years, when various circumstances combined to effect the withdrawal of the Sisters.+

Sister Domitilla Ferlong was at New Haven from 1877 to 1893, and was Superior part of this time. We have no record of how long she taught in the Colored School." later on, 1899-1919 the school averaged 27 per yr. There were six grades with one sister for each grade, year not given.

Taken from same folder as above, typescript dated Nov 29, 1933, entitled St Catherine's Schools, New Haven, Nelson Co, Ky. Says Sisters Mary Eucharia Byrne, Superior; Mary Humbeline Wise; Mary Joseph Dennis; Mary Loyola McCormick, were sent by the Sisters of Loretto to teach in Francis De Meulder's school at New Haven. They went Oct 15, 1868; De Meulder gave the sisters his home and he lived in the sacristy. The sisters were paid by the St. Catherine congregation $100.00 year each. In 1887 Mr. Sylvester Johnson donated "... for the education of poor children, white and colored, ..." $10,000 to the Sisters of Loretto to provide 6 teachers to teach both races in the parish "Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, Catechism, and lessons in vocal music,..." The sisters For 32 years"fulfilled the requirement of the benefaction." When they severed connection with the school they repaid the Diocese the $10,000. The Ursuline Sisters replaced them.

"St. Monica's School for colored children was opened in 1872 with two Sisters of Loretto as teachers, and continued until 1916 when a secular teacher was employed for the colored children. The Sisters of Loretto were called on again to take over the school in 1928; and they have taught there ever since with an increased enrollment."
"On our list of Loretto Foundations is recorded 'Public School for Colored, Raywick, Ky.' This school was opened in 1885, but no date is given of the withdrawal of the Sisters. Since the sisters were withdrawn from the St. Francis Xavier School there in 1886, it might be presumed the other sisters were withdrawn at the same time. Sister M. Barbara Everin, S. L., was the one sent to help organize the Public School for the Colored in 1885. Sister is still living at the Motherhouse, one of the non-genaral sisters of the community."

"Little is recorded as to how the colored people came into possession of the property on which St. Monica School stands, however, Mr. R. H. Edelen Sr. found a record of its being in possession of a family by the name of Hagan, as far back as 1856. (They lived in a little cottage.) It was bought by Father Charles Jewel (?) S. J. and added to the property of the St. Joseph College here in 1867 for the small sum of $150. He paid $50 down the balance later. The people were allowed to stay in the little cottage, rent free."

"In the early days, colored children of all denominations used to assemble at this cottage where they were taught the three R's (as tradition has it). It is certain that after the Civil War the Bardstown people began to provide for the education, both religious and secular of the Negroes."

"Nazareth has a record of the opening of this school in 1871 with two Sisters attending it. Their names were Sisters Euphemia and Eleanor."

"According to the oldest inhabitant, the school was built in the year 1871. It was first taught by a colored lady by the name of Josie Smith and then by Mandy Hynes. It was the first colored school in Bardstown. People of all denominations attended it. About this time there was a log cabin in the northwest corner of the school lot."
St. Augustine Church for Blacks in Louisville

Church at 14th and Broadway, built in 1870.

"St. Augustine was established as a mission church to serve the black population of Louisville. It was, and still is, a 'national parish,' which means it has no formal geographical boundaries."

"Estimates vary as to the number of Catholic Negroes in the city after the Civil War. It was large enough, however, for the bishop to organize a congregation for these people."

"Original meetings for the first St. Augustine parishioners were held in the basement hall of the Cathedral of the Assumption. The hall was used as a temporary chapel until the people were able to find a means to provide a church for themselves."

"This was accomplished in the short span of a few months. In February, 1870, Bishop McCloskey led a procession of approximately 75 parishioners from the Cathedral to the site of their new church at 14th and Broadway for the church dedication ceremony."

"According to a story in The Record on Apr. 17, 1902, 'this church for Colored Catholics was built, dedicated, and paid for by Father John L. Spalding, the first pastor, in a period of seven months.'"

"One Mass was set aside each Sunday for whites who lived in the neighborhood, until Sacred Heart Church was built in 1873." The church was used for 31 years.

1853 White Visitor to Black Louisville Church

Philo Tower, slavery unmasked: narrative of 3 yrs residence, 1856

p. 251

Rev Philo Tower, white, took an 1853 trip through the South, visiting Louisville. While there he visited a black church, but did not give the location. Tower hated slavery, but said he met in church Sambos, Caesars, Uncle Toms, etc. A nice looking church; devout people. Preacher in blue coat, blue pantaloons, of "pure, unmixed, African breed," stops to shake hands with members as he approached the pulpit. Singing, loud, then louder preaching. A great choir. Recounts the sermon which was a funeral sermon, mostly in dialect.
The French and Spanish Catholics from the beginning tended to be sympathetic and to extend at least the elements of religious instruction. The Code Noir obliged every planter to have his Negroes instructed and baptized.

A Kentucky slave holder, whose slaves had been left behind, when a vessel sailed with emigrants to Liberia wrote to the Colonization Society: 'I cannot be a slave holder. I must get rid of my slaves in some way. To set them free in Kentucky I cannot and will not. I fear I shall have to adopt the revolting expedient of selling; I dread this but I must do something.'
p 39/

"The idea of the colonization of the negro /sic/ sprang full grown from the brain of no individual. Henry Clay thought that it was the product, not of the minds of men, but of the very requirements of the times, because it was 'an obvious remedy.'"

p 46/ Henry Clay was one of the speakers at the organization and founding of the Am. Col. Soc. in Washington in 1816.

p 173/ "There were those in Kentucky who believed that, but for the extreme and radical opposition of the Abolitionists to Colonization, Kentucky would by 1840 have been practically ready to pass a general emancipation law."
"In 1827 Kentucky expressed themselves, through their legislatures, favorable to the Society, as did Ohio, and Kentucky again, in 1828;..."

"To the Negroes, Brown preached a mixed gospel of self-respect, hard work and self-improvement. In his last book, My Southern Home, published in 1880, he viewed slavery in a more benevolent light than he ever had before. The postwar plight of the colored people of the South he blamed on their religion and mode of living. There was an entire disregard of the laws of physiology, a tendency towards extravagant dress and an almost total lack of organized efforts to improve their lot. 'Those who do not appreciate their own people will not be appreciated by other people,' he declared. The black people must take up their own struggle for elevation, exhibit pluck and use all available spare time, day and night, to educate themselves. He advised Negroes to emigrate from the South as a first, necessary step in their improvement, and above all, he admonished, 'black men don't be ashamed to show your colors, and to own them.'" Gara says he believed in the American Dream.
Edelstein, ed, refugee: north side of slavery by benj drew, 1969(1856)

p x/ (from Edelstein's intro to North Side of Slavery) / Drew's book was a response to A South-Side View of Slavery published in 1854 by Rev. Nehemiah Adams, a well known Boston minister. Adams viewed the slave holder as "the guardians, educators, and saviors of the African race in this country." Adams objected to attempts to dissolve the Union over slavery. /p xii/ Drew went to Canada (Upper Canada) in 1855. /p xiii/ He estimated that there were 30,000 fugitives there in Upper Canada between New York, Ohio, and Michigan. /p xv/ Drew understood the criticism of other narratives, and sought to make his authentic and typical. Drew had a reputation for honesty, and had not been associated with the radical antislavery movement. "What was unique and most important, however, were /begin p xvi/ the sources and scope of his information. Drew recorded the testimony of more than one hundred fugitive slaves who, except for Harriet Tubman, were unknown to the public. He claimed to have interviewed Negroes at random in both cities and settlements of Canada West, transcribing what they said as accurately as possible and making less than 'a dozen verbal alterations' during his subsequent editing. He took statements b from blacks in 14 communities. They came from field hands, house slaves, coopers, blacksmiths, barbers, storekeepers, and bartenders. A great diversity of testimony on easy and hard escapes, of distrust and trust of white people, of those who wanted to return to the US and those who did not. He mostly interviewed young men from the border states; only 16 women, 14 of whom were married. Drew does not candidly treat marriage, sexual promiscuity, and miscegenation. /begin p xvii/ "...In A North-Side View of Slavery slaves are depicted merely as white men with black skins whose family patterns and values are unaffected by the strictures of slavery except when families are actually being divided by sales." The work is suspect in recording a high percent of slave marriages, and Drew's accounts of families are not complex, nor do they show variety. Edelstein points out that it is unlikely that only faithful family men escaped to Canada. Drew is also silent on the issue of political equality of fugitives. The fugitives are vocal /begin p xviii/ on racial discrimination in Canada, especially on school segregation, but say nothing on whether they were allowed to vote or even wanted to vote, thus avoiding an issue that would disturb northerners. One thing the reader does get, however, is stories of suspense and narrow escapes; a lot of cruelty of owners, whippings and chains. "There is nothing abstract about the sadism and barbarism of slavery in his book." Drew transmuted the language of the fugitive into educated prose. He did not record the image and dialect of blacks even though he had been selected partially for the interviews knowledge of folk language and folk wit. /begin p xx/ This work did provide case histories which indicated that blacks could live free and even prosper. /begin p xxii/ Edelstein says North side of Slavery "...still stands as the most comprehensive antebellum account of what slavery meant to the Negro." Says it is not a simplistic view of slavery.
L GARA INTERPRETS WM W BROWN'S VIEW OF PREJUDICE AGAINST BLACKS (AGAINST) 1411

Brown defends race

L gara, introduction to Narrative of W W Brown in Winks, ed, Four Fugitive Slave narratives, 1969 (1848)

p xiv/ (Introduction)

"Prejudice, he believed, was clearly a corollary of slavery. 'One of the bitterest fruits of slavery in our land,' he wrote, 'is the cruel spirit of caste. . . . ' It was a most foolish prejudice, without a single logical reason to offer in its defense.' Black people were mistreated in America only because 'of their identity with a race that has long worn the chains of slavery.' Black in itself was not bad. Brown pointed out that black clothing was often preferred to either white or colors, that black eyes and black hair in women often attracted men, and that men and women dyed their hair black, only to 'curse the negro for a complexion that is not stolen.'+

"Brown was determined that all Americans should recognize the falsity of the doctrine of the natural inferiority of colored people. In his study The Black Man he met and refuted this misrepresentation, calling attention to the early black civilizations of Ethiopia and Egypt, as well as to many colored Americans 'who, by their own genius, capacity, and intellectual development,' surmounted the obstacles created by slavery and prejudice and 'raised themselves to positions of honor and influence.'"

FREEDMEN SCHOOLS IN LOUISVILLE KY (1865)

The Freedmen's Journal, I, No. 5, May 1865.

"We have received an interesting report of a committee appointed by Major-General Palmer, at Louisville, Ky., to inquire into the condition of the colored schools in that city. The facts embodied in the report afford a striking commentary on the assertion of pro-slavery people, that the negro will not take care of himself because of his innate lack of self-reliance. The report shows, that, in the face of every discouragement, without the assistance or even the countenance of the white population, but while taxed with punctual care for the support of free schools for white children, they pay their taxes cheerfully, and then proceed to spend several thousand dollars annually in educating their own children. If, against such difficulty, while compelled to pay a left-handed tax for the education of white children, we have no fear, when duty, policy, and fair play shall actuate the whites toward them, that they will not be able to take care of themselves. The report goes on to say, -- +

"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. In proof of this, reference is made to the numerous public meetings which they have held this winter, on the subject; to the increase in schools and in average attendance; to the desire to secure the services of a white teacher, and to improve the character of all the teachers; to the number attending Mr. Dennechy's night school at St. Marks, averaging for weeks during the shortest days of the year, sixty or eighty; to the fact that no less than seven relinquished their regular
The Freedmen's Journal, I, No. 5, May 1865

/\begin{p} 73/ of compensation averaging ten dollars a year for each pupil,--three or four times as much as the average in the free schools of the country; and amounting, for four hundred pupils, to the very large sum of $4,000 a year. Where can a population so small, and of such limited means, be found, who are paying so much for education.+

"The like is rarely witnessed amongst uneducated foreigners in this country, and cannot be readily accounted for except upon the principle that they feel the powerful influence of the great change which has come over their social condition and prospects. They plainly perceive the advantages of education in improving that condition, and affording them greater facility in obtaining a livelihood and realizing a small estate. And the duty of the Government, of the city authority, and of the Christian public, to avail themselves of this newly manifested interest in education, and to extend to them a helping hand in every profitable way, cannot be too deeply impressed upon all their consciences. To neglect this opportunity would be as mischievous as it would be criminal. We want to convert our former servants, as soon as possible, into intelligent, industrious, useful Christian citizens.+

"The attention of the Christian community throughout the country has been turned to this question in its border aspects, and the delegates of several Freedmen's Aid Societies have either visited this city, or have written to inquire what work of this kind needs to be done there, and what are the best methods of doing it."

BLACK WITH D BOONE ON 1760 TRIP TO KY

j bakeless, master of wilderness; d boone, 1939

p 32/ In the year of 1760 (the year he wrote on the tree he killed a bar) Boone took a black to Kentucky with him. "In this year he made his first trip across the Blue Ridge, guided by an old slave, and settled down in a small cabin which, before the Indian troubles, had been built for herdsmen grazing cattle in the summer."
John Bakeless, master of the wilderness, Dan. Boone, 1939

P. 69/ Daniel and Squire Boone began a trip to Kentucky in Sept 1773 with a good number of riflemen; they drove their livestock before them. There was no road (1773) only a narrow 'trace'; wagons impossible, they cleared the trace a little with axes; some rode, most walked. /begin p 70/ They had to cross 3 mt ranges; they went through Cumberland Gap. "In or near Powell's Valley, after the whole group was united, Boone decided that he needed more flour and farm tools and sent his son James back to Captain William Russell's to get them. The party was still fairly near the settlements, and the boy seems to have ridden off alone without thought of danger.+

"He found Russell easily enough and started back with Russell's son Henry, a boy of about seventeen, two slaves, and a couple of white workmen." They either got lost or were slowed by the cattle. They were within 3 miles of Boone and the man body that night, but neither party knew it. They did not expect Indian trouble. /begin p 71/ They went to sleep that night; just before dawn Indians fired on them. James Boone and Russell were shot through the hips. "One negro slave managed to slip into a pile of driftwood by the river. Here he lay concealed, a terrified witness of the horrors that followed." The Indians tortured the wounded boys to death. Young James Boone had recognized one of the Indians before his death, Big Jim, a Shawnee chief who had visited his father's cabin. /begin p 72/ James Boone begged for his life. "Again the hidden slave heard James Boone screaming for mercy, but none given.

Robt. J. Breckinridge, the black race, 1851

P. 4/ "The unity of the human race must be considered a fundamental and an accepted truth. Every department of knowledge has been searched for evidence, and all respond with a uniform testimony. The physical structure, constitution, and habits of the race—the mode in which it is produced, in which it exists, in which it perishes—everything that touches its mere animal existence, demonstrates the absolute certainty of its unity—so that no other generalization of physiology is more clear and more sure." Breckinridge goes on to point out the various "sciences" clearly point out the unity of man. "And now, from this lofty summit survey the whole track of ages. In their length and in their breadth, scrutinize the recorded annals of mankind. There is not one page on which one fact is written—which favors the historical idea of a diversity of nature or origin—while the whole scope of human story involves, assumes, and proclaims, as the first and grandest historic truth, the absolute unity of the race." Even the word of God, he continues/p 5/ confirms this. At the bottom of page 5 someone has written "If we admit the unity of the origin of man every thing becomes easy. But if, as is probably the fact, the variety of man be as fixed as the varieties of dogs, his reasoning is deficient."
... in 1863, the legislature of Kentucky had declared that it was unlawful for any Negro or mulatto claiming to be free under the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, or under any other proclamation by the Government of the United States to migrate to or remain in the State. Any Negro violating this law was treated as a runaway slave.

gives source as Laws of Ky, 1863, p 366

In talking about how some states prohibited blacks from making and selling liquor, Stephenson said: "But Kentucky forbade a coffee-house keeper to sell liquor to free Negroes under penalty of a bond of five hundred dollars."

taken from Laws of Ky, 1865-66, pp68-69
In discussing labor contracts of blacks, a Kentucky law was mentioned which "...required contracts between white persons and Negroes to be in writing and attested by some white person. The contracts were to be treated as entire, so that, if either party should, without good cause, abandon the contract, the other should be held to have performed his obligation."

Source: Laws of Ky, 1865-66, p 52

"In Kentucky, if the apprentice was white, the master must teach him reading, writing, and common arithmetic up to and including the 'Rule of Three'; if a Negro, the master must pay at the end of the apprenticeship fifty dollars to a girl and one hundred dollars to a boy, but if the master should teach the apprenticeship to read and write, he was not bound to pay any money. In Kentucky, also, in apprenticing Negroes, preference was given to their former owners, if the latter were suitable persons."

"Kentucky likewise provided in 1876 that white and colored lunatics should not be kept in the same building."

Source: Laws of Ky, 1876, I, p 112.

"In 1866, a white man in Kentucky was indicted for entering the house of a Negro and committing larceny. At the time a Negro in that State could not testify against a white man. A Circuit Court of the United States decided that it could take jurisdiction of this case under the Civil Rights Bill of 1866, holding that the Negro, as a citizen, had the right to be the only case in which the Federal court has adjudicated upon the right of a Negro to testify."

Source: U S v Rhodes, 1866, Fed. Case No 16,151
"Kentucky, in 1865, provided that Negroes and mulattoes should be competent witnesses in all civil proceedings in which Negroes or mulattoes were the only parties interested in the issue, and in all criminal proceedings in which Negroes or mulattoes were the defendants. In 1867, the Court of Appeals of Kentucky held that the law of Kentucky prohibiting a Negro from testifying against a white person was still in force and was not rendered inoperative by the Civil Rights Bill of 1866."

Source: Laws of Ky, 1865-66, pp38-39
Bowlin vs Com., 1867, 2 Bush (Ky) 5
PROBLEMS IN USING BLACK NARRATIVE, AUTOBIOG. TESTIMONY

david t bailey, a divided prism: two sources of black test, JSH, 46, Aug 1980,

p 383/
"This recent tendency to focus on one kind of source material forces
examination of two fundamental methodological problems. By assuming that
men and women speaking about themselves are necessarily the most important
and valuable sources, these historians run the risk of distorting the
record in a manner analogous to that of racist historians of past decades.
Most important, such treatments tend to ignore fundamental disagreement
between the two major black sources on most issues. Recent historians have
avoided this problem by focusing on one or the other of the two major
bodies of black testimony: autobiographies or interviews. One useful
key to this tendency is analysis of footnotes. Forty-three percent of
the footnotes in Blassingame's The Slave Community include a reference to
a slave autobiography. None mentioned any of the interview collections,
a shortcoming frequently cited by reviewers. In striking contrast,
approximately 27 percent of the footnotes in Genovese's Roll, Jordan, Roll
refer to black sources. Of these, 81 percent mention at least one of the
interview collections, 10 percent cite an autobiography, and 9 percent
refer to both. Genovese demonstrated this marked preference for the
testimony of twentieth-century blacks in spite of protestations that he
weighed 'different kinds of testimony against each other.'"

COMPARATIVE FACTS ABOUT BLACK TESTIMONY AND INTERVIEWS

david t bailey, divided prism; two sources of black test, JSH, 46, Aug 1980

p 384/ The autobiographies were written between 1825 and 1929; all
interviews were done between 1936-1938. /p 385/ 63% of autobiog. were
younger than age 60; 74% of the interviewees were older than 80. /p 386/ Only
2 of autobiog gave the women's point of view; half those interviewed were
women. Paul D. Escott, in Slavery Remembered, stated that only 2.2 of the
interviewees claimed their occupations were those of artisans. /p 387/ In
the autobiographies 59% mention Ky, Va, and Md; only 14.5% of the
interviewees mention those states.
The Christian Bible College, located at Newcastle, Henry County, Ky., founded in 1884, is also devoted to the education of negroes. T. Augustus Reid is president, and professor of biblical literature and pedagogics.

Other black schools were listed in other states.
BRIEF DESCRIPTION BY PHILLIPS OF ARRIVAL, ACTIVITIES IN LOUISVILLE 1427

C H Phillips, from farm to bishoprick: autobiography, 1932

p 100/ Began pastorate in Louisville at church on Center St near the corner of Green St on 2d Sunday in Nov., 1891. Phillips had been led to believe that the Louisville church was much more desirable than it was. He found it run-down. /p 101/ Sought a transfer. /p 103/ Decided to stay. /p 106/ Church renovated.

GROUP OF SLAVES LEAVE "FLEE" FRANKFORT FOR FREESOIL STATE (1848) 1427

E. H. Goulding letter to (?), dated Aug 11, 1848, from Frankfort, Ky., single item in MSS Div, Sp. Col, M I King Lib, UK

Goulding, who was a writer and telegraph operator in Frankfort wrote a friend (he wrote an interesting letter) about events in Frankfort; the letter was written at two different sittings. "Once more,-- I try again: At Lexington in addition to the political excitement, there was increased by a stampede of negro slaves leaving for a 'Free Soil' State. A week ago last night; some fifty or sixty negroes started for Ohio; in charge of some white men who were to receive 10 $ per head when the slaves were safely within the limits of Ohio. +

"On Monday their route of escape was ascertained & some 20 men well armed started in pursuit & over took the negroes who were also well armed and a fight ensued, in which the whites were repulsed, with the loss of 1 white man. The whites soon reinforced & again started in pursuit & after a hard fight killing one negro, succeeding in taken 8 or 10 blacks & the white man in charge. +

"The excitement was so intense, that it was with great difficulty the party in pursuit were restrained from hanging the Ohio men up to the first tree, he is now in Lexington--awaiting his trial. +

"On their whereabouts being discovered messages were telegraphed to Maysville ordering people to line the Ohio river (Kentucky side) & prevent them from making their egress to Ohio: -- which was no sooner said than done. A party were met about 7 miles from Maysville, by an armed force & as lovers of Liberty they fought bravely; yet they were overpowered & about
E H Goulding letter to (?) dated Aug 11, 1848, from Frankfort, Ky, single mss item in MSS Div, Sp Col, M I King Lib, UK

"The last I heard from the poor fellows was they were scattered amongst the hills afraid to show themselves for fear of apprehension, & were thus literaly starving out! so closely are they hunted! It is said 'they will all be caught, & sold down the river in States more secure from the depredations of the infernal abolitionists'. +

"For myself I wished them a pleasant & successful trip on their 'underground railroad' & regret that their 'Track' was not in order;- however, I say very little upon the subject either way & as the saying is 'lay low', 'keep dark'.

1825 KY DOCUMENT EXTRADITING BLACK FROM OHIO

Joseph Desha. Request to Ohio Governor for Extradition of Jeremiah Morrow, a black, the property of Edward P. Ball of Campbell Co. The black was charged with a crime and indicted. The Ky seal was on the letter.
CASE OF ACCIDENTAL SHOOTING BY SIDENER FAMILY SLAVE "Manuel"

Berinda Sidener to "Dear parents-in-law," Feb 12, 1858, Fayette Co, Ky, mss letter in Sidener Family Papers, Mss Div, Spe Col, M I King Lib, Uk

"I had to attend court in Lexington seven days; four days in the case of the 'Commonwealth' against Manuel father's boy. He was cleared after having received 39 lashes on his bare back, and three days in the case of Leagan against Huffman."

HIRING OUT OF BLACK (1833) IN LEXINGTON AREA

James Davidson to Leslie Combs, mss letter, single item, dated Nov 18, 1833, Frankfort, Mss Div, Spe Col, King Lib, Uk

"Sir On the other sheet you have an order on Joe, a man of coulor once my property, he makes his house at Mr. Trimble some two miles from from /sic/ Lexington, any arrangement you may be able to make with Joe will be satisfactory. If you can persuade him to let you see the article of agreement between us it will enable you to ascertain precisely the nature as well as the amount of the debt. do the best you can and you will satisfy your old friend." James Davidson
SALE OF CHILD AGE 6 (1831)

Bill of Sale, June 1831, Robert McMikell to James Piper
Papers, Mss in Ms Div, Sp Col, King Lib, UK

"Know all men by these presents that I Robert McMikell of the County of
Gallitan of and State of Kentucky have this day Bargained and Sold unto
James Piper of the County of Nicholas And State aforesaid a certain Negro
Boy Named Squire of about the age of 6 years of age for and in consideration
of the Sum of one hundred and Ninety dollars ...." June 1831

COST, AGE OF SLAVES SOLD -1811-1824; Nicholas + Bourbon Cos

James Piper Papers, Mss Div, Sp Col, King Lib, UK

Bill of Sale, Jan 1824; Nicholas County, Female, age 25, $400, to Piper
Bill of Sale to Piper, Jan 23, 1819, Male, Jacob, no age given, $700, Nicholas Co.
Bill of Sale to Piper, Oct 3, 1814, female, age 18, $350, Nicholas Co.
Bill of Sale to Piper, April 19, 1814, female, age 18, $340, Nicholas Co
Bill of Sale to Piper, Oct 7, 1811, Female, age 21, named Ghana, and her
child, $450, MXXX Bourbon Co.
SLAVEOWNER TRIED FOR MISTREATING SLAVES; SLAVES SOLD (1855)

Duncan Family Papers, Henry Timberlake Duncan to Henry Duncan, Jr.,
Lexington, March 22, 1855, Duncan Family Papers, Ms Div, Sp Col, King
Library, UK.

"By the way I will give you a piece of intelligence /sic/ that may
surprise you. We have a Law in Kentucky - which requires a master to treat
his slaves with humanity. The Penalty, is that the slaves maltreated -
are taken from the owner, & sold - to other & the money paid I believe to
the former owners. For a violation of this Law by Lewis - the grand jury
of Bourbon indicted him - The case was tried before a petit jury - and the
charge found to be true - The slaves are taken from him & advertised for
Sale - This does not correspond with xxxxxx some statements current among
the Abolitionists /sic/ - That a slave can in this country be punished
cruelly - with impunity no such thing."

SLAVE SOLD TO xxxxxxxx (1858) NEIGHBOR

Henry Timberlake Duncan to Henry Duncan, Jr., Oct 21, 1858, Lexington,
ms letter in Duncan Family Papers, Ms Div, Sp Col, King Lib, UK

"Today I sold Sue & her boy Noah about ten years of age for $1700. Slaves
are in more demand & for bigger /sic/ prices than I have xxx ever known. She
gets a good home in the neighborhood, xxx had I have sold her to go below
I could have got 1900 or 2000 I am offered 450 cash for Amanda as worthy
a negro as lives, I ask 700 & expect to get it - (intelligible) myself
to dispose of every one I do not absolutely need - Indeed it would be
better to let them all slide - & put my estate in grass."
Horace Brand, writing to H. Duncan Jr., of a move he took via the Ohio R. "We had our family servants taking them to our new home. We had fifteen and as there was considerable at stake we felt the necessity of keeping guard. We shipped on the Americus a Cincinnati boat - and frated with a goodly number of negro steelers. I sat up over night and it was then I took cold. The Steelers were so rabid that we had to walk the deck with a revolver in one hand and Bouy knife in the other. I for one was determined not to sit timidly and see our negroes stolen from us. At Cairo I saw the burning or attempt-at-burning that negro which I presume you have seen. I have rarely seen a negro of more spirit ar a more cowardly set of white men. I was glad it occurred in a free state. He it happened in a slave state it would have been referred sic to from one end of the north to the other as an instance of cruelty from the South to free negroes."

William Pratt, Diary, I, Ms Div, Sp Col, King Lib, UK Aug. 20, 1848 entry:

"There has been a great disturbance in the country on account of some 60 or 70 negroes running off in a gang & hundred have been in pursuit. Nearly all suffed. Some will be hung sic I fear for insurrection & shooting one Fowler. All the others will probably be sent down the river. They were a class of the finest Negroes in H county. It is supposed they were decoyed by Abolitionists, & one Patric Doyle is in custody now who was conducting them from mercenary motives. It has called forth severe rules & regulations for the poor blacks."
Jan 1, 1856 entry: "hired my boy Jas to city for $105 and Charles to Bro Cougill for $100."

Jan 1, 1856 entry: "I also (bid a sad note) off by directions of offices for church Geo Dupuy a colored Baptist preacher about 32 years old and pastor of the Pleasant Green Baptist Ch." Says he belongs to the estate of James Taylor a Baptist preacher who died about 9 years ago.
SLAVE HIRED OUT AS WAITER IN LEXINGTON HOTEL


Under the date of Dec 25, 1854, Mary H Breckinridge hired her "Negro man Thomas, as a waiter in Hotel in Lexington for the year." "We are not to hire him out without the consent of his owner. We are also to treat him well, and Board and Lodge him comfortably providing for him whatever is needful during the year." "Cloth him comfortably winter and summer" and provide enough clothing for his return, to his master, provide health care, etc. for $130 per yr. signed T D Bruce.

SLAVE SOLD 1857

Misc Mss in "Documents and Letters, 1780-1860," in James Winston Coleman Papers on Slavery, 1780-1940, Ms Div, Sp Col, King Lib, UK


Bill of Sale: August 6, 1860, Female, 22, $1400, sold by Henry Perk (?)
Uncle Jack sits in the shade of the mighty trees in the back yard of the venerable place near Bardstown where Stephen C. Foster wrote Old Kentucky Home. He was reared right there, and is the last survivor of his people, white and colored.

"You can just look at this Big House an' know fine folks lived in it! ... (in original) Yes suh, I recollect when Massa Foster come wid his Young Missus an' wrote de songs. He didn' git 'em out'n his head, like de people s'pose. He listened to de niggers singin'--dat whar he got de songs. Niggers singin'--cause dey happy, like do white folks in de Big House!"

picked up "folk songs & themes", just as Duval & Bartole did?

The place of greatest honor for a young buck serving in the Big House was to be valet or house-man for Massa,--you may believe Uncle Alfred Robinson for it. His younger days go back to the Greenbrier Plantation in Nelson County, Kentucky, "tween de hills an' de bluegrass," where could be found the finest people and the finest brandy in the country. Colonel Reed, Alfred's master, put the boy through an apprenticeship of various duties and then--"seein' how pert an' 'liable I was, Massa choose me fo' de mos' special task on de place, which is valet in de Big House.

"Listen whilst I tell you what de valet do: He dress nice an' stan' roun' 'mongst de white folks. He pay 'tickler tention ter what Massa an' Missus say--but mos' specially Massa. He open de do'ah when somebody come an' bow 'em out when dey leave. He tell de front-house servan's what-all ter do, an' go wid Massa ever whar.

"Great man, Cunnel Reed! So well known in dat pa'ht o' Kaintucky de state couldn' git 'long widout him. An' me, bein' his valet, was likewise recon'nized wherever I go. 'Tse Alfred, de Cunnel's valet!' I'd tell de folks. Dat got me by widout er pass ... Lived noble in Kaintucky in de ole days."
When Aunt Mary's lover asked her to marry him, under a moonlit sky in the scented summer night that bewitched those environs of that plantation near Bloomington, Kentucky, she just said right off—"Uh-huh!"

"Dat what I said, an' I didn' wait 'bout it. Done figger it out in my haid when I knowed dat buck gwine axe me. I like him, an' if you like a man you gwine put up wid heaps in him an' you mought ez well marry an' start in. He's strong an' kin wu'k. We had de same Massa, what kin give us a cabin an' plenty to eat an' wear. Den, havin' chillun he'ps keep people happy—young folks oughter know dat!—so I says 'Uh-huh'—an' Massa plumb tickled 'bout it!"

Most of the happiness Uncle Henry Barbour has found in the many years that have gone on singing since slave days when he was yard-boy for Old Doc Barbour of Louisville, has been due to the religion Henry found in one of the revivals held regularly on the place. And he says:

"Old Doc Barbour—fines' Massa in Kaintucky!—he was a Presbyterian, but he b'lieve in shoutin' religion, at least fo' his servants. So de cullud preacher come hold de meetin'. An' didn' he whip dat Debbil! Trouble is, ter-day, de preachers preach so's ter suit de congregaation. Dat leave mos' de religion out! Massa Barbour so anxious 'bout de meetin's dat he come jine in de singin' an' prayin'. Heap o' folks got religion—an' kep' it!"
When the War started, Massa Robert Wickliffe, former governor of Louisiana whom Uncle Leon of St. Francisville told us about, offered Leon to his cousin, Captain John Wickliffe of Lexington, Kentucky, as a body-servant. And that's how it came about that Leon wore the letters of the Ninth Kentucky Regiment on his cap.

Massa John became colonel of his regiment. The tide of war swept his unit here and there until they reached the Georgia campaigns of defense against the relentless invasion. Leon was out foraging one day. "De Cunnel tell me ter try recruit some horses," he relates. "I'se ridin' mong de farms keepin' under cover much as possible. But what dat? Yankees! Led by er cap'n, an' comin' my way. No chance—I'se captured. De soljers surroun' me."

"'Kentucky!' one of 'em yells. De cap'n rides up an' looks at my cap. 'Hm. Ninth Kentucky. What's Cunnel Wickliffe?'" he say. "'He's wid de regiment, suh,' I say."

"'Well, I'se Cap'n Wickliffe—Secon' Kentucky Federal Regiment, an' he's my cousin!' He tuk me wid him, sayin'

I'se not a Jonny-Reb no mo'. I tuk off my gray fo' de blue."

Uncle Leon tells of the stern discipline, the efficient equipment, the grim determination of the Yankee troops; of the quick fierce fighting; of how it didn't seem right for Wickliffes to be fighting Wickliffes—and both sides of the family from Kentucky anyway!

"So I runs erway, an' gits back to de regiment whar Massa John's waitin' fo' me. Too late ter do much good."

It was one of those necessary but dangerous foraging parties that got William Henry Harrison into trouble.

Cap'n Gunn said, "You'll have to be very careful this time. Take several of the boys with you. Country is full of Yankees. Bring back some meat if you can, but bring yourself back anyhow, hear me?"

"Yes suh, Massa!" and away they went into that wooded Virginia countryside. Before they knew it they had ridden into an ambush trap. With many a jest and song the Bluecoats took them into camp.

"One de soljers say 'Dat nigger'll look good in er Yankee uniform!' Reckon I did——" After a pause Uncle William reflects: "Made me sad, den. But I draws a pension now!"
From Uncle Leon Wickliffe's back porch at the edge of St. Francisville he can look out over the site of Governor Wickliffe's old mansion. Uncle Leon surveys the growth of pine and oak that has made of that site almost a forest in the last quarter of a century, and his voice assumes a note of intense sadness as he tells you how things have changed.

It was indeed a splendid home place Robert C. Wickliffe built there on the rising ground. There were great verandas, spacious hallways, a dozen rooms; there were formal gardens—seven colored youths under an expert gardener did nothing but tend the flowers and shrubs. There were the stables, the scores of slave cabins, the exultant note of happy life over the whole plantation——

"An' when Young Massa Robert tuk over the place, it still had fine livin'. He built me dis house, whar I'se lived fifty years. But folks jus' seem ter git old! Massa passed on. Missus got ready ter jine him—an' call me in. 'Leon, you de las' one. You take dis place. I'se made out de papers fo' you!' an' it was mine.

"Years went on. De ole mansion stand empty. Sky red one night—de ole place goin' up in smoke! White folks come an' watch it from de roadway. ... Few years ergo, I sold de whole place. Italian owns it. ... Seems like de top rail's down on de bottom, an' de bottom rail's gwine git on top!"

THE EMANCIPATION OF LONDON FERRILL (1814) 1814

wm b strother, negro culture in lexington, thesis, UK, 1939

p 9/ Ferrill arrived at Lexington before 1817, and was set free by his Virginia owner. "The act of his emancipation, which is recorded in the Fayette County Court House, describes him as 'a black man, about five feet, six or seven inches high, spare made, about thirty-six years old,' and states that he was 'emancipated by the last will and testament of Saml Overton disc (deceased) to take effect on the first day of January last. ... The date given in the record was August 31, 1814. The date of Farrill's emancipation, therefore, was January 1, 1814 (the 'first day of January last'). It was between that date and the one on which he joined the Baptist church in Lexington (according to Spencer this was in 1817), that he /begin p 10/ joined the group of free colored persons of the town."

will taken from Deed Book I (i), Fayette County Court House, Lex, p 427.
GEORGE DUPUY, BLACK MINISTER, CONTINUED TO PREACH AT PLEASANT GREEN BAPTIST CHURCH UNTIL CIVIL WAR

w b strother, negro culture in lexington, m.a. thesis, uk, 1939

p 11/ According to Strother, who interviewed source, George Dupuy "continued to preach at the Pleasant Green church until the Negroes were set free. She said that members of the church came to their home / William Pratt's home/ each Monday morning with the offering of the preceding Sabbath in a handkerchief, which was turned over to her father as a payment on the debt. It was in this way that a former slave became a member of the community of free colored persons."

OLD BLACK HORSE TRAINER EVALUATES ISAAC MURPHY AS JOCKEY (in 1939)

wm b strother, negro culture in lexington, m a thesis, uk, 1939

p 85/ Storther interviewed Malcolm Ayers, an old black trainer, who remembered I. Murphy, the jockey. "He told the writer on July 17, 1939, that he was the exercise boy of 'Aristides,' the famous winner of the first Kentucky Derby in 1875. He knows the merits of this and other great horses, and talked about many of them... He knew personally nearly all of the colored jockeys who raced in the old days, and could give the place of birth of most of them, their personal characteristics, and much about their racing records." Strother considered Ayers a good source. Ayers gave the Lexington Blacks who won the Derby: Garrett Lewis, 1880; Babe Hurd, 1882; Isaac Murphy, 1884, 1890, 1891; Henderson, 1885; Isaac Lewis, 1887; James Perkins, 1895; J. Winkfield, 1901, 1902. Strother concluded that 10 of the 15 blacks who won the Derby were from Lexington (some repeating).

"Ayers commented upon the ability of several of these young men. Garrett Lewis, he said, was a 'good two-year-old jock; he was good at getting off; he died young, with a hemorrhage in Chicago.'"

"'Ike Murphy,' he stated, 'was the best race rider of all time. Ike held a horse back until he passed the three-eighths pole. He was easy on a horse—never seemed to get excited.' When asked about the strategy used by Ike he said, 'I don't know; you couldn't figure Ike out—he would be away back in the race and the first thing you knew he was out in front; and Ike was a fine man! He was truthful; he never drank; I don't think he ever pulled any rascality on a horse.'"
"Ayers knew J. Winkfield, the Kentucky Derby winner in 1901 and 1902. He said Winkfield was till active with horses, and had ridden extensively on the continent of Europe. (This was corroborated by Dr. T. T. Wendell, who knew Winkfield in Lexington years ago. Wendell said that Winkfield had ridden for the Czar of Russia before the Revolution in that country.) Ayers spoke affectionately of such other Lexington jockeys as James Perkins, Isaac Lewis, Stovall, and others who rode with skill and with success."

"Lexington was the home of famous horse trainers as well as of capable riders. Ayers knew of the accomplishments of several of these men. 'Abe Perry,' he said, 'trained "Joe Cotton" the Derby winner of '85.' 'Dudley Allen,' said Ayers, 'was a good trainer. He had a hoss to win the Derby. He fought in the Civil War, and was a real old man when I knew him. He was a slave. After freedom he made a lot of money training horses. He bought "Kingman" as a yearling—I think he gave a thousand dollars for him. He trained "Kingman." ' "Kingman" won the Kentucky Derby in 1891 with Isaac Murphy in the saddle. The writer saw an oil painting of this thoroughbred in the home of Dr. T. T. Wendell, (colored), whose wife was the second cousin of Dudley Allen."
Another successful trainer was Ed. Brown, familiarly called 'Brown Dick.' Ayers expressed the belief that Brown was the greatest trainer of all time, white or black. According to him, Brown was born in Fayette County before the Civil War. As a young slave he rode for Lord Alexander, who had purchased him from a Mr. McIntyre. Ayers had at his command the names of the horses owned and trained by Brown. He spoke at length about the accomplishments of Brown, and of the horses he prepared for the exacting races of the track. Said Ayers, 'Brown-Dick owned "Ben-Brush" and "Handsome"—"Handsome" was a good stake hoss; sold as a two-year-old for $10,000. Brown sold "Ben-Brush" before he won the Derby. "Ben-Brush" was given "Brown-Dick"! This hoss became one of the greatest sires in this country. All of the hoses that's high-class has Ben-Brush's blood in 'em—"Sea Biscuit" for instance. . . . "Brown-Dick" trained the first hoss to run a mile and a quarter in 2:07. This record stood for about twenty-five years. "Brown Dick" raced everywhere in this country.'

In his chapter on "Human Bondage" Turner interprets Ky slaver in an unfootnoted paragraph:

"The small number of slaves held by the average Kentucky slaveholders was conducive to a paternalism that encouraged a more humane feeling toward the slave and a more devoted loyalty toward the master. Kentucky sentiment did not condone a promiscuous sale of slaves. When it was necessary to sell slaves, the reason was oftentimes stated in the advertisement or notice of sale."
"Somewhat typical of the attitude of Kentucky's benevolent slaveholders was this diary entry of Jefferson T. Craig, of Georgetown, Kentucky: 'Jim has declined rapidly today, and is now past all hope. He has long been idle and intemperate, and I thought, dishonest, and I have often thought of selling him, but have still put it off as a disagreeable business. I felt as if we should be better off without him, though death in our household is a solemn thing.' The following day the master wrote: 'This morning a little after breakfast Jim breathed his last, and he was buried this evening in the public cemetery.'"

source: Jefferson T. Craig Diary, April 23, 24, 1855, entry
Georgetown Pub. Lib.

"Concerning the disposal of Negroes in the settlement of his father's estate, W. F. Bullock, of Louisville, wrote: 'If the negroes have not been able to obtain masters on the terms which I stated, I wish them sold to the highest bidder to persons residing in the neighborhood. It is important that this should be done, if practicable.'"

source: W. F. Bullock to Isaac P Shelby, Dec. 21, 1850, Shelby Family Papers, UK
KENTUCKIANS AWARE OF VULNERABILITY TO ABOLITIONISTS ATTACKS

w b turner, ky in decade of change, 1850-60, ph d disser, uk, 1954

p 96/
"While speaking of the humanitariansim of Kentuckians in condemning the slave trade, one should not forget that Kentuckians, as other slaveholding Southerners, were constantly aware of the vulnerability of this traffic to the abolitionists' arguments. In 1856, the Louisville Journal was urging the Kentucky Legislature to pass a law forbidding the sale of children, below a certain age, from their mother. The editor reasoned that this would not only prevent an inhuman practice, but it would also help to stifle some

/source: Louisville Daily Journal, Jan 19, 1856.

SALE OF SLAVES SOUTH; SLAVE BREEDING CHARGE

w b turner, ky in decade of change, 1850-60, ph d disser, uk, 1954

p 97/
"Annual sales of thousands of slaves from the border states to the planters of the cotton belt led the antislavery men to hurl charges of 'slave breeding' at Kentucky and her border-state neighbors. The ambiguity of this term made it a good weapon for the propagandist. George D. Prentice's Louisville Journal was quick to reply to a Cincinnati paper which charged that there were a great many 'regular slave-breeders' in Kentucky. The Kentucky paper countered: 'Undoubtedly there are; almost every full grown slave woman is one--or has been.'"

/source: Louisville Daily Journal, Jan 19, 1856

does not refute the charge; rather, since Ky did send a lot of slaves south, and did continue to overproduce (by natural increase) slaves, one did not end slavery. What is the charge--that Ky bred slaves for sale down south. What in the facts--slaves did increase naturally a few
TURNER'S EVALUATION OF KY'S SLAVE TRADE SOUTH

w b turner, ky in decade of change, 1850-60, ph d disser, uk, 1954

p 98/

"To determine how many Kentucky slaves were sold South during the fifties is a complicated task. The expected natural increase, the number of importations from other states, and the number of manumissions are some of the factors that must be considered in arriving at a reasonably correct figure. Variable estimates were given rather freely, and politicians usually used the figure best calculated to promote their particular program. Speaking in the Kentucky Legislature in 1840, Robert Wickliffe estimated that 60,000 slaves had been exported from Kentucky during the preceding seven years. This figure was certainly too large, and most of the other estimates erred in this same direction. Frederic Bancroft attacked the problem with a mathematical formula and came out with an answer of 33,871 exportations from Kentucky for the period 1850-60 or an annual average of approximately 3,400."

source: Bancroft, Slave Trd old Sou, 391-92; Coleman, Slav Times in Ky, 193-94, estimates that in 1850s between 2500 & 4000 annually traded south.

EFFORTS OF STATE OF KY TO STOP ESCAPE ACROSS OHIO OF FUGITIVES

w b turner, ky in decade of change, 1850-60, ph d disser, uk, 1954

p 101/

"The lawmakers of Kentucky were sensitive to their responsibilities to keep this traffic at a minimum. A law of 1854 required all owners 'to keep such boats, skiffs, and water crafts fastened with a substantial chain and lock to some permanent fastening on the Kentucky shore of the Ohio river.' Anyone failing to comply 'for the space of two hours' was subject to a fine of ten dollars for each offense."

source: Ky, Acts, 1853-54, I, 163.
KY LAWS AIMED AT PREVENTING RUNAWAYS

W B Turner, KY in Decade of Change, 1850-60, Ph D Disser, UK, 1954

It was also illegal for any plantation owner to permit a slave not his own to remain in his house or upon his plantation for a space of four hours without consent of the slave's owner. Furthermore, it was also a violation of state law for any white person or free negro, other than the owner, to write or deliver to any slave a written pass to go from one place to another for any purpose. Penalty for such offense was confinement in the penitentiary from one to five years. Captured runaway slaves were forced into jail for a six months' period while their whereabouts was advertised according to law. If not claimed at the expiration of this time they were sold, and any proceeds remaining after expenses were turned over to the state. Nobody was interested in buying a 'runaway nigger' except the slave trader who could easily dispose of him in an area where his bad traits were unknown.


LEXINGTON ABOLITIONIST NEWSPAPER (J. BRADY) IN 1855

W B Turner, KY in Decade of Change, 1850-60, Ph D Disser, UK, 1954

But in December, 1855, J. Brady, a New England school master, proposed to establish an antislavery newspaper in Lexington. The Louisville Times warned: 'Those that commence the paper had better get all the hair taken off their heads, so that the Lexington people will only have the trouble of taking off their skin.' Brady's efforts were useless. He was surrounded by a mob of poor whites who were anxious to 'taste the blood of an Abolitionist.' The city officials refused to protect him, saying that 'it would cost them their lives if they did,' and Brady, refusing to flee, went forth to face the mob who 'wreaked their cowardly vengeance upon him.'

Source: G W Carleton, Suppressed Book about Slavery, (NY: 1864), 242-43
"For a number of years, William S. Bailey, had published the Newport News, in Newport, Kentucky. Bailey was a machinist, and received financial support for his small antislavery paper from Northern abolitionists. Neighboring slaveholders ultimately found the paper so unpalatable that on October 5, 1851, they set fire to the establishment and it burned to the ground. Bailey established a new paper, the Free South, and continued his abolition crusade. Unable to hire a printer, Bailey's wife and children were drafted to help set type. On December 31, 1858, the Free South made a strong appeal to the white workingmen to vote against slavery. "Workingmen of Kentucky, think of yourselves! See you not that the system of slavery enslaves all who labor for an honest living. You, white men, are the best slave property of the South, and it is your votes that makes you so." The excited state of mind in Kentucky following John Brown's raid led the mob, on October 28, 1859, to attack and completely destroy the printing equipment of Bailey."

source: Coleman, Slavery Times, 319-21.

"Kentucky last legislature prior to the Civil War passed a law making it a penitentiary offense for 'any free person / to / write or print, or cause to be written or printed, any book or other thing, with intent to advise or incite negroes in this State to rebel or make insurrection' or 'knowingly circulate the same.' The law had finally caught up with the sentiments of the people."

last sentence Turner's conclusion; other part of note from Ky Acts, 1859-60, I, 119.
Union County records were stated as saying that Thomas Brown was indicted, tried, and convicted for Stealing Negroes; final judgment 2 years in penitentiary. Does not give year.

Meredith Helms sold to Thomas H. Shelby a slave named Tom, 18 years old for $500, May 18, 1814.
SLAVE OWNER ASKS ADVICE ON TREATING DESEASED SLAVE (1841)

Benjamin F. Crutchfield to Thomas Shelby, ms letter in Shelby Family Papers, Ms Div, Spe Col, King lib, UK, dated June 22, 1841, Louisville, K.

"Dr Sir,

I have a valuable young servant who is afflicted with a swelling of the lips and under the jaws, it first made its appearance near a year ago and has been alternately better and worse until now it seems to be more in larged and painfull. +

I have been adviser you have had several similar cases amongst your Servants, and for while you have discovered a remedy - (I presume it is a case of Scrofula) will you do me the favor to advise me at your earliest convenience what your information on the Subject is and what the remedy is and where to be I have been able to make." etc. with thanks.

SLAVES ALLOWED TO FIND BUYERS OF THEMSELVES; OTHERWISE TO BE SOLD ONLY IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD (Dec 21, 1850)

Ms letter from William Fontaine Bullock to Isaac P. Shelby, dated Louisville, Dec. 21, 1850, in Shelby Family Papers, MS Div, Sp. Col, King Lib, UK

Bullock asked, because of the ill health of his father, for Shelby to "attend to the sale on the 24th Inst."

"If the negroes have not been able to obtain masters on the terms which I stated, I wish them sold to the highest bidder to persons residing in the neighborhood. It is important that this should be done, if practicable. I must of course leave the terms to your discretion - a credit of twelve months may be given." Bullock was also selling personal property, land, etc. The property, etc, belonged to his father.
Bullock told Shelby, who was handling some business for him, that he (Bullock) had hired out Eli for the year for $125.

"When I saw you here I intended to mention to you my desire to buy a couple of servants, a farm hand and a cook—and to request you that if any good opportunity offered to buy such, to advise me.+

"I will give $500 in cash for the two or $200 for the woman and $300 for the man—but they must be healthy and Young and not over 25 or 30.+

"If you have an opportunity to put me in the way of such a purchase and will advise me at Washington I will be much obliged to you."
Ms letter from Thomas Buckner to Fountain Perry, dated Covington, Ky, Jan 3, 1823, in Fountain and Roderick Perry Papers, Ms. Div. Sp Col, King Lib, UK

Tim of Jim

"I have taken the liberty to trespass on your goodness so far as to send to you my man Jim, which I will get you if you please to sell for me for the best price you can. Nothing in reason would of induced me to part from Tim had he not expressed a wish to be sold & says he wishes to live in Natchez or Neworleans and I am determined not to keep any Negro who wishes to be sold & I am induced to think that he would not be sattisfied to live in this country any longer as he had in possession a free pap /er/ written by one Henry Mefford one of Meeks' Tenants which fellow is now in the jail of this county. You can with propriety recommend Jim as being as valuable as any negro what ever as he is young & likely as well a good rough carpinter, carriage driver m or water. Fountain if the price of negroes have fallen so low that you cannot get something like a fair price for him, I do not wish him sold at a sacrifice, say $500 the lowest if you cant get that amount. I would prefer your setting him to work in Natches untill you meet with an opportunity to sell him & if you cant sell for something like that price and can meet with Capt Riddel on his return to this country or some other good chance, you will please send him back to me. Though I would much prefer your selling him as I have sent him down for that purpose." Perry, who was in Natchez, was to pay himself out of the proceeds of the sale of Jim. "It will be necessary to make him shave & brush up a little before you offer him for sale."

Ms letter from Thomas Buckner to Fountain Perry, dated Covington, Ky, Feb 17, 1824, Fountain and Roderick Perry Papers, Ms Div, Sp Col, King Libm UK

"I feel much surprised at Capt Riddle taking the negro to New orleans, against my express directions for I was so particular as ever to direct my letter to Col. Foster in case of your absence however I hope you have the negro in possession before this, ..."

see note 1470
SLAVE JIM, TO BE SOLD IN NATCHEZ, ILL

ms letter from George W. Dinsmore to Fountain Perry, dated Oakpoint, Miss?, Feb. 17, 1824, in Fountain and Roderick Perry Papers, Ms Div, Sp Col, M I King Lib, UK.

"Sir your boy Jim was attacked yesterday with a violent headache sickness at his stomach with other possible (?) symptoms. He is no better this morning, and I think I medical aid is now necessary. You will please to let Mrs. Bingamons (?) know your wishes respecting him; as she does not wish to take any responsibility on herself."

see note 1470,1471

ms letter from Dinsmore to F. Perry, no city, Feb26, 1824, etc, says Jim improving.

MISSISSIPPIAN ASKS KY FRIEND TO SEND MORE SLAVES SOUTH (1825)

ms letter from Chester Haring to Fountain Perry, dated Port Gibson, Miss?, July 24, 1825, in Fountain and Roderick Perry Papers, Ms Div, Sp Col, M I King Lib, UK.

Haring writes Perry that on his fall trip to Port Gibson, Perry should be "... bringing Negroes which he /Haring's brother/ things would be the best thing that you could bring I have understood they were very high in Ky do not pay to extravagant price for them Negroes are worth here now $400 $800 and should cotton continue at the present prices they will rise in value. You speak of the time to bring them. I think Oct as it will be Picking time." Haring also suggests bringing ploughs.
REASONS, CONDITIONS GIVEN 1850-60 IN LEXINGTON SALES FOR SLAVES


p 23/ This author believed "...the owner who had a slave to sell often appeared to be so embarrassed that he felt a necessity of making some sort of an apology in the advertisement. The prevalence of statements giving the reasons for sales, and the restrictions upon these sales should show beyond doubt that public opinion would not tolerate, to a great extent, a traffic in Fayette County which was for profit alone."

In note 1, p 23, the author refers to Appendix C, "which indicates that about 70% of the sales advertised in the papers contained reasons for or restrictions upon sales." Appendix C is a chart of all ads for the sale of slaves. Most of the ads are signed by the editor of the newspaper.

CENTRAL KY BLACKS ESCAPE FROM LEXINGTON SLAVE TRADER (1857)


p 59/ "The advertisements of runaways sometimes told of purchases from other counties. In January, 1857, A. B. Colwell, a trader of Lexington, advertised that he would pay $500 reward for the apprehension of two negro men who had escaped on the 'last Sunday night.' One of the men, Asberry, who had 'a scar above his nose on his forehead' had been purchased from L. M. Broadwell, of Cynthiana; the other man, Sam, had been purchased from George Simms of Mercer County. They both left with handcuffs upon them."

source: Ky Statesman, Jan 9, 1857.
As early as 1836 there were several negro jails or pens in Lexington, where negroes were kept, bought and sold. The old theater, on Short Street, had been converted into one; another was located in the building afterward used as the 'Statesman' office, on Short near Limestone Street; another was located in a house on Main between Rose Streets. This house was later used as a barracks for Federal soldiers during the Civil War.

Source: Peter, Hist Fayette Co, 272.
elise conner, "slave market in lex 1850-60," master's thesis, uk, 1931

p 97/

"A few months later the Lexington and Frankfort Railroad Company published their regulations in relation to slaves. 'No person of color, claiming to be free' would be transported unless identified as free by the conductor, agent, or some respectable white person known to the officers.' No slave would be transported unless accompanied by the owner, or upon the written order of the owner. This order would not be regarded unless acknowledged by the owner, or recognized by the officers as the handwriting of the owner. The conductor would not regard a ticket as an authority to transport a person of color unless the agent pointed out the person to the conductor. Any unauthorized person of color on the cars would be immediately put off."

source: Kentucky Statesman, Mar 29, 1853

SOME ESTIMATES OF RUNAWAY SLAVES: NO IN LEX AREA 1850, 1855

elise conner, "the slave market in lex, 1850-60," master's thesis, uk, 1931

p 99/

"During all these years, the local papers gave many notices of runaway slaves. In 1850 there were advertisements for approximately twenty-three runaways from Fayette County, in 1855 the number reached twenty-seven." These figures are from advertisements only; the newspapers used were not complete runs; thus an estimate at best.
TABLE OF RISE OF PRICES OF SLAVES, LEXINGTON AREA, 1850-60


on p. 102 conner said she is giving approximate prices for the average slave.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>1850-61</th>
<th>1852-55</th>
<th>1854-55</th>
<th>1856-57</th>
<th>1858-59-60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>21-35</td>
<td>$600</td>
<td>$700</td>
<td>$800</td>
<td>$900</td>
<td>$1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36-50</td>
<td>$600</td>
<td>$700</td>
<td>$800</td>
<td>$900</td>
<td>$1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51+</td>
<td>$250</td>
<td>$300</td>
<td>$350</td>
<td>$400</td>
<td>$450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>21-35</td>
<td>$600</td>
<td>$700</td>
<td>$800</td>
<td>$900</td>
<td>$1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36-50</td>
<td>$300</td>
<td>$400</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td>$600</td>
<td>$700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51+</td>
<td>$150</td>
<td>$200</td>
<td>$150</td>
<td>$150</td>
<td>$150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman and</td>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>$600</td>
<td>$700</td>
<td>$800</td>
<td>$900</td>
<td>$1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant</td>
<td></td>
<td>$700</td>
<td>$800</td>
<td>$900</td>
<td>$1000</td>
<td>$2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy</td>
<td>3-6</td>
<td>$200</td>
<td>$300</td>
<td>$300</td>
<td>$300</td>
<td>$300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7-12</td>
<td>$300</td>
<td>$400</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td>$600</td>
<td>$600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13-16</td>
<td>$400</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td>$600</td>
<td>$700</td>
<td>$900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17-20</td>
<td>$600</td>
<td>$700</td>
<td>$800</td>
<td>$900</td>
<td>$1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>3-6</td>
<td>$200</td>
<td>$300</td>
<td>$300</td>
<td>$300</td>
<td>$300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7-12</td>
<td>$300</td>
<td>$400</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td>$600</td>
<td>$600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13-16</td>
<td>$400</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td>$600</td>
<td>$700</td>
<td>$900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17-20</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td>$600</td>
<td>$700</td>
<td>$900</td>
<td>$1000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the interviews food in slavery was plentiful, of good quality, and varied frequently. One interviewee recalled the 'ol' marster see to it dat us have plenty to eat.' The autobiographers testified that they received little food, generally of poor quality and with little variety.' Bailey goes on to point out that the interviewees spoke in the depression; the autobiographers might have been speaking from relative affluence. In my opinion they also might have wanted to make a point (autoblogs) while the Interviewees could have been interviewed by whites!

Could interviewees be talking about what they were given in addition to their own food they raised with? Could autobiographers be talking only about what they were given instead of including supplementary food?

Also - The autobiographers may have been generally more intelligent and had greater expectations, thus not satisfied with the lot of a slave who got the "crumbs that fell from master's table."

Says clothing not real important to autobiographers and interviewees. "Six of the autobiographers said they were well or adequately clothed, eight said they were not. Forty-two of the interviewees said they were well or adequately clothed, ten said they were not. All who commented agreed they wore homespun clothes and rough brogans and that children were given little to wear."
"The sources are in general agreement on the nature of housing--a one-or two-room log cabin. Those interviewees who commented on the quality said it was good; the four autobiographers who commented disagreed." The autobiographers were quite critical.
INTERVIEWEES, AUTOBIOGRAPHERS RECALL PUNISHMENT OF SLAVES

Punishment, however, was a subject which greatly interested both groups. The following table depicts the comments of the two groups on the existence of whippings. About one-third of the autobiographers testified to having been whipped, while fewer than a tenth of the interviewees indicated that was the case. According to the autobiographers almost all whippings were severe and resulted in bleeding. In the interviews only a little more than a third of the former slaves who saw whippings described them in such terms. More gave an account of judicious whippings done with moderation. The autobiographers described more "sadistic treatment."

COMPARISON: INTERVIEWEES, AUTOBIOGRAPHERS RECALL SLAVE RELIGION

Religion is more complex in slave life. "Historians of religion have explored this issue and come to a variety of conclusions. Benjamin Elijah Mays saw slave religion as 'possibly the most significant technique of survival developed during the days of slavery. . . ,' by which a slave might act humble and submissive in preparation for a more appealing afterlife. According to Vincent G. Harding, religion served an additional function. 'For other black persons the music and the faith it expressed . . . supplied new determination to struggle, build, and resist here.' Albert J. Raboteau developed a third alternative in his recent study, Slave Religion. Raboteau argued that religion provided slaves with a sense of self-worth: ' . . . religion was for slaves a space of meaning, freedom and transcendence. ' /Bailey says the interviewees relied " . . . heavily on the white church, where they were 'taught they must be faithful to the Missus and Marsa's work like you would to your heavenly Father's work.' About 65% related religion to the whites such as servives in white church or under white man's eye. " . . . seldom did an interviewee speak of the oppressive nature of religion." The autobiographers saw religion as more complex. Five /begin p 394/ autobiogs became preachers in slavery, 8 described powerful conversions. Both sources " . . . portray religion as a moral and spiritual guide. " Neither source addressed with much clarity the important question of the survival of African beliefs in slave religion."
COMPARISON: INTERVIEWEES, AUTOBIOGRAPHERS RECALL SLAVE RESISTANCE

D T Bailey, divided prism: two sources of black testimony, JSH, 46, Aug 1980

p 394/ Historical interpretations: "Herbert Aptheker argues that rebellion and the plotting of rebellion was a common activity among slaves throughout the antebellum period. Raymond A. and Alice H. Bauer adopted a more cautious interpretation when they described the typical slave as 'frequently rebellious, and almost always sullen, as any person faced with a disagreeable situation from which he cannot escape will normally be.' Stanley M. Elkins, in his description of the typical slave hand, depicts him as 'docile but irresponsible, loyal but lazy, humble but chronically given to lying and stealing. . . .' To Aptheker the typical slave was a rebel; to the Bauers, a resister; and to Elkins, a Sambo." Bailey says only 2% of the interviewees ran away; 55% of the autobiographers ran away. He points out the interviewees were too young to run away; the autobiographers almost had to escape to tell their story. /p 396/ The resistance described in the interviews was "minor, almost nonexistent...." Rebellion or plotted rebellion mentioned 1 time by interviewee, 2 times by autobiographers. "The interviews give a picture of a much more complacent, submissive slave society than do the autobiographies. . . . over one-half of the autobiographers committed some act of resistance."

Sources: Bauer & Bauer, "Day to Day Resistance to Slavery," JNH, 27 (Oct. 1942), 418


COMPARISON: INTERVIEWEES, AUTOBIOGRAPHERS RECALL FAMILY LIFE

D T Bailey, divided prism: two sources of black testimony, JSH, 46, Aug 1980

p 396/ "E. Franklin Frazier described an unstable and confused family life in which 'the mother remained . . . the dominant and important figure. . . .' Willie Lee Rose disagreed, arguing that 'the most typical domestic picture is of a father and mother living together in a humble cabin with their children.' Eugene Genovese took the Rose argument to / p 397/ an extreme, claiming that 'the average plantation slave lived in a family setting, developed strong family ties, and held the nuclear family as the proper social norm.' Bailey says parentage is fairly well documented in the two sources "Of those who address this issue / parentage / over one-half of the interviewees lived with both parents; less than a quarter of the autobiographers reported a two-parent household." Bailey concluded that the interviews "bolster the Rose/Genevese argument that the slave family typically had a nuclear structure, while the autobiographies support Frazier's contention that the father's role was severely undercut and the nuclear family barely survived in the institution of slavery." In the autobiographies 8% said their family was broken "through sales of one kind or another." /p 399/ "...no clearly typical pattern of family life emerges from a reading of either the autobiographies or the interviews. The sources do tend in differing directions, however. The autobiographies portray family life more in terms of a matriarchal structure, a traumatic childhood, and an unstable family. The interviews tend to depict a more stable family, a happier childhood, and, if not patriarchy, at least a family in which both parents had some degree of participation."
Marriage received relatively little attention in either source. ... Three autobiographers and one interviewee lost a spouse due to sale. Both sources agree that the master had the power to disapprove of any marriage, . . ." They scarcely mention slave breeding. The interviewees most often mentioned grandparents; the autobiographers mentions siblings.

The interviewees depicted childhood as basically a happy time." Life of the typical slave child in the autobiographies appears to have been much less happy and carefree." A few, however, do recall happy times, as with playmates.
COMPARISON: INTERVIEWEES, AUTOBIOGRAPHERS RECALL NATURE OF SLAVE
PERSONALITY

D.T. Bailey, divided prism: two sources of black testimony, JSH, 46, Aug 1980

p 399/ "Two of the historians who studied this issue, Kenneth Stampp and
Stanley Elkins, came to strikingly different conclusions. Elkins argued
that the personality of the field slave tended toward the childlike,
obedient Sambo. This, Elkins believed, was the internalization of a role
prescribed by the white master. Stampp argued that much of the Sambo image
was a matter of role playing and conscious accommodation. Beneath this
and other masks put on for the master and other whites lay a great variety
of personality." /begin p 400/ The Elkins autobiographies seem to support
Stampp. "The normal personalities of slaves in these works / biographies /
appear strong and self-sufficient, trying to manage as best they could
under demanding circumstances." "...the Elkins model seems better equipped
to explain the normal slave personality which was described in the
interviews." /begin p 401/ "However, when it is recalled that 75 percent
of the interviewees were under twenty when slavery ended, it becomes clear
that the personalities are not those of childlike adults but in fact those
of children. . . . There is simply no evidence for the smiling, foot-shuffling
darky Elkins presents as the common slave type."

COMPARISON: INTERPRETATIONS OF WHY INTERVIEWEES DIFFER FROM
AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

D.T. Bailey, divided prism: two sources of black testimony, JSH, 46, Aug 1980

p 401/ "There are several alternative interpretations as to why the
differences occur. First, perhaps both of the sources are wrong; this
might be called the Ulrich Phillips interpretation. To some extent this
is true. These sources are biased, but so are all sources. Used carefully
in relationship to all the sources on slavery, the black sources can shed
light on many issues ignored by the 'white' sources. A second possibility
is that both sources are truthful, but that they describe different time
periods. This has some merit, since the interviewees could, for the most
part, recall only the last two decades of slavery, while the autobiographers
described the institution over a period of eight decades." This view suffers
from the fact that the autobiographers who wrote in last decade of the
period do not agree with the interviewees. /"A related interpretation is
that the interviewees were, in fact, describing their lives in the 1930s as
much as describing slavery."

"The most persuasive interpretation is that, on each point of disagree-
ment, one of the sources is significantly misleading." Bailey comments on
the reliability of the two sources: Autobiographies, remarkable people, xkr
50 % ran away; those who escaped slavery and those freed remarkably similar;
abolitionists often helped them write their story, and for a white audience;
"by placing the writer at its center, can tend to select and exaggerate
evidence which might put the author in the best light." Stories are remarkably
candid. INTERVIEWS: Predominantly white southerners; p 403/ Remarkable
COMPARISON: INTERPRETATIONS OF WHY INTERVIEWS DIFFER FROM AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Bailey, divided prism: two sources of black testimony, JSH, 46, Aug 1980

Interviewees "had been schooled in childhood to obey their masters, and the fear of white repression was bolstered by sixty-two years of a limited kind of freedom." The "...most troubling, problem is one of age." Old people can be both sharp and vague, depending on the individual.

Bailey feels the autobiographies are more reliable "as a whole." Feels the interviews must be taken as individual; not as units.

STANLEY ELKINS ON RELIABILITY OF EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS

Elkins, slavery a problem in am inst and intell life, 1963 (1959)

Such accounts were both hostile and sympathetic in nature. It is perhaps best that each kind be given equal weight, as evidence in the judicial sense must always be, and the best presumption probably is that none of these observers was lying about the facts as he saw them. Different facts impressed different people, of course. But Fanny Kemble, Nehemiah Adams, Sir Charles Lyell, Susan Dabney, and Frederick Law Olmsted were men and women of character, and the things they wrote had character also; much is gained and not much lost on the provisional operating principle that they were all telling the truth."
DIFFICULTY OF SLAVE OWNERS IN RECLAIMING FAMILIES OF SOLDIERS

H Gutman, Black Families, 1976

p 611/ Note 3/ "On September 3, 1864, a Union Army officer at Louisa reported to a superior concerning the troubles 'masters who are loyal' had in claiming wives and children of soldiers: '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 lines of the 109th U.S.C.I., when he was assailed by some Fifteen or Twenty men of the 109th U.S.C.I. as he alleges with guns and the negro woman taken forcibly from him by the aforesaid soldiers.' The commander of the 109th assured the sheriff that the woman would be turned over and the black soldiers arrested. He complained that the sheriff had used 'insulting language towards me and my command.' 'The woman spoken of,' he went on, 'came into 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 my investigation. . . . As it is now dark and she has no place to go I have not sent her out side my lines.'

source: Box 3, M-14, 1864, Letters Received, Entry 2173, Military District of the Ohio, Record Group 393, Nat. Archives.

GUTMAN ON WHETHER OR NOT SLAVES COULD ADJUST TO FREEDOM

H Gutman, Black Families, 1976

p 366/ "Individual ex-slaves everwhere could not manage the transition to legal freedom, and instances of devotion and loyalty to former owners dot the record. There also is much evidence of severe material suffering incident to the wartime devastation and the emancipation. But evidence of widespread social and cultural demoralization among the ex-slaves is uncommon. Its relative absence casts important light upon the slaves as well as ex-slaves. The behavior of ex-slaves between 1861 and 1867 allows us to examine the relationship between latent slave beliefs and manifest slave behavior. The ex-slave could do and say what often could not be done and said in 'slavery times.' It had been nearly impossible then for many--perhaps all but a small minority--to get through the business of daily life without seeming to assent to the dominant value system. How ex-slaves behaved just after the general emancipation therefore allows us to see whether whole ranges of their behavior earlier in time were accurate indicators of their inward beliefs."
KY SLAVES WHO JOINED (IMPRESSIONED) IN UNION ARMY: FARMERS, LABORERS 1496

TYPICALLY

h gutman, black families, 1976

p 367/ The Ky slaves or ex-slaves "who joined (or were impressed into) the Union Army in 1864 and 1865 and their families illustrate the depth of slave family ties and show how these ties shaped the behavior of ex-slaves. . . . Kentucky blacks, most ex-slaves, served in the Union Army in large numbers. . . . Military recruiters and officers listed the occupations of all but 329 of 20,905 black soldiers (Table 34). Nearly all--97.4 percent--were either farmers or laborers. Very few slaves with elite occupations joined the Union Army. They may have been few in number among Kentucky slaves. That is the subject for another study. What matters here is that the typical Kentucky slave who joined the Union Army had the same occupation as the typical Virginia and North Carolina ex-slave who registered a marriage in 1866. Their behavior therefore is further evidence of beliefs held by ordinary slaves upon their emancipation. Kentucky slaves, furthermore, joined (or were impressed into) the Union Army in far greater numbers than slaves in any other southern state. It is probable that the number serving in the Union Army between April 1864 and April 1865 /begin p 368/ equaled slightly more than half of all Kentucky slave men aged fifteen to forty-four in 1860."

Table 34. "Occupational Distribution of Kentucky Union Army Black Soldiers, 1854-1864" "Farmer and laborer---97.44 %; Artisan---1.60 %; Servant---.50 %; Drayman, wagoner, teamster---.40 %; High status(5 clergymen,3 clerks---.05 %.

p 368/ "Kentucky blacks were recruited into the Union Army starting in March 1864, a decision that further divided the state's white residents. Before then, Union Army blacks serving in Kentucky had suffered harassment and even worse. So did runaways from the slave states nearby. A Tennessee free black who married a slave widow and took her and her children north through Kentucky in 1863, for example, was convicted of slave-stealing. Until military recruitment began in Kentucky, that state's slaves and free blacks went to Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois to join the Union Army. Some were illegally impressed before 1864 in Kentucky itself. The daughter in a prominent Bourbon County plantation family wrote her mother in March 1863: '...For three or four days the Federals have been taking off the negroes from this county, to work or fight at Lexington, sometimes the cars pass loaded, and yesterday they took nine negro men from Ben Rogers, and upon the strength of the fright one of ours has left. He has been gone two days, and we have not heard from him--but I think he will come back, as we have his wife and four children.' Such departures would leave field work undone and upset the minds of the 'poor simple minded negroes.' The exact number who quit owners like her before March 1864 remains unknown. Some contemporaries put it as /sic/ several thousand."
PROBLEMS OF RETURNING BLACK SOLDIERS IN KY 1865 (Palmer's effect) h gutman, black families, 1976

p 384/

"It cannot be argued that the abuse suffered by returning ex-slave Kentucky soldiers and their families resulted from John Palmer's aggressive efforts to enforce the March 1865 law. The families of Kentucky slave soldiers had been abused before Palmer took command. And ex-slave soldiers and their families in other slave states had similar troubles." /also p 385/

"Ex-slave soldiers concerned for their families had difficulties with others than their owners and other southern whites. Men like Speed Smith Fry were more common among the Union Army officers than men like John Palmer. In Oct 1865, an unidentified ex-slave soldier serving in the 5th U. S. Cavalry and stationed in Lexington, Kentucky, described the abuse of black soldiers: '... when our wives comes to the camp to see us they are not allowed to come into camp and we are not allowed to go out and see them they are drummed off and the officers say go you damn bitches you know that it is too much they are treated so by these officers... 

if you please to allow us the privilege of going home to situate our families for the winter we are able to situate them by labor if you allow us the privilege.' 'We are here,' this letter said in another place, '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.' 'The letter was sent to the Secretary of War.'"


METHODS AND PROCEDURES FOR RECRUITING BLACKS AFTER MARCH 1864 h gutman, black families, 1976

Slave options changed in March 1864. Loyal owners received a three-hundred dollar bounty for slaves they let serve in the Union Army. Some whites favored the new policy; it helped fill draft quotas. The Louisville Press said the state could not "better afford to spare whites than blacks." After March, slaves were impressed into the Union Army. The Louisville City Council appropriated funds to buy and sell black substitutes, and the municipal prison, along with the town's slave pens, were used to coerce hesitant blacks. A black fair later that year occasioned a police action: the Louisville authorities "captured all the males," imprisoned them, and "forced" the "sound ones" to "enlist." Union Army troops, blacks among them, did that, too, impressing Paducah slave steamboat hands. Compulsion did not force all Kentucky blacks into the Union Army. A second military order dated April 18, 1864, allowed county provost marshals and their deputies to recruit slave soldiers. Two months later, the Union Army welcomed slaves belonging to disloyal owners into military camps. These slaves did not need permission from their owners.
Thousands of Kentucky slaves quit their owners—loyal as well as disloyal owners—in the spring and summer of 1864 to join the Union Army. Herndon, Henderson, Union, and Davies county slaves left in "scores," and the Louisville Journal protested that the military policies "entirely demoralized" the slaves, making it difficult for them to be "controlled by their masters." "Negroes," said the Covington American, "are coming to this city from the interior in swarms for the purpose of enlisting in the United States Army." About two hundred had arrived in three days. Black volunteers filled the Jessamine County draft quota. "The roads," according to another observer, "are swarming with able-bodied black men, hastening to the various rendezvous to be mustered into the service." About six hundred came to one such place: one hundred ten slaves volunteered in two June days at Lexington; a Lancaster white predicted "they will all go in." Hostile Lebanon whites lashed back violently at the departing slaves. In late May, about two hundred fifty Boyle County runaways made it to Camp Nelson but only after whites, including students, had stoned and even shot at them. A few months later, Elijah Marrs led twenty-seven slaves armed with "twenty-six war clubs and one old rusty pistol" to Louisville. "Great weeping and mourning" accompanied their departure, a "demonstration of sorrow" that Marrs believed unmatched "before or since."

Elderly Kentucky ex-slaves remembered 1864 well. Mary Cross and George Washington Buckner were not yet fifteen years old, and George Conrad, Jr., was an infant. Conrad lived with his parents, and his Henderson County father distilled whiskey. He told an interviewer:

There were fourteen colored men working for Old Master Joe and seven women. I think it was on the thirteenth of May, all fourteen of these colored men, and my father, went to the Army. When old Master Joe come to wake 'em up the next morning—I remember he called real loud, Miles, Esau, 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 'nother he got a chance to see Arch, and Arch came back with him to help raise the crops.
Only Conrad's father returned after the war's end. Buckner lived with a stepfather, an invalid mother, and three brothers and sisters. His mother awakened him to bid farewell to his four maternal uncles. They were leaving together to join the Union Army. Mary Cross's father left his owner, too. Some years before, he had belonged to a debt-ridden farmer who planned to sell him. Mary Cross's grandfather intervened, convinced his owner to buy him, and contributed twenty-five dollars of his own to assure the sale. "I remember," Mary Cross said, "that my father and most all of the younger slaves left the farms to join the Union Army. We had hard times for awhile and had lots of work to do."

Slaveowners had good reason to worry. Potential soldiers were not the only slaves leaving them. "Whole families are running off," said one observer. Some owners offered their slaves wages to keep them from leaving. Seventeen slaves owned by the prominent Union Republican Robert Breckenridge—nine men and "boys," five women, and three children—fled to Camp Nelson. Their flight and that of others like them convinced the Louisville Journal that Kentucky slavery was doomed; it urged compensated emancipation. "No family knows when they rise in the morning whether they have a servant to prepare breakfast or not," said the Journal. Farmers had lost needed laborers.
Concerned whites focused on Camp Nelson. Within a few months, more than fifteen hundred slave men had gathered there. Later that year, about five thousand black soldiers, men who filled the 114th and 116th United States Colored Infantry, trained there. By the war's end, according to one estimate, between nine and ten thousand slaves—about two in every five Kentucky black soldiers—passed through Camp Nelson. Displeased owners journeyed to the place and, according to Thomas Butler, who managed the camp's United States Sanitary Commission station, pressured their slaves to return "by all kinds of promises and threats." Some owners allegedly kidnapped their slaves; one black recruit was murdered, and whites cropped the ears of two other men. Less violent whites used a milder tactic to persuade their slaves to return. They brought the "wives of would-be soldiers" to Camp Nelson, parading them before their slave husbands. The response by the Camp Nelson blacks to such enticement remains unknown.

But Camp Nelson slaves disclosed strong family attachments in other very direct ways. Elijah Marrs, the son of a free black father and slave mother, wrote letters for illiterate recruits. (Before his enlistment, Marrs, who had been taught to read by some friendly white youths and by attending a night school run by an elderly slave, had received and answered letters for slaves who had already enlisted. The men addressed these letters to "their wives, sons, and daughters." ) Sanitary Commission officers also wrote letters for Camp Nelson slave fathers and husbands, letters that often sought "redress" for "troubles at home," especially "wrongs committed on their wives, children, and aged parents." The Camp Nelson Sanitary Commission superintendent estimated that by the war's end— in less than a full year—his staff had written "at least 5,000 letters" for black soldiers.
Slave wives and mothers, often accompanied by children, in unknown numbers either visited Camp Nelson or fled their owners to the military station. Their presence upset unsympathetic military officers, and Camp Nelson’s commander Speed Smith Fry, confronted by what he called the “Nigger Woman Question,” predicted “obscene and brutal practices.” Sometime in early May, he ordered that a “slave girl” be returned to her owner. She had worked for several months as a hospital cook, and sympathetic patients took her from her military guards, dressed her in boy’s clothing, and spirited her away. On May 23, Fry banned runaway women from Camp Nelson. But three women expelled from the place returned. Fry had them arrested, tied up, given a “few lashes,” and sent off again. Another camp edict read: “Any negro woman here without authority will be arrested and sent beyond the lines and informed that, if they return, the lash awaits them.” Fry’s efforts failed. Hardly a day passed in the summer months, according to Butler, “without bringing . . . wives, children, and relatives into the camp, either on visits or in pursuit of new homes.” Recruits “frequently sent for their family.” Some came, said John Fee, then working among the Camp Nelson blacks and himself a Kentucky-born abolitionist driven from that state in 1859, because of “affection to the husband or father.” Others had been driven off by owners or beaten “unmercifully” by “enraged masters.” Butler, Fee, a few other whites, and Fee’s assistant Gabriel Burdett (whom Butler described as “a noble and extraordinary man”) labored to help the families of these soldiers. It became possible for “visitors” to stay one night. But Fry and other officers shared none of these humane instincts. Butler, who later condemned their “incompetence” and called their behavior “sad,” and Fee, who filled the columns of the American Missionary with evidence of how the slaves had been abused, were no match for Fry and his men.
Lorenzo Thomas, to whom Fry and other camp superintendents reported, supported Fry against his critics. A military order put military necessity, agricultural production, and the morale of loyal Kentucky slaveowners above the familial concerns of these slave soldiers and their wives and children. Thomas ordered women and children along with other blacks unfit for military service from the camps, urged such persons to "remain at their respective homes where, under the State laws, their masters are bound to take care of them," expressed fear that the women would spread venereal diseases among the soldiers, said their presence would "only become an expense to the Government," and insisted that "all this class of people are required to assist in securing the crops, now suffering in many cases for want of labor." In mid-August, Fry again expelled the Camp Nelson women and children. "All officers having negro women in their employment," ordered Fry, "will deliver them up to the patrol to be brought to these headquarters. Any one attempting to evade this order will be arrested and punished." The evicted women and children returned, and Fry chased them—time and again. "They would return," said the angry Fee, "—no place of shelter, and often their husbands gone they were much exposed to temptation." Controversy raged until the Secretary of War ordered the women and children settled in a protected camp, away from the soldiers.

"Many... by their own efforts had little huts erected with small amounts of provisions." An aged widow among them washed and sewed to pay her way. Her sons—perhaps as many as five of them—served in the Union Army.

The arrangement failed to satisfy Fry, and in late November Fry issued "a very summary notice" driving about four hundred women and children from their settlement "without time or opportunity to get away their little effects." They were "dumped" from wagons and carts "in the streets or by the wayside in extreme cold weather." Intense suffering followed. An observer saw women and children "lying in barns and mule sheds, wandering through the woods, languishing on the highway." Another said some "actually froze to death." The Lincoln County slave soldier Joseph Miller, who had come to Camp Nelson with his wife and four children in mid-October, detailed their abuse and the death of a son in an affidavit:

... [M]y wife and children came with me, because my master said that if I enlisted he would not maintain them, and I knew they would be abused by him when I left. I had three four...
of the camp. My wife and family occupied this tent by the express permission of the aforementioned officer, and never received any notice to leave until Tuesday, November 22, when a mounted guard gave my wife notice that she and her children must leave camp before early morning. This was about six o'clock at night. My little boy, about seven years of age, had been very sick, and was then slowly recovering. My wife had no place to go. I told him that I was a soldier of the United States. He told me that it did not make any difference; he had orders to take all out of camp. He told my wife and family if they did not get up in the wagon he had, he would shoot the last one of them. On being thus threatened, my wife and children went into the wagon. My wife carried the sick child in her arms. When they left the tent, the wind was blowing hard and cold, and having had to leave much of our clothing when we left our master, my wife, with her little ones, was poorly clad. I followed them as far as the lines. I had had no knowledge where they were taking them. They were in an old meeting-house, belonging to the colored people. The building was very cold, having only one fire. My wife and children could not get near the fire, because of the numbers of colored people huddling together by the soldiers. I found my wife and family shivering with cold and famished with hunger; they had not received a morsel of food during the whole day. My boy was dead. He died directly after getting down from the wagon. I know he was killed by exposure to the inclement weather. I had to return to camp that night; so I left my family in the meeting-house, and walked back. I had walked there. I travelled in all twelve miles.

A literate white or black had helped Miller prepare this well-written affidavit. No one helped him bury his son. Miller walked to Nicholsville the next morning. "I dug a grave myself," said the slave soldier, "and buried my own child. I left my family in the meeting-house where they still remain."
Fry's November expulsion of the Camp Nelson women and children strengthened Fee and his other critics and soon caused a reversal of official policy. Congressional supporters helped Fee convince the Secretary of War to open a "refuge" at the embattled Union Army camp. So did the continued flow of slave women and children into Camp Nelson. Their number, Lorenzo Thomas explained to the secretary at the year's end, was "constantly increasing" and "on Christmas Day, a large number arrived, stating they were driven from their homes and in some instances . . . their masters had their cabins pulled down over their heads." Thomas now believed himself "bound to . . . afford them food and shelter." They might even be "profitably employed at Camp Nelson." The women and children stayed at Camp Nelson, but their material circumstance hardly improved. Two hundred and fifty of the four hundred sent away in November returned; one hundred two of them died afterward. "Many," an observer noticed, "had not shoes or stockings. Others had not a change of undergarments, nor enough to keep them warm." Fee himself restricted admission to "the families of colored soldiers, or those dependent upon them for support." In early January, according to him, women and children were "coming by the dozens at a time." Camp Nelson became a refuge for three thousand sixty slaves, mostly women and children.

Material conditions improved in 1865. A Louisville white woman who worked in the camp hospital reported in February that "the wards were full of human wretchedness." She found "a poor woman dying, amidst filth and suffering, for the simplest food, within twenty steps of the superintendent's office." But federal rations made living better. So did a seven-room schoolhouse, four large wards, a dining hall, ninety-seven two-room "cottages," sixty government tents, and fifty cabins "erected by the colored people." Disputes over the status of Camp Nelson
Disputes over the status of Camp Nelson refugees between Fee and their owners, however, continued. "We had a case yesterday," Fee reported in late February, "that was a sort of test case. A slaveholder a 'good union man' with a New York woman called to get a slave girl." Fee added:

Capt. Hall said "yes"—"I know Mr. Barnes" "she will be better off there than here." Brother Williams said not! The Capt. gave me a private chat. I said "not"—not for one moment!!

Her father is here a soldier—natural guardian. We must do more for her morally what Mr. Barnes as a chattel owner will not do—this is more than "hog and hominy."

Hall "winced and retired." His response remains unknown. Other Kentucky slave soldiers had trouble that winter over their families. A few stationed in Nashville received regular furloughs to visit their Kentucky kin. One learned that his wife's owner "had been treating her very cruelly, and to some extent on account of her husband being in the army." A white officer dispatched Elijah Marrs and ten other black soldiers to help this man "bring the woman into camp" and, according to Marrs, shoot her owner if necessary. Marrs and his men could not find her. Another twenty soldiers were sent. They learned she had "fled to parts unknown."

The Civil War ended in the spring of 1865, but a struggle over the slave and ex-slave family continued until the final ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment in December of that year. Federal and state authorities clashed bitterly over the status of the families of Kentucky's black Union Army soldiers still owned by their ante-bellum masters and still subject to the state's old slave laws. Unlike Maryland and Missouri, Kentucky had not abolished slavery before the war's end. Not all Kentucky slaves therefore were free in April 1865. Freedom had come early to slaves (about sixty-five thousand) owned by disloyal whites, and in March 1865, after prolonged debate, the Congress freed the wives and children of slave soldiers. The March 1865 law created intense conflict in Kentucky, conflict caused by the fact that 28,818 Kentucky blacks had either joined or been impressed into the Union Army between April 1864 and July 1865. A military estimate figured that the March 1865 law freed about seventy-five thousand Kentucky slave wives and children so that another sixty-five thousand men, women, and children still remained slaves.
Bitter resentment over the March 1865 congressional law followed by the Kentucky legislature's rejection of the Thirteenth Amendment shaped a conflict unique to Kentucky, one that disclosed the fierce attachment of many ex-slaves, soldiers most prominent among them, to their families. The military policies of John M. Palmer and his chief subordinate James S. Brisbin fed the dispute. Palmer took over military command of Kentucky in February 1865, and martial law existed in that state until the following October. His father, a critic of slavery, had left Kentucky for Illinois, and Palmer later shifted from the Democratic to the Republican Party over the slavery question. (After the Civil War, Palmer returned to Illinois and became its governor.) "When I came to Kentucky," Palmer explained in a January 1866 speech, "I made up my mind that all that was left of slavery was its mischiefs, and that I would encourage a system of gradual emancipation, a thing that had been desired so long, and which the colored people had pretty well established for themselves." Palmer combated the antebellum slave laws still in effect in Kentucky after April 1865, and Thomas James, born a New York slave and later a free black minister in the Buffalo and Rochester African Methodist Episcopal Church who had been sent South in 1862 by the American Missionary Association and ended up in Louisville, worked closely with him.*

*James was born a slave in Canajoharie, New York, in 1804, separated from his mother, brother, and sister by their sale in 1812, and ran away as a youth to Canada, where he helped build the Welland Canal. He later labored as a woodchopper and warehouse worker in western New York as well as a Buffalo schoolteacher. He married in 1829 and was ordained as a minister in 1835. In 1862, James, then a widower (his wife had died in 1841) was appointed by the American Missionary Association to work among Louisiana and Tennessee blacks. He and his daughter left Rochester but ended up in Louisville. He worked with the Union Army for three years. In about 1870, James remarried. His second wife had been freed by Sherman's army in Atlanta and later sent north with "other colored refugees" (Life of Rev. Thomas James by Himself [1887], 3–21).
Enforcement of the March 1865 law by Palmer provoked controversy between the Union Army and resident slaveowners. Kentucky had allowed no legal provision for slave marriage, and the state law recognized no legal tie between slave parent and slave child. Congress, however, had freed the wives and children of slave soldiers. A conflict between state and federal law was inevitable, and Palmer moved decisively in a proclamation concerning the March law. He called it an "act of justice," said it offered black men "an opportunity to earn freedom for themselves and their posterity," and warned that military power would be used to "enforce" the rights of ex-slave soldiers. A military edict, for example, closed the Louisville "slave pens and other private establishments," releasing some blacks held there for "forced enlistment for their master's benefit," for sale to bounty and substitute brokers, and for asking "their indigent masters for wages." Some 'saucy' wives of negro soldiers" also were freed. James, who supervised this effort on Palmer's orders, found five separate Louisville places ("pens") which kept slaves. Two hundred and sixty, some "in irons," were in the largest place. He released them and sent them to the army-sponsored Home for the Colored Refugees that he ran in the spring and summer of 1865. A black hotel waiter told James that nine black men were locked in the National Hotel. The hotel owners denied the allegation, but another black secretly told James the room they were in, and, after the clergyman found them, James mustered them into the Union Army. That freed them. Although the Louisville Mayor and Common Council protested James's work, Palmer encouraged it. A soldier guarded his residence nightly for eighteen months. No nighttime light was allowed in the refugee camp he managed for "fear of drawing the fire of rebel bushwackers," and camp inhabitants "made their beds on the floor." Sent once to bring a blacksmith suspected of "bushwacking" to Palmer, James was beaten with an iron bar, and his right hand was partially but permanently paralyzed.
James and white officers encouraged slave men to enlist and slave women to marry. "I was ordered by General Palmer," James remembered, "to marry every colored woman that came into camp to a soldier unless she objected to such a proceeding." The ceremony was meant to "secure the freedom of colored refugees," a "ruse" to protect runaway women and children from owners. Army officers, according to the New York Times, "tell every able-bodied colored man to enlist, and every single female slave to marry a colored soldier." Two of the Kentucky governor's slaves married black soldiers and claimed their freedom under the March 1865 law. Palmer himself later insisted that some slaves "greatly abused" the law and formed "polygamous alliances" to become free. Black enlistments—between seventy and one hundred a day—continued until early May when ended by a War Department order. "Even old men and boys are found to be fit for duty in invalid regiments and are taken," said Brisbin in a plea to Kentucky's governor that the state abolish slavery. A Kentucky Circuit Court's decision declaring the March 1865 law unconstitutional did not deter Palmer, Brisbin, or the blacks. "Negro enlistment," boasted Brisbin, "has bankrupted slavery in Kentucky."

Conflict over the status of Kentucky slaves continued into the summer and fall of 1865. The Louisville mayor and common council worried that runaways crowded their city to escape rural owners and asked Palmer to help enforce vagrancy laws, protect public health, and prevent these blacks from hiring themselves as free persons. Most were "women and children ... claiming to be free, and looking to the military authorities for protection and assistance." Palmer at first refused. "Vagrancy," he said, "as a crime is voluntary idleness and profligacy; the only offense urged against them is poverty. They fly and none dare employ them, and because they cannot be employed and live in enforced idleness they are by many called 'vagrants.'" Palmer freed Jacob Hardin, a slave imprisoned in Louisville for hiring himself out without his owner's permission. "Not long since," Palmer told appreciative Louisville blacks, "a man was arrested. For what do you think? For stealing some man's watch? No! For stealing some one's pocketbook? No! For arson? No! For murder? No... He wanted to hire..."
MARRS TELLS OF BLACK TROOPS BEING ATTACKED IN WHITE BIG SPRINGS

CHURCH, Jan 5-6, 1865

MARRS, LIFE AND HIST, 1885

p 47/ rebel (apparently only one) "broke and ran" avoiding capture. "On the same night Corporal Elijah Daguer and I heard the rebels talking in a grove near by, and creeping along by the side of a fence until within fair distance, we opened fire upon them, when they at once fled." On the 7th a beautiful sun; they discussed the best way to get the regiment to safety. "We decided on enjoying ourselves, and visiting the outskirts of town we gathered up our chickens and turkeys and provided ourselves with a bountiful dinner and supper...." Sat night no problems.

Sunday, Jan 8, 1865, another beautiful day. /p 48/ During the morning new recruits were coming in from the countryside. As he prepared to induct the new recruits, one recruit looked up and saw a large band of rebels. "I turned to look toward the enemy, and I have never seen one of my recruits since. As I glanced down the road at the enemy, their line appeared to be about two miles long." Our Lieutenant commanded the company to fall out, and for two hours the opposing forces remained there, intently watching each other, but neither making an offensive movement. As we were not the attacking party, we awaited their action, and finally the rebel General Williams, a Baptist preacher, who was in command of the forces of the enemy, accompanied by one of his staff officers, advanced, bearing a white flag, the remainder of his staff being station at about five hundred yards distance. Our Lieutenant asked who would go down with him to meet the truce party, and /begin p 49/ Sergeant Thomas and myself volunteered at once for the duty. Advancing, Gen. Williams handed us a paper containing the words: 'We demand an unconditional surrender.' The Lieutenant read it and turned it over to me. Having read it, I shook my head in the negative,
Palmer had not yet finished. Army quartermasters were ordered to pay wages directly to black employees, not to their "pretended masters." He and Brisbin also announced that blacks could sue whites unwilling to pay wages to soldiers' wives and children. On May 11, Palmer issued Order 32. Meant in part to ease the flow of unemployed black refugees out of Louisville, it empowered provost marshals to issue military passes to unemployed blacks and their families. Such passes allowed them to move "at will in search of employment upon any railroad, steamboat, ferryboat, or other means of travel." They were expected to pay the "usual fare," and those managing transport facilities who refused to serve them faced arrest and military trial. The general encouraged unemployed blacks to leave the state and opened the Ohio River to them. Order 32 abrogated the old slave code that still limited the physical movement of slaves and antebellum free blacks. It opened public transportation to many blacks still considered slaves by their owners.

Palmer enforced Order 32. When Bill Hurd, alleged to have been a "slave trader," demanded the surrender of a slave woman he owned but who lived in the refugee camp James managed, the woman said her husband had enlisted in the Union Army, and that she had a railroad pass to take her to Cincinnati. Hurd insisted she had never married and tried to prevent her departure. Palmer ordered a military hearing, and after it ordered James to "take her across the river and see her on board the cars." A "file of guards" accompanied the couple. The woman left for Cincinnati. Palmer himself estimated in mid-July that as many as five thousand blacks crossed the Ohio River at Louisville. A New York Times correspondent, who called the migrants "black vomit," noticed among them "men, women, and children... generally upon the move for some place beyond the reach of their masters."
and James, worried that pressure from distressed whites might cause President Andrew Johnson to end martial law there, urged that a delegation of five Kentucky blacks visit the president. A formal address to Johnson stated their concerns. They pleaded for a federal presence to prevent enforcement of the state’s slave code and other laws that held down free blacks. Otherwise, Kentucky “jails and workhouses would groan” with black inmates. Federal power was required to “shield” them from long-restrained “brutal instincts.” “We have no right of domicile,” they said. “We have no right to travel freely. We have no right of self-defense.” The president was reminded that “over 30,000” Kentucky blacks, mostly slaves, had “poured out their blood lavishly in the defense of the country” and urged that “this blood . . . be carried to our credit in any political settlement of our native State.” To turn the state over to the “control of the civil authorities” meant that these soldiers would suffer “all the grinding oppression of her most inhuman laws if not in their own persons yet in the persons of their women and mothers.”

Despite opposition from a leading Louisville black Baptist clergyman, prominent Louisville blacks also planned a public Independence Day celebration. James later claimed credit for convincing Palmer to permit the holiday fete. Palmer’s recollection differed. Before that time, Palmer remembered, “an impression [spread] abroad amongst the negroes throughout the State” that they would be declared free that day. “Inflamed by this belief,” Palmer told Andrew Johnson, “thousands of them left their masters’ houses, and came into our posts at different points in the State. Every nook and hiding-place at such places as Camp Nelson, Lexington . . . &c. was filled with them. They were without work or means.” Owners advertised for some, and whites hesitated to hire “slaves” for fear of prosecution under antebellum law. A committee of Louisville blacks, perhaps including James, met with Palmer to ask when the general would announce the freedom of Kentucky’s remaining slaves. Palmer remembered telling them that he lacked such authority. The blacks nevertheless went ahead with the celebration. They cited Johnson’s alleged

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p. 378
Kentucky slaves and ex-slaves, of course, did not quit that state,

Most

p. 379

July 1865

Birth Camp

p. 380

h gutman, black families, 1976

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1865 INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION OF BLACKS IN LOUISVILLE

A huge parade through the Louisville streets brought thousands of blacks to Johnson's Woods on July fourth. The superintendent of Louisville's black schools fixed the number parading at twelve thousand, but an Anglo-African correspondent figured that ten thousand persons marched and another ten thousand waited at the grove. Eight hundred black soldiers and a military band headed the parade, and another six hundred black soldiers and a second military band closed the line of march. Organized groups of Louisville blacks paraded: children from seven schools; adult members of mutual aid societies such as the Sons of Union, the United Brothers of Friendship, and the Colored Ladies Soldier's and Freedman's Aid Society; one hundred and fifty government employees; and a car filled with busy workmen, plying the saw, the plane, the hammer, and the mallet. A dinner was fed the soldiers at the grove. Then whites and blacks, including John Mercer Langston, the Virginia ex-slave who had recruited black soldiers and then worked for the Freedmen's Bureau, spoke. Palmer and Brisbin, however, spent much of the day at the Louisville fairgrounds where they heard a well-known actor turned Methodist preacher read the Declaration of Independence. Word reached Palmer that the assembled blacks—"about twenty
way to Johnson's Woods. They arrived in the late afternoon.

Just what Palmer told the assembled blacks remains in dispute. Palmer's recollection of the speech differed from the words recorded by the Anglo-African correspondent. "My countrymen," he said, "you are substantially free." The general's biographer insists that the blacks "did not hear the word 'substantially,'" shouted and sang as if at "a religious revival," and praised Palmer "as if he was god." "A powerful impulse seized Palmer," writes his biographer, "to set the negroes free," and "he raised his hand and cried, 'My countrymen, you are free, and while I com-
mand this department the military forces of the United States will defend your rights to freedom!'" Years later, Palmer reflected that at that moment "human slavery had ceased to exist." But, according to the Anglo-African correspondent, Palmer spoke "substantially as follows":

You present the strange anomaly of a people who have no home in the land of your birth, no children, no property; you are niggers, slaves, property. . . . But I tell you here to-day, fellow-citizens . . . under . . . the throne of Almighty Ruler of the Universe, under the divine influence of the immortal Declaration of our fathers, that, throughout the length and breadth of our land, slavery is dead. . . . There is no slavery

in Kentucky, unless you want to be slaves. . . . From now, and henceforth and forever, you are free! you, and your children, and your broken families. . . .

Palmer spoke glowingly of the black soldier in the war but returned to the family theme:

If any one has your children, go and get them. If they will not give them to you, steal them out at night. I do not think you will be committing any crime, nor do I believe the Almighty Ruler of the Universe will think you have committed any. (Applause.) When I want to rob you, I will not steal your babes, nor you, nor the sweat of your brows; but I will come at night when darkness hides the earth beneath its sable mantle, and rob you as you did old massa's hen-roost. (Laughter.)

The general urged the blacks to work only for wages, to quit employers unwilling to pay them, and, in general, to "help yourselves." "You must now work," he added. "You have families to support; your wives will need clothes; your children need books and an education. Freedom confers new obligations. . . ." Military orders meant little. Freedom, the blacks learned from Palmer,
A few weeks after the black Independence Day celebration, Palmer issued Order 49, which expanded Order 32 and greatly facilitated physical mobility among Kentucky's "slaves" and "ex-slaves." It permitted military officers over the state to issue "free passes" to blacks who had piled into their camps. Palmer, who defended his actions to the Secretary of War, said Order 49 was meant to protect soldiers and their families freed by military enlistment. Some, "technically" still the slaves of loyal owners, had taken advantage of Order 49, but Palmer felt obligated to protect the rest from antebellum slave laws. Blacks considered Palmer's "passes" as "their 'free papers'" and rushed to get them. The full range of their response awaits careful study, but the Western Citizen described what happened in and near Paris, Kentucky. "Great commotion" among the blacks followed their learning that passes would be issued on July 22. "Numbers" went to town that day, and the military commandant's post "was virtually converted into a general emancipation office." Passes went to all who made application. Then, the news "spread like wild fire" throughout the country," and the roads were "literally filled" with blacks "of all ages and sizes, including the lame, the halt, and the blind, in wagons, in buggies, on horseback, and on foot." They created "a perfect jam" near the military office. Guards admitted only women (probably soldiers' wives) that day. But the next day, passes with the endorsement "to go to Cincinnati" were distributed more generously. In November, Palmer estimated that about ten thousand Kentucky blacks had crossed the Ohio River, and a hostile critic said that as many as twenty thousand passes had been issued.
White opposition to Palmer’s new edict remained fierce. In late September, a Louisville grand jury indicted Palmer and Brisbin for abducting slaves and otherwise violating the Kentucky slave codes. A Louisville woman advertised her reaction to Order 49:

WARNING—Any persons hiring my negro women, Charlotte and Flora, both bright mulattoes, about 18 and 17 respectively, I will prosecute for harboring runaways, and sue for hire.

MRS. PATSEY ESTELLE

On October 12, Andrew Johnson ended martial law in Kentucky but resisted pressures to remove Palmer from his command and refused to repudiate his actions. Hostile whites grew even bolder. The Kentucky Central Railroad ordered its conductors to refuse transportation to “slaves” without written passes from their owners. A Tennessee ex-slave on his way to Cincinnati to gather his family sent there for safety during the war lost the pass given to him by his ex-owner. A Covington railroad official denied the man needed transport. The Louisville and Jeffersonville ferry was closed to blacks, and Palmer had to use force to keep the river open to blacks anxious to leave Kentucky. Palmer’s white opponents found the Kentucky courts friendly. Henry P. Reid sued the Kentucky Stage Company for transporting six “slaves” to Lexington without passes from him. The firm said they were soldiers’ wives and children and therefore free persons, but a Kentucky judge, later upheld by an appeals court, declared the March 1865 law unconstitutional. Another judge made the same judgment in sending the wife of a black soldier back to her owner. Four civil suits seeking damages up to seventy thousand dollars and the September grand-jury indictment troubled Palmer until a Louisville judge dismissed them in early December 1865 following the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment. “Thanks be to God who has given us victory,” Palmer confided to his wife; “slavery has died in Kentucky, a felon’s death, by judicial sentence.” Palmer abolished the pass system by announcing that the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment made it unnecessary. The Kentucky legislature denounced him at the very moment that Louisville blacks “extensively” signed petitions urging that body
to define the "rights, duties, and interests of the colored people within the general laws of marriage, divorce, and legitimacy." Kentucky whites blamed Palmer for all their troubles, and in 1866 a Kentucky court found him guilty of a felony for aiding Ellen, the "slave of Womack," in her escape to Indiana. Palmer, the judge said, had incited "a spirit of servile insurrection," encouraged "escape from servitude," and so disrupted the traditional labor system that rural and urban whites, "suddenly left without their accustomed and necessary help," had been "excited almost to revolution." The judge gave far too much credit to Palmer. The process he condemned had started in April 1864, when so large a percentage of Kentucky slave men had quit their owners to join the Union Army and when their wives and children trekked after them.

So severe a social upheaval as occurred in Kentucky between April 1864 and January 1866 tested the strength of slave family ties among soldiers and other slaves. Although the Kentucky Freedmen's Bureau head Clinton Fisk judged that "many persons in the State . . . treat the freedmen justly and generously," he nevertheless said that "fellow-soldiers, yet clad in the uniform of their country's army" had been "the victims of fiendish atrocity from the hands of their former masters." They had returned to their "old homes" for their wives and children and there been "knocked down, whipped, and horribly bruised, and then 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." "It is dangerous," Fisk reported, "for colored people to go into Logan, Todd, Barren, and the north part of Warren counties after their children." A wife who quit her former owner to live with her husband was followed and shot at. Jordan Finney and his two daughters lived in Walton. Both had soldier husbands. Another daughter belonged to a Boone County white. Finney
federate soldiers attacked Finney's house three times, "abused the women and children, destroyed all their clothing, bedding, and furniture to the value of $500, and finally drove them from their homes." They did not want "government niggers to live in the county." An old black who took refuge at Camp Nelson told missionaries there he had returned "home" to join his wife "but came near being shot at by her master and his neighbors who were watching for him." Two of their sons served in the Union Army. A cavalry soldier, who met his wife at Camp Nelson, said she had left their children behind because her old owner threatened her with jail or death "if she takes them away." Another soldier showed up at Camp Nelson with his head and face badly cut up. He had "returned to his old home to see his family and was set upon by some white people. . . ." The federal soldiers Elijah Burdette, David Smith, and Henry Bishop had similar troubles. Burdette's old owner had whipped his wife until she was insensible. Bishop's old owner beat the black's two daughters and then kidnapped one away from her employer to hire her to a third white. Marcus Thomas, the son of David Smith's old owner, grew angry with Smith's wife, stripped her naked, knocked her down with a chair, and then bound and whipped her. The soldier Jacob Rile and his family had to leave their former owner's Boone County place after armed whites burned Rile's house and wounded him in the heel. A Lexington physician had three visits in three days from returned Union Army black soldiers. Two had been beaten by their ex-owners, one because he had come for his children. The third caught some white men "ducking his little boy in a pond, and when he attempted to rescue the boy they fell upon him and beat him."
Historians are now beginning to understand the inner life of the slaves, the black community. Slaves clearly were not completely dehumanized by the brutalities of their existence. With a marvelous human resiliency they adapted to American realities, perhaps maintaining and adjusting some part of their African heritage, but primarily accommodating to the emergent white folk culture. The technical term for this complicated process of cultural accommodation is acculturation. In the total matrix of white-black relations in the antebellum South, no institution played more significant role in acculturizing Africans to America than did the church.

Even in the earliest years of the seventeenth century, when the vast majority of slaves were "outlandish," or recently arrived from Africa, some attempts were made to Christianize them. At first owners hesitated because they feared Christian slaves might be declared legally free, but obliging laws soon made certain that conversion did not automatically lead to emancipation. Consequently there were numerous attempts to eradicate all traces of African background and teach slaves Christian precepts that were beneficial to the slaveowner: obedience and honesty became the prime tenets of the gospel taught by the masters. In the mid-eighteenth century, beginning with the evangelistic activities of the great Virginia divine, Samuel Davies, there awakened an interest in converting slaves. Devout masters and inspired revivalists were now often earnestly concerned about the state of the African's soul. While the practical benefits of religion as a method of social control were always important, the growing numbers of Baptist and Methodist preachers and laymen after the 1760s zealously spread their message with genuine solicitude for slaves as humans with souls precious in the sight of God. If converted slaves proved to
The Baptists and Methodists, with their appeal to the poor, made the most black converts, although all the churches had slave members. Baptists and Methodists, at first mostly nonslaveowning whites, opposed slavery in their early days. Both had simple, soul-stirring, and emotional worship services replete with spirited singing, individual participation, and moving rituals like the Methodist love feasts and especially the Baptist baptismal exercises. It is conceivable that blacks could have remembered or been told of the existence of powerful river cults in Africa, and this might have made them especially susceptible to Baptist practice, but this could have had at most only marginal influence.

More likely the pietistic Christian denominations, with faiths that shaped their whole lives, were attractive to the slaves because their message and demeanor touched responsive chords of memory deep in the African past. Religion was, a Kenyan scholar has written, the “strongest element in [the African] traditional background, and exerted probably the greatest influence upon the thinking and living of the people concerned.” While most tribes believed in lesser nature gods and the ancestral spirits, practically all the African societies believed in a God who was the Supreme Being—omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent. Moreover, most African peoples conceived God to be essentially good. This supreme God was seldom approached in traditional life; instead, the lesser gods and one’s ancestors were appealed to as intermediaries. Yet in times of great distress, when deliverance or protection was sorely needed, the African peoples traditionally called upon God for comfort. This disposition to turn to God in a crisis, then, would probably have made slaves in the pathos of their American situation open to the Christian God proffered by the evangelicals. Religion in Africa suffused all life. Of course this pervasive religiosity also characterized the evangelicals, and thus the religious life-style they advocated was familiar and attractive to the African-born slaves.
One of the indispensable roles religion plays is to provide a sense of meaning and purpose for encountered dilemmas. In African traditional society, there were no irreligious persons. The land, village, ancestors, natural objects, all were molded by religious conceptions into a spiritualized environment. One's roots, security, and sense of existence were tied to this corporate religious society. The cultural shock experienced by the transplanted Africans was intensified precisely because removal put them out of contact with the nature gods and ancestral spirits to whom they normally appealed for support and survival. Since white owners often segregated slaves from their tribal groups, prohibited native languages, and systematically tried to extinguish any lingering remnants of African culture, imported blacks clearly suffered religious deprivation which was all the more shattering because of its cultural significance. While the African slaves maintained portions of their traditional religion, by a process of transference they came to accept the Christian God as the American counterpart of their traditional Supreme Being. But those far more numerous slaves born in America, removed from the African heritage and after about 1800 often surrounded by a pietistic Christian community, assimilated more completely the new religious culture. The result of this acculturation was a remarkably widespread and profound black Christianity in the South.

In the Bluegrass State slaves and master commonly came to church together and entered the same doorway. If the church had a gallery or balcony, the blacks worshipped there. In the absence of a balcony, the slaves sat at the rear of the church, where several pews were reserved for them. One slave remembered that in her local Methodist church, a gate separated the races. Whites and blacks heard the same sermons, mingled their appreciative "amens," sang the same hymns, took communion and were often baptized together, welcomed new members, and mutually underwent stringent church discipline. At death they were buried in the same cemetery. Blacks constituted a sizable percentage of church membership throughout the antebellum South; in fact, they often outnumbered the whites in Baptist churches.
Historians have been slow to recognize the extent to which blacks and whites integrated religious activities in the antebellum South. Slave autobiographies and interviews often speak of whites reading the Bible to them on Sunday afternoons and of Sunday schools being established on the larger plantations and in the towns. A Kentuckian recorded in her diary, "A considerable interest on the subject of religion is manifest among the negroes, several have joined may they be kept by the power of God unto Salvation. The redemption of the soul is precious." This observation revealed a not atypical earnestness. In regions where there was a substantial black population, masters often built small chapels or "praise houses" where the blacks worshiped, usually in the presence of one or more whites, and developed surprising autonomy.

Even though there were black ministers who often preached with great effectiveness to mixed congregations and despite black deacons, elders, and association delegates, blacks were not accorded complete equality. Nevertheless, the degree of black participation was substantial. In an 1821 dispute that disrupted a Kentucky Baptist church, voting Negro members were decisive in settling the ministerial controversy. Forty years earlier, black members of the Clear Creek Baptist Church had voted in the choice of a minister. Many white observers noted the depth and conviction of black Christians, and there are accounts of slaves traveling for miles to crowd into churches. It is hard to escape the conclusion that for such black believers, Christian faith was a central part of their culture. Even more emphatic are the stories of black Christians converting their owners.
There is perhaps no more arresting illustration of the extent to which blacks accommodated to the pietistic Protestantism of the Old South than that given by the extensive records on church discipline. The three dominant churches in Kentucky and in the South as a whole—Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian—had careful institutional machinery for watching over their members and correcting or punishing those who did wrong. Church discipline occupied an enormous amount of time and energy, but the result was a religious life that extended far beyond the formal sermons and actual church structures into every corner of personal life. A reading of the church records for any denomination reveals that slaves were accorded the same strict moral oversight. As with white members, slaves were called to account for drunkenness, profanity, inatttendance at church, quarreling, adultery, and heresy. They were not held as rigidly accountable, but the difference was only a matter of degree.

Such mutual discipline says much about how whites viewed slaves, and how slaves viewed themselves. Slaves were very seldom forced to attend the white-dominated church. They voluntarily came and submitted to strict codes of behavior. Slaves were not fawning, servile Christians; rather they participated actively in the church courts, bearing testimony not only about the moral failings of fellow slaves but also—at least on some occasions—of ruthless slaveowners. Blacks in bondage were expected to conform spiritually to the same codes as whites. That they were frequently upbraided for adultery, like white transgressors, shows that slave marriage was expected even if it was extralegal. Indeed, Christianiry was a main prop supporting the black family in a legal situation that denied it legitimacy. Whites and blacks found religious as well as economic and psycho-logical justification for the sanctity of slave marriages and stable families, and owners were hesitant to transgress the moral code in the absence of dire economic pressure. The slave trade, miscegenation, and black promiscuity were restrained by the pietistic principles of southern society. Slavery paradoxically was an immoral socioeconomic institution moderated by moral constraints. In general, a wide reading of church and synod minutes illustrates a remarkable community of religious beliefs, one that included both races under the sacred canopy of evangelical Protestantism. All conformed to identical moral expectations, perhaps the only place in southern society where bond and free so nearly met as equals. It is no wonder slaves found church participation meaningful, for it bestowed upon them their safest symbol of self-respect and provided a public arena for moral growth and self-improvement.
Precisely because religion offered to the slave the clearest glimpse of his own worth and made manifest the value of striving to overcome the temptations and frustrations of this world, it was potentially subversive of the institution of slavery. Whites and blacks recognized this, and much of the dynamics of southern worship reflected their awareness. White religious leaders therefore took pains to control both the times of black worship and the actual theology preached. Whites and blacks worshipping together developed naturally as a matter of convenience, but quickly biracial services were deemed obligatory as a means of controlling who presented the gospel to the slaves. No white clergyman wanted a separate, independent black church to form. They feared the rebellious implications of such a development and earnestly felt that black ignorance, superstition, and romantic emotionality would soon corrupt the tenets of white Christianity. The Reverend C. C. Jones, for example, in his manual to whites on how to instruct slaves in religion, argued that biracial services tend "to increase subordination. If blacks were kept dependent upon whites for their religious sustenance, no true black leaders would develop.

This concern did not prevent special services for the black members on Sunday afternoons or other specified times, but the white minister conducted the services. If the black members were numerous enough to crowd the church, then an adjunct black church would be constructed, but its subordination to the sister white body was explicit. The Baptist church at Stamping Ground, Kentucky, had such a large black membership that in October 1840 several Negroes were appointed to oversee any disorder that might arise. This seems to have accentuated a feeling of separateness among the slaves, for following this date they held separate meetings, "prayed, preached, and exhorted" at their own services, received members and exercised strict discipline, all the while presided over by the white moderator and clerk of the church. Despite this superintendence, black religious autonomy and black consciousness grew. By 1850 blacks were raising money to build a separate house of worship, and by 1855 they had successfully completed a comfortable structure. Then the Baptist church at Stamping
Slave Churches Had a Degree of Self-Government

John B. Boles, Religion in Antebellum Ky, 1976

Although most black congregations did not become separate and fully independent until after 1865, the scattered African branches of white churches played a significant role in the black community. Slaves practiced a degree of self-government, they developed black leaders and their own religious expertise, and they learned to depend upon themselves for spiritual improvement. Such avenues for leadership development and the creation of black religious communities vastly expanded the psychic living space of slaves. Black Christian faith succeeded in part in preventing the institution of slavery from becoming the psychologically crippling system it might have been otherwise.

Whites Used Theology to Control Blacks

John B. Boles, Religion in Antebellum Ky, 1976

The white clergy were not content simply to monitor the physical setting of worship services for slaves; they also attempted to circumscribe the actual theology preached and heard. Scripture often speaks of the value of persons, of doing unto others as one would be done unto, of being freed from the slavery of sin, of knowing the truth and thereby being set free. From the slaveowner’s perspective, the Bible must be interpreted narrowly, literally, and legally to avoid its subversive implications. However, this literalism was not peculiar to race relations; it was the general mode of scriptural interpretation in the antebellum South. Slaveowners and cooperative clergy also sought to make Christianity practical and supportive of the peculiar institution. The first generation of ministers—approximately until 1800—often expressed antislavery sentiments. Then following the abortive Gabriel Revolt of 1800 in Virginia and culminating with Nat Turner’s insurrection in 1831, white ministers became increasingly cautious. Over and over the slave narratives tell of white preachers minimizing the grander themes of salvation, justification, and regeneration and instead pronouncing with mechanical regularity the importance of obeying their masters. Even those white clergy morally committed to saving the souls of blacks, those who rose above social control to preach the joy of faith, nevertheless found themselves pressed to censor their sermons to support the status quo.
Blacks were allowed secondary leadership roles by the white religious institutions. The most important of these roles was that of the local black preacher, probably the most significant position open to slaves. No doubt many black preachers hewed to the self-serving gospel prescribed by the whites, but most, especially when beyond the hearing of white supervisors, contributed to the development of a distinct black Christianity. Slave marriages and deaths were often solemnized by slave ministers. The black preacher was a common figure in antebellum Kentucky. Even the famous Traveling Church included among its members a black preacher, Uncle Peter. He subsequently purchased his freedom and that of his wife, moved to Lexington, and established the thriving First African Baptist Church. At his death the church had some three hundred members. Later there were black ministers in the Baptist, Disciples of Christ, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches and black lay leaders renowned for their piety in the Catholic and Episcopal churches.

There are several indications that the institution of slavery was less harsh in Kentucky than in other southern states. The Reverend Josiah Henson, the famous prototype for Harriet Beecher Stowe’s Uncle Tom, recorded in his autobiography that upon being moved from Maryland to the Bluegrass State in 1825, he found that “In Ken-

In Kentucky, the opportunities of attending the preaching of whites, as well as of blacks, were more numerous, and partly by attending them, and the camp-meetings which occurred from time to time, and partly from studying carefully my own heart,” Henson decided to begin preaching. He soon was authorized to preach by the Quarterly Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, since “no great amount of theological knowledge” was necessary for one to become a local Methodist minister. As another slave preacher remarked, “I am no mathematician, no biologist, neither grammarian, but when it comes to handling the Bible I knocks down verbs, breaks up prepositions and jumps over adjectives . . . I am a God sent man.”

Black preachers were clearly natural leaders, men of substantial ability, forceful personality, and possessors of what we might today call stage presence. They were figures of real importance to their black communities, the one-of-their-own whom slaves looked up to for guidance and leadership. One example will illustrate this relationship. The Reverend Lewis Craig, who died in 1847, had owned the Reverend George DuPuy, black minister of the Pleasant Green Baptist Church in Lexington. When Craig’s will was finally probated, his property, including George DuPuy, was listed for sale. DuPuy’s loyal and distraught congregation importuned the minister of the sister white church to help them purchase their preacher’s freedom. The white deacons agreed to buy DuPuy for the black congregation and allow them to reimburse the cost on an installment basis. The deal was struck, and even though DuPuy brought $830, the black congregation had saved their minister from the slave trade; each Monday they made a small repayment to the white church. Such sacrificial loyalty indicates the bond between black preachers and their flock.
As the foregoing suggests, black ministers were allowed special but limited privileges within the slave society. There are examples of black exhorters being given permission to preach even where there were no whites and to travel unmolested. Such freedom was minimal, but it was unusual for blacks in the antebellum South. In 1856 one minister in Kentucky was given the following pass: "Tom is my slave, and has permission to go to Louisville for two or three weeks and return after he has made his visit. Tom is a preacher of the reformed Baptist Church, and has always been a faithful servant." A young slave named Daniel, who in 1818 said he wished "to exercise a publick gift" of preaching, was authorized by his white church to "exercise his gift" at stated times, although whites had to be present. Later he was given permission to preach in the white meetinghouse to both races on the first and third Sundays of the month, unless a white minister was present. Soon he was allowed to preach to his own race at any time when no white minister was available, but he was prevented from holding night meetings. The eminent London Ferrill, a free black minister, made the First African Baptist Church in Lexington, with 1,820 members in 1854, the largest church in Kentucky. It was an independent black church, having no affiliation with any white church that supervised its activities.

Ferrill's church was not unique. In addition to black churches adjunct to parent white churches, on the eve of the Civil War there were in Kentucky seventeen independent black Baptist churches, having an aggregate membership of 5,737. Many of these members were probably free Negroes, but a substantial number were slaves. There were black churches of other denominations as well—Louisville had a total of nine African churches in 1860. Sir Charles Lyell, the geologist, visited a black Methodist church there in 1846 which had a congregation of 400 in a large, gas-lit building. Perhaps because of the inhibiting presence of the distinguished visitor, the sermon was only occasionally punctuated with "amens" and other heartfelt signs of approval. According to Lyell, the "preacher was a full black, spoke good English, and quoted Scripture well." And in a rather abstract discourse, he "spoke of our ancestors in the garden of Eden in a manner that left no doubt of his agreeing . . . that we all came from one pair."
NEW ENG. VISITOR DESCRIBES MID-1850 BLACK CHURCH SERVICE IN LOUISVILLE

John B. Boles, Religion in Antebellum Ky., 1976

Probably more typical of black worship was that described in the mid-1850s by a New England visitor to a Louisville African church: "The meeting commences with singing, through the whole congregation. Louder and louder still were their devotions—and oh! what music, what devotion, what streaming eyes, and throbbing hearts; my blood ran quick in my veins, and quicker still. . . . It seems as though the roof would rise from the walls, and some of them would go up, soul and body both."

ANTEBELLUM PREACHER, PETER COTTON, OF MAYSVILLE, 1820--

John B. Boles, Religion in Antebellum Ky., 1976

Although there were stereotyped figures, like the minister Peter Cotton who had biblical texts embroidered on his coat so he literally could be clothed in righteousness, no one better illustrates the opportunities and restrictions of the slave preacher than the Reverend Elisha Green of Maysville, Kentucky. As a child in Bourbon County in the 1820s, Green attended surreptitious black religious meetings, once barely escaping the patrollers who arrived to disrupt the service. Sometimes the night services were protected by taut grapevines stretched across the roads, which would knock the mounted patrollers to the ground. Such sermons as Green heard were instrumental in his conversion, which occurred several years later while he was plowing in Mason County.

Shortly afterwards he was baptized. About this time he was hired to work in a store in Maysville. He learned simple mathematics by having to weigh and count goods in the store, and the storeowner's young daughter taught him to read.

Simultaneously for years he was sexton of the Maysville Baptist Church, leading black congregations in public to the white owner, the storekeeper, to license Green to preach. Thus the Maysville Baptist Church on May 10, 1845, unanimously "Resolved, That Elisha Green, the property of John P. Dobbins 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." Subsequently Green was ordained.

From that time forward Green preached widely throughout northern and central Kentucky, sometimes being opposed but always finding white support. Soon he was minister of the African Baptist church at Paris, where the blacks had formed their own church. The rules for the black church clearly made it subject to the supervision of the whites, and legally the African church was subordinate to the white church. But even within that limited sphere, slave members probably found the greatest amount of freedom and autonomy possible in a slave culture. One suspects the white supervision over the everyday life of the church was minimal, allowing Green and his slave congregation even greater freedom to carry on the work of the Lord.
Yet there was still another dimension to the religious life of slaves, one further removed from both the white churches and the adjacent black churches with black ministers. Despite or because of their relative freedom to develop a religious subculture of their own in scattered African churches and to worship and participate in white religious services throughout the region, slaves ultimately found their religious needs unfulfilled by such a secondhand faith. In secret religious meetings held at night in urban hideaways, slave cabins, or in secluded forest clearings, where they were free from white supervision, free to worship as they pleased, and free to sing their spirituals, slaves developed a distinct black Christian culture whose influence is still felt today in black churches. This faith, with possibly an admixture of vague Africanisms, was a genuine black folk religion that ministered to slaves in their peculiar unfree status in the land of the free. In it slaves found a modicum of freedom, the more treasured and powerful because it was their own creation.

Repeatedly slaves in their autobiographies and interviews tell of their efforts to escape the religious supervision of the whites. When, for example, the tolling each night at 10 o'clock of the bell on the Fourth Street Presbyterian Church in Louisville signaled that all slaves had to be home and accounted for, on pain of receiving fifteen lashes and being jailed the rest of the night, the white church must have symbolized degrading repressment at least as much as genuine solicitude for the slaves' eternal souls. Slaves often learned only the barest rudiments of the Christian gospel from the white minister and the black preachers speaking under the watchful eye of whites. As one ex-slave recalled, "The biggest thing I heard them preach about was, 'Servants...obey your mistress and master.' They would tell them not to steal. Very few of them told you about religion." Having heard primarily a self-serving echo of the Christian message addressed to them from ministers in formal settings, slaves desired to hear the heart of the gospel: themes of love, salvation, regeneration, and heaven. As a result, slaves throughout the region conspired to meet secretly so, independent of the cramping supervision of whites, they could discover the hope and ecstasy of pietistic Protestantism. This was precisely what whites did not want—blacks developing strong leaders, organizational skills, and a possible religious rationale for rebellion. But the underground black religious services thrived nevertheless.

Often on Sunday evenings slaves slipped away to appointed meetings. In every region they often used one curious technique which they believed would guarantee the secrecy of their worship. Whenever they met indoors, they would turn upside down on the floor a kettle, cooking pot, or wash pot to "catch" the sound of their singing and praising. Sometimes the pot would be placed in the center of the floor, at other times near the door; usually it was slightly tipped on one edge to allow the sound to rush under. This device was used throughout the South, and its origin is unclear. But believing themselves safe in the depths of forests or protected by the pot from roaming white patrollers, slaves in these secret services developed their own form of Christian worship and their own theological emphases. Their leader was usually a slave who either could read the Bible or had learned substantial portions of it from public church services or a pious owner. Numerous masters and mistresses read the Scriptures to their slaves, and obviously since blacks attended most white churches, they had to hear many sermons or substantial portions of many sermons which elaborated the full gospel. The black Christianity that emerged was remarkably biblical, though refracted through the life experience of the slaves.
The Old Testament God and the New Testament Jesus are similar in many ways; both are revealed to be remarkably involved with people. Black Christians strongly emphasized a personal relationship between the divine and the believer. God and Jesus could be one’s intimate friends, helpmates in times of trouble. Jesus in the role of the Suffering Servant was most attractive to slaves. The Old Testament story of God’s chosen people who were enslaved, brutally mistreated, dispersed, and yet ultimately under the protection and guidance of the Almighty was also extremely attractive to slaves, who closely identified their plight with that of the ancient Hebrews. In Jesus slaves found a personal deliverer and in their self-identification with the epic of the Hebrews they discovered self-respect and moral superiority. So even though there was a powerful Christological emphasis within black Christianity, it simultaneously nurtured moving Old Testament analogies. A judging God and a personal savior were equal parts of the slave theology. The rare rebels like Nat Turner and the many long-suffering blacks of the type William Faulkner has portrayed were both legitimate heirs of slave Christianity.

From the Old Testament lessons, slaves accepted God’s rule over the world and man’s essential sinfulness; from their New Testament belief in a personal savior came their faith in Jesus Christ. They maintained the paradox of an omnipotent and omniscient God awesomely mighty and filled with splendor, and a world filled with sin, tragedy, inhumanity, slavery, and death. They recognized their world was the same as Abraham’s. Yet Jesus was sent by God as a means of overcoming the world, and many slaves profoundly realized the reconciliation and freedom offered by the New Testament Jesus.

In the person of Jesus they found forgiveness in the sight of God, and this miracle brought them not only awe but even more important, self-respect and hope. Forgiven, they were at one with God and thus impervious ultimately to the trials of this world. One slave preacher, being painfully whipped by slave patrollers, said as the blows fell, “Jesus Christ suffered for righteousness’ sake, so kin I.” Forgiven and reconciled with God, they believed themselves morally and spiritually superior to their white masters. As Frederick Douglass remarked, “Slaveholders may sometimes have confidence in the piety of some of their slaves, but slaves seldom have confidence in the piety of their masters.” The image of God’s chosen people Israel as suffering but still chosen...
The best-known aspect of slave Christianity was the black spirituals, those haunting melodies which still have the power to move congregations. Spirituals represent a unique contribution to American culture, incorporating African rhythms and tonal patterns with evangelical Protestantism. The vocabulary and stories are biblical—Moses, Ole Pharaoh, Joshua, Jesus—and the sentiment is both Christian and human: the life experience of the slaves made its impress on every spiritual. Song was as much a part of the slaves’ life as sadness and suffering, and singing was a universal mode of expression. As an aged ex-slave remarked, “colored folks . . . certainly got the harp in their mouths.” The words to spirituals were seldom written; individual songs were constantly subject to improvisation, evolution, and particularization. A remarkable event, a new birth, a sudden storm would be incorporated into songs, with the entire group suggesting and approving the lyrical innovations made by a leader. Spirituals were community efforts, speaking of otherworldly ideals and this world’s realities. They were first and foremost religious songs, portraying God’s way for a suffering people who would persist and triumph ultimately in heaven. In one sense they were other-worldly, but in a more accurate sense they ministered to the heartfelt needs of a people who shouldered the heavy burdens of this world.

The themes of black spirituals paralleled those of black theology. Many spoke of the Old Testament God who watched over his people, the enslaved Hebrews, and eventually delivered them from their slavery. He was a God who punished his enemies—“Joshua Fit de Battle of Jericho”—who gave rest to the heavy laden—“Mos’ Done Toilin’ Here”—who rescued his people from bondage—“Go Down, Moses.” In addition to this black identification with the Children of Israel, there were strong New Testament emphases: songs of joy about the baby Jesus, songs of sorrow about the crucifixion, and many songs about heaven, where there was freedom from the sorrows of this world, families were united, justice was observed. Because of this longing for Judgment Day and heaven, many spirituals (and black sermons) have a pronounced apocalyptic tone. But these were primarily sacred songs, not subtle calls for insurrection. Again they offered slaves a feeling of moral superiority through equating themselves with the Children of Israel; slaves via spirituals could identify themselves with God’s plan that those who suffered unjustly would eventually be rewarded.

Some commentators have described slave religion as a “home base for revolution” and seen every secret religious meeting as a plotting session for rebellion, every lyric of “steal away, steal away to Jesus” as a call to escape to the North. There is no denying that there were religious motivations or at least rhetoric behind the Gabriel, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner revolts, but these events, though based on a rationale compatible with the Old Testament emphasis of black Christianity, seem most atypical.

It has become fashionable to argue that black religion was inherently radical in a secular sense, that its practitioners were teaching this-worldly militance under the guise of religious terminology. Frederick Douglass’s apt comment is often quoted: “A keen observer might have detected in our repeated singing of ‘O Canaan, sweet Canaan, I am bound for the land of Canaan,’ something more than a hope of reaching heaven. We meant to reach the North, and the North was our Canaan.” But Douglass makes clear that he and his coconspirators had already made the momentous decision to escape. Few slaves ever seriously planned to escape to the North, few rebelled as openly and forthrightly as Douglass. He himself admitted that his actions “distinguished me among my servile brethren.” For most slaves, rebellion was internalized. Thus while to Douglass, having plunged into a plot to flee to freedom, the spiritual refrain “Run to Jesus, shun the danger. I don’t expect to stay. Much longer here,” meant “a speedy pilgrimage to a free state,” he also recognized that “on the lips of some it meant the expectation of a speedy summons to a world of spirits.”
The submission to bondage was, in many instances, merely a conscious way of coping with the exigencies of life in a slave society. Submission was not total but controlled; it reflected the limited possibilities for overt action and the kind of sublimated moral rebellion permissible. For the huge majority of slaves, their folk Christianity provided them both a spiritual release and a spiritual victory. They could inwardly repudiate the system and thus steel themselves to survive it. This more subtle, more profound type of spiritual freedom made their Christianity the most significant aspect of slave culture and effectively defused the potential for insurrection. Repeatedly the narratives tell of slaves having their souls "freed." One aged ex-slave even remarked that she often heard her mother say, "I am so glad I am free." I did not know then what she was talking about. I thought she meant freedom from slavery." It was precisely this belief that one was in the ultimate sense "free" that allowed countless slaves to persevere so eloquently. In ways masters never suspected, black Christianity prevented slave uprisings.

It has become fashionable to argue that black religion was inherently radical in a secular sense, that its practitioners were preaching this-worldly militance under the guise of religious terminology. Frederick Douglass's apt comment is often quoted: "A keen observer might have detected in our repeated singing of 'O Canaan, sweet Canaan, I am bound for the land of Canaan,' something more than a hope of reaching heaven. We meant to reach the North, and the North was our Canaan." But Douglass makes clear that he and his coconspirators had already made the momentous decision to escape. Few slaves ever seriously planned to escape to the North, few rebelled as openly and forthrightly as Douglass. He himself admitted that his actions "distinguished me among my servile brethren." For most slaves, rebellion was internalized. Thus while to Douglass, having plunged into a plot to flee to freedom, the spiritual refrain "Run to Jesus, shun the danger. I don't expect to stay/Much longer here," meant "a speedy pilgrimage to a free state," he also recognized that "on the lips of some it meant the expectation of a
Another exaggerated segment of slave culture has been the role of superstition and “trick doctors” or conjurers. Some have emphasized these as Africanisms, strange rites and beliefs that were wedded to Christian doctrines to produce a syncretistic black Christianity. There were few conjurers, and their influence was largely confined to the largest, most isolated plantations in limited portions of the South before the end of the slave trade in 1808. Some Africanisms no doubt survived, perhaps most vividly in the music of the spirituals and such customs as the turned-up pot used to muffle sounds. Possibly the attraction of the personal emphasis of the Baptists and Methodists was related to tribal beliefs in individualized spirits. But most of the superstitions held by slaves—ghosts, haunted houses, the “signs,” evil spirits, witches—were also common to Anglo-Saxon culture. Rural, uneducated whites and blacks probably shared such superstitions. To label most slave superstitions tenacious Africanisms then seems to be stretching analysis.
"With the Ohio River as a border offering freedom across her banks, the real possibility of escape via the underground railroad forced many Kentucky slaveowners to ameliorate the kind of abuses that existed in the Deep South. The mountainous terrain in the east, the river cities like Louisville (and Cincinnati across the river) in which slaves could find varied occupations and blend in which the free blacks, the prevalence of small farmers in the southern counties, all contributed to Kentucky's avoiding the kind of dictatorial slave regime that often characterized other sections."

David Rice's opposition to slavery was widely known before he was elected to the convention that wrote Kentucky's first state constitution in 1792. Three months before the convention met in May, he had published *Slavery Inconsistent with Justice and Good Policy*, the first antislavery publication west of the Appalachians. As Rice, tall, slender, and dignified, gave his earnest oration before the assembled delegates, many were doubtlessly moved by the logic and passion of his words. Nevertheless, slaveholders dominated the convention, and the infamous Article IX passed, placing Kentucky's slavery on a firm legal foundation. Rice's pamphlet and speech, however, did articulate the views of others of several faiths, and his influence led Kentucky Presbyterians to sustain a moderate emancipatory stance for several years before pressure from the slaveholding society forced a fateful retreat from principle.
The thesis of Rice's pamphlet was that slavery was morally and practically wrong because it was contrary both to justice and to sound policy. He argued that the slave was "a rational creature reduced by the power of legislation to the state of a brute, and thereby deprived of every privilege of humanity." If this were not enough to convince fence-straddlers of the evil of slavery, Rice went on to describe the crimes perpetrated against slaves, showing how they were the helpless victims of sexual outrages, beatings, and so on. Then he turned to his practical arguments, asking whether it was "good policy to keep a numerous, a growing body of people among us, who add no strength to us in time of war; who are under the strongest temptations to join an enemy, ... who will count so many against us in an hour of danger and distress." And he made clear that slaves had absolutely no reason to trust and defend those who daily betrayed their most sacred rights. In fact, slavery was "a standing monument of the tyranny and inconsistency of human governments." Such inconsistency between national principles and local practice harmed American prestige abroad and undermined domestic confidence.

Though in his listing of the evils of slavery Rice advocated the rights of blacks, a substantial portion of his attack on slavery was grounded in his belief that it harmed the white society. "Slavery naturally tends to sap the foundations of moral, and consequently of political virtue," he wrote, "and virtue is absolutely necessary for the happiness and prosperity of a free people. Slavery produces idleness; and idleness is the nurse of vice." Such idleness also lessened "national prosperity." In addition, the habit of control to which the master is addicted "puffs up the mind with pride" and "tends to destroy all sense of justice and equity." Slavery was manifestly inconsistent with good policy.
Rice's impassioned speech in 1792 was but the beginning of Presbyterian efforts to end slavery in Kentucky. Yet the conservative, gradualist nature of their program must be emphasized. Like many others living in the warm afterglow of the Revolution's liberalism, the Presbyterians honestly believed slavery was a dying institution. They aimed both to ameliorate the slaves' condition now and to prepare them for their eventual life of freedom. It was in this context that the Transylvania Presbytery in 1794 ordered that slaveholders "shall teach every slave not above the age of fifteen years to read the word of God and give them such education as may prepare them for the enjoyment of freedom, and shall instruct such slaves of the above description, and all others under their care, as far as they can find it practicable in the principles and precepts of the Christian religion." The following year, the Transylvania Presbytery sent to the General Assembly, their national body, queries regarding the propriety of emancipationists' remaining in fellowship with slaveholders. The General Assembly, fearing disruption of the denomination, urged a spirit of forbearance. It warned of "differences of opinion" that "threatened divisions which may have the most ruinous tendency."

By 1796 Kentucky Presbyterians had made the fatal compromise which throughout the South emasculated religious abolitionism. Petitions and queries having again been brought to it, the Transylvania Presbytery, pressured from above by the General Assembly and more immediately pressured from below by local public opinion, adopted the following resolution:

That although the Presbytery are fully convinced of the great evil of slavery; yet they view the final remedy as alone belonging to the civil powers; and also do not think that they have sufficient authority from the word of God to make it a term of church communion. They, therefore, leave it to the conscience of the brethren to act as they may think proper; earnestly recommending to the people under their care to emancipate such of their slaves as they may think fit subjects of liberty; and that they also take every possible measure, by teaching their young slaves to read and giving them such other instruction as may be in their power, to prepare them for the enjoyment of liberty, an event which they contemplate with the greatest pleasure, and which they hope, will be accomplished as soon as the nature of things will admit.

By abdicating ultimate responsibility to the civil government, by leaving the moral issue to individual conscience, and by refusing to make emancipation a matter of discipline or communion, the Presbyterians were left with an emancipatory policy in the abstract and a de facto defense of the status quo. The next year the presbytery, in
In a slave society reform was limited by the recognition of reality. Ironically David Rice indicated the depth of the problem in a letter to a prominent member of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery: "I find but few, who will undertake to justify slavery, or defend it on moral principles; but many, who endeavour to excuse themselves, lay the blame on others, and on the difficulties attending the emancipation of slaves. Interest, all powerful interest, closes the eyes and hardens the heart to a great degree: it gives the least plausible pretense the force of the strongest arguments." Even Rice himself, fearful of what might happen to his slaves if they were emancipated in a racist world, never did so, and at his death in 1816 willed them to his daughter.

BACKGROUND OF METHODIST CHURCH ATTITUDE TOWARD SLAVERY: laws that affected early Kentucky

As early as 1780 the Methodist church had declared slavery 'contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society.' All Methodist ministers were required to free their slaves (1784), but most laymen did not free their slaves if they had any (methodism was a poor man's religion). "Beginning in 1796 the Discipline's rules against slaveholding were progressively weakened." After 1796 ministers were no longer required to free their slaves if circumstances or laws of states made it difficult. "... by 1808 the Methodist retreat on emancipation was virtually completed."
Since the first Methodist circuits were not established in Kentucky until 1786, and since not until the Great Revival was Methodism of much influence in Kentucky, Methodist views on slavery there were predetermined by the events outlined above. Nevertheless, many individual Methodist ministers maintained their commitment to abolitionism despite the Discipline's revisions. The Reverend John Ray, active in the state in the mid-1790s, "would seldom lodge at the house of a slaveholder... when invited home with a stranger, his prompt interrogatory would be: 'Have you any Negroes?" He asked the same question of all prospective Methodist preachers. Benjamin Lakin, another itinerant, two decades later bemoaned "the curse of Negro slavery" and confided to his journal, "If there is justice in the universe, does not the blood of these people cry for vengeance, and will not God soon avenge their cause on their oppressors?" Peter Cartwright was an outspoken critic of slavery and eventually left Kentucky for Illinois because he found the slaveholding society repugnant to his principles and restrictive of his activities.

The majority of Kentucky Baptists had emigrated from Virginia and kept up a ministerial correspondence with their colleagues in the Old Dominion. Kentucky Baptists were then soon aware of the resolution passed by the Virginia Baptists in the General Committee of April 1789: "Resolved, that slavery is a violent deprivation of the rights of nature, and inconsistent with a Republican Government, and therefore recommend it to our brethren, to make use of every legal measure to extirpate this horrid evil from the land, and pray Almighty God that our honorable legislature, may have it in their power to proclaim the great jubilee, consistent with the principles of good policy." Although the conservative nature of this statement is indicated by the last phrase, antislavery ideas took root among Kentucky Baptists who had sent messengers to the Virginia meeting.
OPPOSITION OF ROLLING FORK BAPTIST CHURCH (NELSON CO) TO SLAVERY IN 1789

Hardly had the abolitionist sentiment reached Kentucky before the Rolling Fork Baptist Church, in Nelson County, sent a query to the Salem Association convening in early October 1789. "Is it lawful in the sight of God," it asked, "for a member of Christ's Church to keep his fellow creature in perpetual slavery?" The association, recognizing the controversial nature of the query, cautiously replied: "The Association judges it improper to enter into so important and critical a matter, at present." Rolling Fork, led by Joshua Carman, an emancipationist, was dismayed by this response. After several years of agitation within the Salem Association, Rolling Fork withdrew from the association in 1796 and became for a few years an independent emancipatory church.

Mill Creek Church had also withdrawn from the Salem Association in 1796 for the same reasons. Two years earlier Josiah Dodge, another Baptist emancipationist, along with Joshua Carman had persuaded several members of the Cox's Creek, Cedar Creek, and Lick Creek Baptist churches also to withdraw from communion with slaveholders, and the combined members constituted a new church near Bardstown about 1794, probably the first emancipatory church organized in Kentucky. Within a few years this small group of independent churches attracted other Baptist emancipationists, men such as David Barrow, the venerable William Hickman, and the publicist Carter Tarrant. The few antislavery proponents constantly faced opposition and frustration, but they kept their position alive in Kentucky.

BAPTIST CLERGY WERE FAR MORE LIBERAL THAN WHITE LAITY (1791)

Often the clergy were far more liberal in their views than were the laity. For example, the Elkhorn Baptist Association in August 1791 appointed a committee of three (all of whom were emancipationists) to draw up a report on slavery. The report, emphatically antislavery, was approved by those at the association meeting, but the individual churches constituting the association were displeased by the report. An extra session of the association was called to consider the matter, and the association, bowing to popular pressure, officially disapproved the "memorial" on "the Abolition of Slavery."
The gradual withdrawal of antislavery Baptists into a separate organization must be seen in the context of bitter opposition. While several individual congregations followed the lead of abolitionist ministers, the associations which were made up of the bulk of Baptist congregations were pressured into support of the status quo. For that reason the Elkhorn Association in August 1805, after receiving numerous queries regarding slavery, finally announced that "This Association Judges it improper for ministers Churches or Association to meddle with emancipation from slavery or any other political Subject and as such we advise ministers and Churches to have nothing to do therewith in their religious Capacities." This was a public rebuke to those who entertained an antislavery position, and some individuals voluntarily withdrew from the association. That same year the North District Association subjected David Barrow to a harsh questioning of his views, and when many of the churches were unsatisfied with his answers, he was charged in 1806 with "preaching the doctrines of emancipation to the hurt and injury of the brotherhood." When Barrow refused to compromise his principles, he was excluded from membership by the North District Association.

The conservative pressure for avoiding all controversial political topics like slavery was intense. Ministers such as Carter Tarrant (1806) and William Hickman (1807) were forced to resign from their churches and, in the words of Tarrant, were "hunted and driven from [our] obscure retreats, (by a kind of crusading inquisition)." Moreover, antislavery ministers were ostracized by the majority. The Salt River Church asked its association for advice: "Is it consistent with good order for Baptist Churches of our union to invite those preachers to preach among us, that have withdrawn from among us, on account of slavery?" The answer it received was: "It is considered imprudent (under present state of things) to intermeddle therewith." It was such associational ostracism and repression which forced Baptist emancipationists to form separate antislavery churches. By so doing they became isolated, their views were quarantined, and their influence on the rest of society effectively limited. But as an autonomous association of abolitionist Baptists, they have been often cited as evidence of the strength of antislavery opinion among early Kentucky Baptists. Their courageous survival does indicate the tenacity of their principles, but more importantly, their
Evicted from membership in the existing Baptist associations, expelled from their membership (and sometimes pastorates) in the existing churches, the Baptist advocates of antislavery met in conference in August 1807 to consider their future. Eleven ministers and nineteen laymen were present and, in response to various queries, made firm their commitment to ending slavery. The following month they met again and organized themselves into a society with the unlikely name of “The Baptized Licking-Locust Association, Friends of Humanity.” (Licking-Locust was an antislavery Baptist church near the Ohio River.) Made up mostly of churches in the northeastern part of Kentucky, they differed from other Baptists only in their views on slavery. The tenor of their statements of principle betrays their essential conservative nature and suggests the kind of conservative arguments they faced. Their letter to the churches in union with them, written September 1807, summarizes their position against slavery and shows how unjustly they perceived themselves to have been treated by the Baptist establishment. Tarrant’s pamphlet *Substance of a Discourse Delivered in . . . Versailles . . . 1806* carefully refuted the charges against them by showing that they neither usurped the civil power nor tempted slaves to rebellion.

The Baptized Licking-Locust Association, Friends of Humanity, had been in existence only a year when they resolved “that the present mode of Associations or confederation of churches was unscriptural, and ought to be laid aside.” They then organized themselves into a more secular group, the Kentucky Abolition Society. The emancipatory Baptist churches continued as autonomous bodies, but their overt antislavery activities were now channeled through the Abolition Society. In 1811 David Benedict, who traveled to Kentucky in pursuit of his research, computed that while there were 17,511 Baptists in Kentucky, only twelve churches, twelve ministers, and 300 laymen were emancipationists. And as Benedict concluded, “there is such a strong current against the emancipation of slaves, and custom, covetousness, indolence, and ambition, find so many arguments in favor of slavery, that there seems but little prospect, that any material change will at present be effected.”
Although composed primarily of Baptists, the Kentucky Abolition Society attracted persons from all persuasions. Probably never consisting of more than several hundred members, it actively promoted its reform views. Believing, as its constitution stated, that "Slavery is a system of oppression, pregnant with moral, national and domestic evils, ruinous to national tranquility, honor and enjoyment, and which every good man wishes to be abolished, could such abolition take place upon a plan which would be honorable to the state, safe to the citizen and salutary to the slaves," the society carefully avoided radical stances. Its purposes were declared to be: "To pursue such measures as would tend to the final constitutional abolition of slavery" and "the domestic slave trade," and in the meantime "to look after the interests of free Negroes and mulattoes," to "ameliorate the condition of slaves," to seek justice for those blacks illegally held in bondage, and to speak out against slavery.

By so clearly accepting the constitutional restraints of the state, the society tried to avoid charges of irresponsibility, but at the same time it minimized the possibility of effecting real change. No doubt the society was more sanguine about its ability to achieve reform by way of a temperate policy than we might deem justifiable from hindsight, but what else could it realistically have done? Shortly after the society was founded, Carter Tarrant, the president, wrote to the prestigious Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery asking for counsel, remarking that "we who have been brought up among the horrors of slavery have made but poor proficiency in the principles of humanity." The first advice cautioned: "We have considered the interests of the blacks best promoted by moderation in our requests in their behalf and by unremitting endeavours to change publick opinion in their favour, other than by too warm an opposition to strengthen the prejudices, and increase the rancour of our opponents. The result has been the rapid diminution of personal slavery in this state with the certain assurance of its intire [sic] extinction in a very short time." But that was in Pennsylvania. The situation was far more explosive in Kentucky, and, as the stated purposes of the Kentucky Abolition Society suggest, the inability to promote appreciably either abolition of slavery or the domestic slave trade left no alternative but practical amelioration. It periodically denied in any way agitating among slaves or fomenting servile insurrection. This ultimately was the outcome of most southern abolitionist efforts: they were transformed into ameliorative reforms which ironically were used by proslavery proponents to refute the charges of northern abolitionists that slave owners abused their slaves.
By all odds the most influential and outspoken Baptist emancipationist was David Barrow, who wrote a hard-hitting pamphlet, *Involuntary, Unmerited, Perpetual, Absolute, Hereditary Slavery, Examined; on the Principles of Nature, Reason, Justice, Policy, and Scripture* (Lexington, Ky., 1808)—the fruit of a "cool and impartial examination of nearly thirty years." He contemptuously dismissed "high toned republicans... swaggering in our public assemblies... talking loudly in favour of Liberty!" who nevertheless owned slaves, and his refutation of the biblical defense of slavery glowed with scorn. Yet even this gnarled veteran of abolitionist controversy carefully leavened his radical demeanor with an irenic aside that made clear he believed in gradual emancipation which provided ample time for slaves to be prepared for freedom so that the end of slavery would "give no shock to the community." Thus was early abolitionist radicalism transmuted into circumspect reform.

Despite opposition the tiny Kentucky Abolition Society tenaciously struggled on. Because the regular press was largely closed to the society, it decided to expand its activities. In May 1822, with the Reverend John Finley Crowe, a Presbyterian, at the editorial helm, it began publishing a monthly newspaper, the *Abolition Intelligencer and Missionary Messenger*. (At this time there was but one other abolitionist newspaper in the nation, Benjamin Lundy's *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, published briefly in Tennessee and after 1824 in Baltimore.) Yet this courageous attempt to spread abolitionist views lasted only a year, and in April 1823, with less than four hundred subscribers in Tennessee and Kentucky, the newspaper folded. By 1827 the Kentucky Abolition Society, whose membership had dwindled below two hundred, went out of existence. Those Kentuckians still committed to emancipation were soon organizing relatively uncontroversial state chapters of the American Colonization Society in Cincinnati.
In the mid-1840s the colonization movement again caught fire temporarily, and the Kentucky auxiliary of the American Colonization Society even purchased a forty-square-mile tract of land in Liberia and named it "Kentucky in Liberia" with its capital city designated "Clay Ashland." A ship was chartered in early 1846 to transport black immigrants to Africa, but only thirty-five left Kentucky. Despite scattered church support, especially from the more affluent Presbyterians, the colonization movement never flourished. It was, in fact, only by cultivating a stance of studied obscurity and remaining uncontroversial that the colonization societies were able to linger. Only a bare trickle of Kentucky blacks returned to their ancestral homeland.

Partly because of the heritage of David Rice, David Barrow, and the "Friends of Humanity," Kentucky throughout the antebellum era was unique to the South in its relative freedom to discuss critically the peculiar institution. During the 1830s and 1840s in particular it seemed to be expected that some young clergy and college-trained men would entertain cautiously critical attitudes. Powerful family connections also often allowed one to speak out in the face of popular support of slavery. There was in fact an abortive movement in 1849 to provide for abolition in the new state constitution.
LEXINGTON PRESBYTERY URGES RELIGIOUS MATRIMONY RITES FOR BLACKS

J. Blassingame, the slave community, 1972 (1979)

... many of the denominations required their ministers and missionaries to perform slave weddings. The resolution of the Presbytery of Lexington, Kentucky, was typical: 'That our coloured people be taught the sacredness and perpetuity of the marriage relation; and it is further recommended that proper efforts should be made to have the rites of matrimony celebrated, in all cases among them, with due solemnity and in accordance with the word of God.'


HENRY BIBB'S EARLY LIFE: FATHER?

G. Osofsky, ed, puttin' on ole massa, 1969 from narrative of H. Bibb, 1849

"I was born May 1815, of a slave mother, in Shelby County, Kentucky, and was claimed as the property of David White Esq. He came into possession of my mother long before I was born. I was brought up in the Counties of Shelby, Henry, Oldham, and Trimble. Or, more correctly speaking, in the above counties, I may safely say, I was flogged up; ... I have been dragged down to the lowest depths of human degradation and wretchedness, by Slaveholders." "It is almost impossible for slaves to give a correct account of their male parentage. All that I know about it is, that my mother informed me that my father's name was James Bibb. He was doubtless one of the present Bibb family of Kentucky; but I have no personal knowledge of him at all, for he died before my recollection." Bibb said that early in life "I was taken away from my mother, and hired out to labor for various persons, eight or ten years in succession; and all my wages were expended for the education of Harriet White, my playmate."
BIBB DESCRIBES EARLY HARSH TREATMENT

Bibb says that he was hired out at an early age and the money was used to educate the daughter of his master, his current playmate. This taught him he "was a wretched slave, compelled to work under the lash without wages, and often without clothes enough to hide my nakedness." Says he often went hungry, slept on a dirt floor, went without shoes until December. "Reader, believe me when I say, that no tongue, nor pen ever has or can express the horrors of American Slavery." Bibb indicates that he was sold to several families, and that process had an educational effect on him since he learned a little more about the world with each move.

BIBB DESCRIBES EARLY ATTEMPTS TO RUN AWAY (1835, AGE 20) TO WOODS

"The first time in my life that I ran away, was for ill treatment, in 1835. I was living with a Mr. Vires, in the village of Newcastle. His wife was a very cross woman. She was every day flogging me, boxing, pulling my ears, and scolding, so that I dreaded to enter the room where she was. This first started me to running away from them. I was often gone several days before I was caught. They would abuse me for going off, but it did no good. The next time they flogged me, I was off again; but after awhile they got sick of their bargain, and returned me back into the hands of my owners." Bibb says his owner, Mr. White had remarried, and Bibb hated his wife who treated him harshly. "She was what I call a tyrant. I lived with her several months, but she kept me almost half of my time in the woods, running from under the bloody lash. While I was at home she kept me all the time rubbing furniture, washing, scrubbing the floors; and when I was not doing this, she would often seat herself in a large rocking chair, with two pillows about her, and would make me rock her, and keep off the flies." Bibb called her "too lazy to scratch her own head."
BIBB'S EXPLANATION OF HOW HE ESCAPED DETECTION IN THE WOODS
WHEN HE RAN AWAY AS A LAD

G osofsky, ed, puttin' on ole massa, 1969, from narrative of H Bibb, 1849:

P66/ Bibb says Mrs. White "got sick of me, and preferred a maiden servant
to do such business. I was then hired out again; but by this time I had
become much better skilled in running away, and would make calculation to
avoid detection, by taking with me a bridle. If any body should see me in
the woods, as they have, and asked 'what are you doing here sir? you are a
runaway?'—I said, 'no, sir, I am looking for our old mare;' /sic/ at other
times, 'looking for our cows.' For such excuses I was let pass. In fact,
the only weapon of self defence that I could use successfully, was that of
deception. It is useless for a poor helpless slave, to resist a white man
in a slaveholding State. Public opinion and the law is against him; and
resistance in many cases is death to the slave, while the law declares, that
he shall submit or die."

BIBB DESCRIBED SLAVERY "THE GRAVEYARD OF THE MIND"

G osofsky, ed, puttin' on ole massa, 1969, taken from osofsky's introduction
to narrative of H Bibb, 1849:

P18/ Osofsky says: "Bibb aptly called slavery 'the graveyard of the
mind.'"
BIBB DECIDES TO RUN AWAY TO CANADA

After trying "conjunction" to create better relations with his master, Bibb decided to run away to Canada. "I had heard that Canada was a land of liberty, somewhere in the North; and every wave of trouble that rolled across my breast, caused me to think more and more about Canada, and liberty. But more especially after having been flogged, I have fled to the highest hills of the forest, pressing my way to the North for refuge; but the river Ohio was my limit. To me it was an impassable gulf."

"Sometimes standing on the Ohio River bluff, looking over on a free State, and as far north as my eyes could see, I have eagerly gazed upon the blue sky of the free North, which at times constrained me to cry out from the depths of my soul, Oh! Canada, sweet land of rest--Oh! when shall I get there? Oh, that I had the wings of a dove, that I might soar away to where there is no slavery; no clanking of chains, no captives, no lacerating of backs, no parting of husbands and wives; and where man ceases to be the property of his fellow man. These thoughts have revolved in my mind a thousand times. I have stood upon the lofty banks of the river Ohio, gazing upon the splendid steamboats, wafted with all their magnificence up and down the river, and I thought of the fishes of the water, the fowls of the air, the wild beasts of the forest, all appeared to be free, to go just where they pleased, and I was an unhappy slave!" Bibb says his thoughts of escaping to freedom were delayed by his introduction to "young women."

GIRLFRIENDS: ONE REASON H. BIBB DID NOT ESCAPE NORTH EARLIER
(typical human feelings for not changing one's situation)

Bibb says he was giving much thought to running away, "But my attention was gradually turned in a measure from this subject, by being introduced into the society of young women. This for the time being took my attention from running away, as waiting on the girls appeared to be perfectly congenial to my nature. I wanted to be well thought of by them, and would go to great lengths to gain their affection." Bibb used a number of superstitious conjurations to try to win their affection. One was to scratch a girl with a certain bone from a frog--he found it only made her hate him; another was to get a lock of the girl's hair and wear it in his shoe. When he tried the latter, he pulled the girl's hair out by the roots and she hated him. He said only education could take away such superstition.
In 1833, age 18, Bibb met a mulatto slave girl named Malinda, who lived in Oldham County, Kentucky, about four miles from the residence of my owner. Malinda was a medium sized girl, graceful in her walk, of an extraordinary make, and active in business. Her skin was of a smooth texture, red cheeks, with dark and penetrating eyes. She was also one of the best singers I ever heard, and esteemed by all. Bibb says he did not intend to fall in love with the girl, but it happened, taking his mind off his escape to Canada. He thought the girl's mother preferred another young man, and that, he thought, aided him in winning Malinda's affection. Malinda's mother was free, and lived in Bedford, 1/2 mi. from her daughter. Bibb met with Malinda and her mother and he told them that religion and liberty were his major concerns; he told them he "expected to get free by running away, and going to Canada,..." Malinda responded by saying: "I have long entertained the same views, and this has been one of the greatest reasons why I have not felt inclined to enter the married state while a slave; I have felt a desire to be free; I have long cherished a hope that I should yet be free, either by purchase or running away." After thinking about marriage, they agreed to marry in one year and "...that we would embrace the earliest opportunity of running away to Canada for our liberty." His mother thought Bibb too young to get married; Malinda's mother wanted her to marry a slave of a rich man living nearby who promised to free his slaves at his death. Malinda's mother thought this would lead to Malinda's freedom eventually. Bibb's owner opposed the match; Malinda's owner favored the match. They got married during the Christmas "holydays." It was a happy period.

A few months after his marriage, Bibb's master decided to move to Missouri. Fearing Bibb might return to his wife, the master sold Bibb to his brother who lived seven miles from Wm. Gatewood, Malinda's current owner. Bibb was allowed to visit only on Saturday nights, after his work was done, and had to return before sunrise on Monday. This arrangement apparently did not work well, and Bibb was sold to Wm. Gatewood, Malinda's owner. Bibb did not enjoy seeing his wife under day-to-day slavery. A few months after Gatewood purchased Bibb, Malinda delivered a daughter, Mary Frances. "Malinda's business was to labor out in the field the greater part of her time,..." Bibb was also a field worker. Bibb says his happiness was "all blasted" when he was forced to see his wife "scourged and abused by her master."
Anna Dicken Troutman to Mother, March 28, 1863, Dicken-Troutman-Balke family papers. 1816-1945, MS div, Margaret King Lib, Spe Col, UK

"Mr Troutman does not think such a thing will occur, as the Federals are making preparations to meet the Confederates at Lexington."

"For three or four days the Federals have been taking off the negroes from this County, to work or fight at Lexington, sometimes the cars pass loaded, and yesterday they took nine negro men from Ben Rogers, and one from John Caldwell, gentlemen of my acquaintance and upon the strength of the fright one of ours has left. He has been gone two days, and we have not heard from him, but I think he will come back, as we have his wife and four children."

"In some instances the officers have gone to the farms, and taken every able-bodied man off the place, just at this season it is to say the least of it, a great inconvenience to say nothing of the effect of such association, on the dispositions of the poor simple-minded negroes, but what we cannot prevent, we must submit to with as much grace as possible."

SUNDAY GATHERINGS OF BLACKS IN LEXINGTON CONSIDERED TROUBLESOME

July 7, 1800.

"Whereas the large assemblage of negroes in Lexington on the Sabbath days have become troublesome to the Citizens. Resolved that Mr. Holland Mr. Campbell be a committee to engage some proper person as a watch to patrol the streets of said town every Saturday and Sunday nights during two months."

July 25, 1800.

"The Committee appointed to engage some proper person as a watch report that they have engaged William Davis for which he is to receive two dollars each week."
"Mr Troutman does not think such a thing will occur, as the Federals are making preparations to meet the Confederates at Lexington.+

"For three or four days the Federals have been taking off the negroes from this County, to work or fight at Lexington, sometimes the cars pass loaded, and yesterday they took nine negro men from Ben Rogers, and one from John Caldwell, gentlemen of my acquaintance and upon the strength of the fright one of ours has left. He has been gone two days, and we have not heard from him, but I think he will come back, as we have his wife and four children.+

"In some instances the officers have gone to the farms, and taken every able-bodied man off the place, just at this season it is to say the least of it, a great inconvenience to say nothing of the effect of such association, on the dispositions of the poor simple-minded negroes, but what we cannot prevent, we must submit to with as much grace as possible."

"Whereas the large assemblage of negroes in Lexington on the Sabbath days have become troublesome to the Citizens. Resolved that Mr. Holland Mr. Campbell be a committee to engage some proper person as a watch to patrol the streets of said town every Saturday and Sunday nights during two months."

"The Committee appointed to engage some proper person as a watch report that they have engaged William Davis for which he is to receive two dollars each week."
Sept 25, 1801, Trustees Minute Book, Lexington, MF reel M-224, Sp Col
King Lib, UK, reel dated 1782-1830.

"Resolved that George Savasbright (?) and Peter Castner be appointed
as watchmen from this till the first of January next at 26 dollars per
month. That they parade at least three nights in the week from nine
O'clock until six O'clock in the morning, and subject to the direction of the
board."

June 22, 1802, Trustees Minute Book, Lexington, Ky., MF reel M-224 in Sp
Col, King Lib, UK, reel dated 1782-1830

"Whereas the slaves in the South are strongly bent on insurrection.
Therefore, Resolved that no Slaves from either of those or any other
State be permitted to be sold in this place, Contrary to the 26th Section
of an act of Assembly, Passed on the 8th day of February 1802, without
being subject to the penalty imposed by said law, and that the said section
be published for two weeks in the Kentucky Gazette."
Dec 7, 1802
"Resolved that black Tom is entitled to two dollars, and that he draw on the Treasurer for the amount."

why?

Feb 13, 1812
"Resolved that the above committee be impowered to contract with some person to Ring the Bell at the Brick meeting House on maine (sic) Street every night at 10 Oclock; and contract with same person to make a Rattle for each one of the watchmen."

LEXINGTON: BELL TO BE RUNG AT 10:00 PM: NOBODY TO BE OUT LATER

Feb 13, 1812
"Resolved that the above committee be impowered to contract with some person to Ring the Bell at the Brick meeting House on maine (sic) Street every night at 10 Oclock; and contract with same person to make a Rattle for each one of the watchmen."

LEXINGTON: BELL TO BE RUNG AT 10:00 PM: NOBODY TO BE OUT LATER
June 17, 1813, Trustees Minute Book, Lexington, Ky, MF reel M-224, in Sp Col, King Lib, UK, reel dated 1782-0830

June 17, 1813

"The Committee appointed to revise the Bye Laws of the Town Concerning the Duties of the Watchman made the Following Report, which being read, passed Sec 1st: 'Be it ordained by the Trustees of the Town of Lexington that Six Watchmen shall be chosen annually to continue in office during good behavior or for such term as they may respectfully be elected they shall be Subject to such rules & regulations as the Trustees Shall from time to time prescribe ...' paid 300 dollars yr, etc.

"Two Watchmen shall be assigned to each of the three Wards as they are at this time established in order that they may know their Bounds and that the Citizens may be enabled to attach to the proper Watchmen any neglect of Duty or abuse of power." Sec 2: Must be in public square at 10:00 each night to sound "Trumpets or Bugles"; patrol all night until daylight when they were to return to square and sound trumptets or bugles. Sec 3: they were to try to prevent fires, murders, burglaries and outrages; "to visit all places Suspected of entertaining unlawful assemblies of Slaves or other disorderly persons; and they are hereby empowered and required to arrest and apprehend them, as well as all suspicious persons...." They were to stop and ascertain the business of all people they did not know. Sec 5: "It shall be the duty of each Watchman to make Complaints to some Justice of the peace for the County of Fayette against all persons residing within the bounds of the Town who are guilty of retailing Liquors, or of dealing with or entertaining Slaves contrary to Law; as well as all persons Keeping disorderly Houses; and against the owners or Hirers of all Slaves permitted to hire themselves within the Limits aforesaid and directs:"

ONE MONTH'S SALARY OF SLAVES HIRED IN TOWNS CAN BE TAKEN BY TOWN

April 11, 1826, Trustees Minute Book, Lexington, Ky, MF reel M-224, in Sp Col, King Lib, UK, reel dated 1782-1830

April 11, 1826

"Resolved that Clerk be directed to hand to the day watch a copy of the 8th Section of an Act of the Legislature of Kentucky approved Dec. 18th 1825, entitled 'An act granting further powers to the Trustees of Louisville and for other purposes; which is as follows to wit. § 8That it shall be the duty of the several trustees of Towns in this Commonwealth to examine and see if there are not slaves in their town who are hiring their time and for whom some individual stands master or mistress, and when they find a slave thus situated they are hereby authorized /sic/ and required to cause said slave to be hired out for one month and the amount of money thus produced shall be applied to the improvement of their town.'" The trustees wanted the law implemented after May 1; to be in the Lexington newspapers for three weeks.
Jan 21, 1820

"A letter from the African Christian Church of Baptists, signed by Hanibal Thorn, was read and laid on the Table." No contents discussed.

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Nov 10, 1832

"Be it ordained by the Mayor and Board of Councilmen of the City of Lexington, That it shall be the duty of the Night watchmen of the City; to arrest each and every slave found on the streets after dark and before 9 o'clock, unless such slave have a written pass from his or her master, and confine him or her in such room or place as may be provided for the purpose; and the owners or employer of such slave, so arrested shall pay the Sum of Fifty Cents before he or she shall be discharged; and in the event of the master or employer of such slave failing or refusing to pay said fine, such slave shall receive ten lashes."
August 26, 1842, Trustees Minute Book, Lexington, Ky, MF reel M-224, in Sp Col, King Lib, UK, reel dated Jan 7, 1830 thru Dec 7, 1854.

"Whereas it is represented to the Mayor and Council of the City of Lexington that numerous successions (looks like) have of late been made to the free Negroes population of this City by removals from other places, and some action on the part MMMM of the Citizens is necessary to stay and avert the evils resulting from such a population.+

"And resolves they are informed that some portion of our Citizens are much excited in relation to the free negroes, And unless some means shall be restored to - Therefore Resolved that the Mayor be requested to issue hand bills requesting and urging the Citizens to meet at the Court House on this evening at 3 Oclk to take into consideration the whole matter & adopt such MMMMMM means or recommendations /sic/ as They may deem adviseable /sic/ , and that in the mean time our Citizens be requested to abstain from any private action untll the Citizens in public meeting shall designate the proper /sic/ action to be taken." Signed, James Logue, Mayor

FREE NEGROES IN LEXING SUMMONED BEFORE CITY GOVE (1842)

Aug 29, 1842, Trustees Minute Book, Lexington, Ky, MF reel M-224, found in Sp Col, King Lib, UK, reel dated Jan 7, 1830 thru Dec 7, 1854.

Aug 29, 1842 meeting:

"Resolved that the Mayor & Council be requested forthwith to summon before them every free negro in the City and ascertain which of them are believed to be violators of the vagrant law, or the laws prohibiting the immigration of free persons of colour, in the State, or any other law or City Ordinances, and have prosecutions instituted against all such."
July 1, 1841

"Messrs Broadus, Thos H. Walton & M. Mitchell were appointed in accordance with the 5th section to superintend the night meetings of the Baptist colored church. And Messrs Brush, Thos Gibbons and Mastin Smith to superintend the night meetings of the colored Methodist Church."

July 1, 1841 resolution passed:

"It having been represented to this council, that there are several free negroes in this city who have migrated to it contrary to an act of Assembly passed in 1808+ (could be 1805)

"Therefore be it Resolved that it shall be the duty of the City Marshal to proceed under that act against all such offenders who may be found in the city on or after the 15th day of July 1841."
Nov. 3, 1853, Trustees Minute Book, Lexington, Ky, MF reel M-224, in Sp Col, King Lib, UK, reel dated Jan 7, 1830-thru Dec 7, 1854

Nov. 3, 1853
"Mr Kinkaid presented a petition /sic/ from the Pastor & Trustees of the coloured people of the 2d Methodist Church south praying Council to grant them the privilege of holding a Fair to enable them to raise money to enlarge their Church, which was on motion of Mr. Drake granted."

Dec 7, 1854, Trustees Minute Book, Lexington, Ky, MF reel M-224, in Sp Col, King Lib, UK, reel dated Jan 7, 1830-thru Dec 7, 1854.

Dec 7, 1854
"Be it Resolved by the Mayor & Board of Councilmen of the City of Lexington, that the night watch be and are hereby instructed to arrest every negro, male or female found in market house, without a pass from his owner or employer, before the ringing of the watch Bell as they have become a nuisance and cannot be longer tolerated."
Henry Allen Laine to John W. Townsend, dated College Hill, Ky, Apr 20, 1912, in Henry Allen Laine folder in Townsend Room, EKU Library (misc folder of several letters and newspaper clippings).

Townsend had apparently corresponded with H A Laine about his publishing his poems; "I received your communication requesting the /sic/ date of my birth (and place) and a collection of my poems. I am sorry that I have been unable to have a volume of my poems published. I am a farmer and Teacher, and in debt for my farm at present, and so have been handicapped in my literary efforts. Still I have accomplished something. I was born Jan. 10, 1869, near the village of College Hill, Ky."

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"The Christian Bible College, located at Newcastle, Henry County, Ky., founded in 1884, is also devoted to the education of negroes. T. Augustus Reid is president, and professor of biblical literature and pedagogy."
Only Maxwell and Buckner specifically compared Kentuckians with men from other nations. It was their opinion that Canadians and Irishmen equaled the physical aptitude of soldiers from the Commonwealth. Buckner praised the Irish as possibly even surpassing Americans in physical prowess. Yet he criticized them for disloyalty and for running away to avoid induction into the army. Buckner had reservations about the Germans he examined too. Unlike the healthy Kentuckians, the Germans were "physically worthless." Revealing his own nativism, Buckner wrote that Kentucky's German male population had already been rejected from military service by the armies of Europe, and came to America weak and disabled. In their new country they laboured in menial jobs, as tailors, tinters, shoemakers, gardeners, milkmen, vine-dressers, rag-pickers, and small shopkeepers.56

56 Ibid., pp. 364, 372-373. Unlike the U.S. Government and most of the states, Kentucky refused to offer bounties to stimulate volunteering. Local bounties, however, were paid by the city of Louisville and seventeen counties. Coulter, op. cit., note 14 above, p. 190. The total amount of bounties paid in the Commonwealth was $692,577, the third lowest figure among all the states and the District of Columbia. See Murdock, *Patriotism Limited*, op. cit., note 8 above, p. 206; and SMA, vol. 1, p. 163.

57 Ibid., pp. 372, 382, 384.  58 Ibid., pp. 367, 368, 370.

59 Ibid., pp. 370, 379. Buckner was favourably impressed, however, with the honesty of the German substitutes he examined. See p. 373.

**White KY Doctors Who Examined Black Civil War Recruits**

J. D. Smith, "Ky C W recruits: a medical profile" Med Hist, 24, 1980

P 185/ Drs. E. P. Buckner /begin p 186/ John M. Best, John W. Compton, John C. Maxwell, James Gardner, Stephen F. Gano, James D. Foster, and Alfred Spalding, "examined men in eight of Kentucky's nine congressional districts, their summaries give a thorough survey of medical conditions in the state." "Congressional districts were the local units for the administration of the Four Civil War drafts...." /p 186n/ "No report was filed from the Third Congressional District." /p 187/ Smith says little is known about the doctors personally, with the exception of Best who was from Ohio and settled in McCracken Co.; Maxwell had combat experience having served with 37th Kentucky Mounted Infantry; Spalding had an 1843 M.D. degree from Dartmouth, and was a native of New Hampshire, who settled in Ky in Greenup Co.; Gano graduated from Transy. Univ.'s "strong Medical Department in 1828 and later emerged as one of central Kentucky's foremost physicians." Foster was "one of Laurel County's pioneer physicians." Compton, Gardner, and Foster served with the 17th and 24th Kentucky Infantries respectively.
KY DOCTORS VIEW BLACK RECRUITS: REVOLUTIONARY NATURE OF USING BLACK TROOPS

When these doctors praised the qualifications of their countrymen for military service, they referred to Caucasians, not Negroes. Reflecting the pervasive racial bias of the mid-nineteenth century, in their reports Kentucky's doctors differentiated between "Americans" - meaning whites only - and blacks. The military surgeons approached blacks as aliens, curiosities, objects to be studied and observed, never on a par with the whites. Such prejudice was national in scope, not limited to the Commonwealth. All recognized the implications for social change implicit in the arming of almost 180,000 Afro-Americans to fight the Confederacy. This was not only the first large-scale use of blacks as soldiers in the history of the United States, but of the western world as well. The Civil War served as a testing ground for the Negro soldier. How would he fight? How would he behave? Kentucky's doctors, almost to a man, credited the Negro with possessing the physical qualities necessary for military service. According to Buckner, "The negro, in many of his physical characteristics, is well calculated to make as good a soldier as ever marched to the field of battle." The black soldier, praised Compton, displayed "bravery, determination, and physical manhood." It must be recalled, however, that since their reports were filed after the war, the doctors already had ample evidence of the strength of Lincoln's sable arm.

DR SPALDING VIEWS BLACK RECRUITS AS EXCELLENT PHYSICAL COND. in CIVIL WAR

With the exception of Gardner, each of the doctors rated the Negro a superb physical specimen. Spalding was of the opinion that the blacks he examined from Mason, Fleming, Montgomery, and Bath Counties compared "very favorably" with white examinees. A few, he reported, were literate and able to sign their names. They toiled mostly as farm-hands, labourers in iron furnaces, and as wood-choppers. Others made charcoal or drove teams of horses and mules. In the Fourth District, where black recruits and substitutes largely filled the draft quotas, Maxwell disqualified a smaller percentage of blacks on medical grounds than whites. "The colored man in this locality," wrote Maxwell, "if bone and sinew, muscle, chest measurement, and general physique, are the criteria, presents the greatest physical aptitude for military service." Maxwell was confident that the Kentucky Negro, "by reason of his contact with a higher civilization," surpassed blacks in tropical climates and was "fully endowed, physically, ... to run the race in successful competition with the soldiers of the most favored nationality."
Buckner marveled that not more than ten per cent of the 1,600 blacks he examined were rejected. On one occasion he examined one hundred Negro recruits and only failed to accept five (three for hernia, one for loss of right eye, one for difficulty with ankle joints). In another instance, of fifteen black draftees who reported for their examination on the same day, none was disqualified. "The same thing could not occur among a like number of white men, except by a miracle," wrote Buckner. Summarizing his observations among black recruits, Buckner noted that blacks rarely suffered from scrofula, haemorrhoids, hernias, fractures, and disorders of the liver, stomach, bowel, kidney, bladder, and heart. They were more prone to rheumatism than whites, however. Buckner's comments regarding the diet and health of the blacks support some of the most recent scholarship on slave medicine. "Being well fed, upon coarse and common food, but substantial, nutritious, and abundant, they are generally finely developed. The muscles are powerful, the joints large, the chest round and full, and the abdomen rather concave than otherwise." Significantly, none of the physicians reported any marks on the ex-slaves indicative of beatings or other harsh treatment.

Foster, too, was favourably impressed by the physical condition of the blacks. Yet he had doubts about the intellectual abilities of those he examined in Garrard and Madison Counties.

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.
The doctors agreed that slavery more than adequately prepared Kentucky's blacks for military duty. Bonded agricultural labour, explained Compton, developed in the average Negro man the great chest and arm strength "which enables him to handle a gun or sword with much facility and effect." And slavery provided blacks with another quality considered essential in the soldier, what Compton called training in obedience since childhood, and what Foster mistook for intellectual weakness. According to the former doctor, the black soldier obeyed his officer, just as the slave served his master. "Having an innate idea of time, and possessing unusual imitative powers, he will readily learn the most difficult evolutions." But Compton warned that the Negro soldier in the field required white officers who, like the slave masters, were familiar with "the idiosyncrasies of the negro." Military surgeons had to keep a close eye on the blacks, cautioned Compton. Not only did they differ "physiologically and psychologically" from the whites, but their "phlegmatic temperament" made Negroes predisposed to strumous disease.74

To Compton's biased eyes, the Negro soldier, much like a child, required constant supervision. When sick, said the surgeon, the black trooper is entirely incompetent to give a correct history of his case, . . . 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. . . . 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, . . . in health he will eat too much, . . . in disease he will eat nothing until convalescent, . . . then eat too much, and of the grossest food he can procure.

Compton also advised doctors to beware of sick blacks under the influence of Afro-American superstitions. So potent were these over the Negro's mind and body, that "they tend to prolong his illness, and frequently . . . destroys his life through his taking some supposed antidote for his poison."75

Although Kentucky's medical examiners agreed that blacks made adequate soldiers, their opinions differed as to the Negro's medical make-up. Best and Buckner, for example, credited the Afro-American with possessing almost extraordinary powers of endurance. He was allegedly superior to the white man in resisting fatigue and malaria. So impressed was Buckner with the blacks' endurance that he recommended their use as garrison troops in Southern forts, "as neither a hot climate nor malarial fevers effect them in any material degree."76 Implicit in Buckner's remark, however, was the commonly held belief that black troops should be assigned to menial service or fatigue duty. Combat duty was reserved for the superior, Anglo-Saxon race.
Compton reported that blacks were not the physical equals of whites in cold, wet climates, or "exposure of any kind." Gardner stated categorically that the Negroes he examined were inferior to the whites "physically, in vitality and endurance; ... Wounds and diseases from which white troops readily recover often prove fatal to the colored."

Others noted specific deficiencies in the black man. While Gano observed that Negroes were defective in the formation of their feet and ankles, Compton reported that inflammatory diseases ran their course more rapidly in blacks than in whites. They soon became asthenic or typhoidal as well. Compton found, not surprisingly, that the Negro responded poorly to antimonials or blood-letting because "both rapidly depress his vital powers, and do irreparable damage if pushed too far."

Poor eyesight and a susceptibility to scrofula were other ailments which Kentucky's medical surgeons cited as being peculiar to the Afro-American.

Confirming the medical tenets of racial inferiority of his day, Spalding asserted that the "physical efficiency" of mulattoes was weakened by their white blood. Even so, some of the healthiest blacks he examined were born of mixed unions. One Negro substitute, who must have shocked Spalding's Victorian sensibilities, was the son of a mulatto father and a white mother. He performed his military duties admirably and throughout his service remained in excellent health.
A CIVIL WAR SURGEON (WHITE) RECALLED IN 1867 ATTITUDE OF WHITES TOWARD BLACK RECRUITS

p 193n/ "Writing two and one-half years after Appomattox, a Civil War military surgeon recalled the attitude of the white community, including doctors, toward the use of black troops. 'Men looked at this startling innovation with different eyes. The earnest believer in a common humanity rejoiced; the careful statesmen hesitated; the prejudiced denounced; and the pure scientist looked upon it as a grand experiment on a scale of such magnitude as to render its results decisive. Every step, therefore, of the enlistment of 180,000 negroes was watched, by friend and foe, with a lively interest."

p 82/ "In the fall or winter of 1837 I formed a resolution that I would escape, if possible, to Canada, for my Liberty. I commenced from that hour making preparations for the dangerous experiment of breaking the chains that bound me as a slave. My preparation for this voyage consisted in the accumulation of a little money, perhaps not exceeding two dollars and fifty cents, and a suit which I had never been seen or known to wear before; this last was to avoid detection." On Dec 25, 1837, Bibb made his move, his "affectionate wife, who stood before me on my departure, with dear little Francis in her arms, and with tears of sorrow in her eyes as she bid me a long farewell." Said it took a lot of "moral courage" to leave his family. "...the voice of liberty was thundering in my very soul, 'Be free, oh, man! be free.'"

BIBB DESCRIBES FEELINGS ON THE EVE OF HIS FLIGHT, DEC 25,1837; FEAR 1611

p 82/ Bibb said he was "...struggling against a thousand obstacles which had clustered around my mind to bind my wounded spirit still in the dark prison of mental degradation. My strong attachments to friends and relatives, with all the love of home and birth-place which is so natural among the human family, twined about my heart and were hard to break away from." He goes on to talk about the "fear of being pursued with guns and blood-hounds," of "being killed, or captured and being taken to the extreme South"; all of which "combined to deter me. But I had counted the cost, and was fully prepared to make the sacrifice. The time for fulfilling my pledge was then at hand. I must forsake friends and neighbors, wife and child, or consent to live and die a slave."
"By the permission of my keeper, I started out to work for myself on Christmas. I went to the Ohio River, which was but a short distance from Bedford. My excuse for wanting to go there was to get work. High wages were offered for hands to work in a slaughterhouse. But in place of my going to work there, according to promise, when I arrived at the river I managed to find a conveyance to cross over into a free state. I landed in the village of Madison, Indiana, where steamboats were landing every day and night, passing up and down the river, which afforded me a good opportunity of getting a boat passage to Cincinnati." He hid in Madison that night, changed his suit, and upon hearing of a steamboat, with trembling heart, took passage. "I then stepped boldly on the deck of this splendid swiftly-running Steamer, bound for the city of Cincinnati. This being the first voyage that I had ever taken on board of a Steamboat, I was filled with fear and excitement, knowing that I was surrounded by the vilest enemies of God and man, liable to be seized and bound hand and foot, by any white man, and taken back into captivity. But I crowded myself back from the light among the deck passengers, where it would be difficult to distinguish me from a white man. Every time during the night that the mate came round with a light after the hands, I was afraid he would see I was a colored man, and take me up; hence I kept from the light as much as possible. ... This was one of the instances of my adventures that my affinity with the Anglo-Saxon race, and even slaveholders, worked well for my escape. ... Being so near the color of a slaveholder, they could not, or did not find me out that night among the white passengers." He paid 25¢ to lie in a hammock, to better hide, but didn't sleep. No one asked him any questions; when the boat landed at 9 AM he walked ashore; walked away slowly.

Upon departing the boat in Cincinnati, Bibb "walked as gracefully up street as if I was not running away, until I had got pretty well up Broadway. My object was to go to Canada, but having no knowledge of the road, it was necessary for me to make some inquiry before I left the city. I was afraid to ask a white person, and I could see no colored person to ask." He found some children playing in the street: "'Boys, can you tell me where that old colored man lives who saws wood, and works at jobs around the streets?' 'What is his name?' said one of the boys. 'I forget.' 'Is it Job Dundy?' 'Is Dundy a colored man?' 'Yes, sir.' 'That is the very man I am looking for; will you show me where he lives?"' The little boys pointed out the house. Dundy invited Bibb in. "He asked me if I was a slave from Kentucky, and if I ever intended to go back into slavery? Not knowing yet whether he was truly in favor of slaves running away, I told him I had just come over to spend my Christmas holidays, and that I was going back. His reply was, 'my son, I would never go back if I was in your place; you have a right to your liberty.' I then asked him how I should get my freedom? He referred me to Canada," where he would be free.
BIBB BEGAN JOURNEY FROM CANADA TO KY TO RESCUE FAMILY

p 87/ Bibb said that after spending a winter in Canada he made plans to return to Kentucky for his family.

"When I got ready to start, which was about the first of May, my friends all persuaded me not to go, but to get some other person to go, for fear I might be caught and sold off from my family into slavery forever. But I could not refrain from going back myself, believing that I could accomplish it better than a stranger."

"The money that I had would not pass in the South, and for the purpose of getting it off to a good advantage, I took a steamboat passage to Detroit, Michigan, and there I spent all my money for dry goods, to peddle out on my way back through the State of Ohio. I also purchased myself a pair of false whiskers to put on when I got back to Kentucky, to prevent any one from knowing me after night, should they see me. I then started back after my little family."

AFTER RECAPTURE: BIBB SEES ONLY HOPE TO BE DECEPTION

p 95/

"I knew then the only alternative left for me to extricate myself was to use deception, which is the most effective defence a slave can use. I pretended to be satisfied for the purpose of getting an opportunity of giving them the slip." This distressed Bibb greatly. / begin p 96/ He says the "...understanding between us was, I was not to be tied, chained, nor flogged; for if they should take me into the city handcuffed and guarded by five men the question might be asked what crime I had committed? And if it should be known that I had been a runaway to Canada, it would lessen the value of me at least one hundred dollars."
Having been captured in Cincinnati, Bibb was taken to Louisville and guarded in a hotel. His guard was ill, took him too the stable, and while the guard was apparently having a bowel movement, "... I nerv'd myself with all the moral courage I could command and bolted for the door, perhaps with the fleetness of a much frightened deer,... Dan Lane, the well-known slave catcher / was left in the stable to make ready for the race, or jump out into the street half dressed, and thereby disgrace himself before the public eye. ... I succeeded in turning a corner before Dan got sight of me, and by fast running, turning corners, and jumping high fences, I was enabled to effect my escape."

"In running so swiftly through the public streets, I thought it would be a safer course to leave the public way, and as quick as thought I spied a high board fence by the way and attempted to leap over it." The board broke and he fell in a chicken coop. "I dared not go to the forest, knowing that I might be tracked by bloodhounds, and overtaken. ... After running across lots, turning corners, and shunning my fellow men, as if they were wild ferocious beasts, I found a hiding place in a pile of boards or scantlings, where I kept concealed during that day." He stayed there until about 9 or 10 PM.

After leaving his hiding place Bibb wandered around Louisville until he met "an old man of color." He asked and received "a bite to eat" from the old man. He learned he was about 40 miles from Wm. Gatewood's plantation where his wife lived. He avoided the roads and travelling over "rocky hills, woods and plantations" went back to Bedford. He travelled all night; hid the next morning near a plantation. He got the attention of a field hand /begin p 100/ and informed the slave of his condition and asked for food. The slave returned with food; Bibb told him about freedom in Canada. He hid that day and resumed travel that night, arriving "in the neighborhood of Bedford" before morning. He saw a friend and sent a message to Malinda, to meet him near the village. Bibb met Malinda and told him that his escape was known in Bedford; that some doubted Lane's story saying Lane had sold Bibb down river. The neighborhood was alert for his return, Malinda said. /p 101/ "Malinda managed to get me into the house of a friend that night, in the village, where I kept concealed several days seeking an opportunity to escape with Malinda and Frances to Canada." But Malinda was watched closely "by white and by colored persons" it proved impossible for us to escape together. Dan Lane came to the very house where he was hiding and inquired about Bibb. Bibb decided to leave for Canada alone.
BIBB'S SECOND ESCAPE FROM KY, THROUGH CINCINNATI, TO CANADA

p 101/ About 2 AM Bibb started for Canada a second time. "When we were about to separate, Malinda clasped my hand exclaiming, 'oh my soul! my heart is almost broken at the thought of this dangerous separation. This may be the last time we shall ever see each other's faces in this life, which will destroy all my future prospects of life and happiness forever.' At this time the poor unhappy woman burst into tears and wept loudly; and my eyes were not dry. We separated with the understanding that she was to wait until the excitement was all over; after which she was to meet me at a certain place in the State of Ohio; which would not be longer than two months from that time." Bibb took a steamboat to within 10 miles of Cincinnati where he disembarked when the boat stopped for wood, fearing the water front would be watched. He then travelled to Canada without difficulty.

BIBB RETURNED TO KY AGAIN IN JULY 1839 TO RESCUE HIS FAMILY; BETRAYED

p 103/ Without letting anyone know his plans Bibb began a trip to Ky in July 1839. From Cincinnati he took a boat southward without incident. He approached his mother's home and learned from her where his wife was. "A little slave girl" was asleep in the room with his mother and father. "And unfortunately for me, the loud shouts of joy at that late hour of the night, awakened the little slave girl, who afterwards betrayed me. She kept perfectly still, and never let either of us know that she was awake, in order that she might hear our conversation and report it." He hid out the next day, and upon returning to his mother's house saw several people lurking in the shadows. /begin p 104/ Later that night upon returning to the house his mother told him the little girl had betrayed him. "She thought that if I could keep out of the way for a few days, the white people would think that this girl was mistaken, or had lied." Bibb hid with a friend who carried messages to his wife and mother.
BIBB BETRAYED (JULY 1839) AS HE ATTEMPTED TO RESCUE FAMILY

Bibb had set the next Saturday night as the time to escape with his family. His mother had gotten an old friend "whom she thought was true" to hide Bibb "in a barn, not over two miles from the village." The "friend" took Bibb food, news, etc. "But the poor fellow was not able to withstand the temptation of money."

"My owners had about give me up, and thought the report of the slave girl was false; but they had offered a little reward among the slaves for my apprehension. The night before I was betrayed, I met with my mother and wife, and we had set up nearly all night plotting to start the next Saturday night. I hid myself away in the flax in the barn, and being much rest broken I slept until the next morning about 9 o'clock. Then I was awakened by a mob of blood thirsty slaveholders, who had come armed with all the implements of death," Bibb surrendered to the mob. He was tied up. The mob took his Meth. Epis Church certificate of membership (he said many in the mob were Methodists) "...fourteen dollars in cash, a silver watch for which I paid ten dollars, a pocket knife for which I paid seventy-five cents, and a Bible for which I paid sixty-two and one half cents. Bibb was taken to a blacksmith shop and "bound with heavy irons; then locked in the Bedford jail.

BIBB TOLD SLAVES THROUGH JAIL WINDOW OF CANADA (1839)

"The second night while I was in jail, two slaves came to the dungeon grates about the dead hour of night, and called me to the grates to have some conversation about Canada, and the facilities for getting there. They knew that I had travelled over the road, and they were determined to run away and go where they could be free. I of course took great pleasure in giving them directions how and where to go, and they started in less than a week from that time and got clear to Canada. I have seen them both since I came back to the north myself. They were known by the names of King and Jack."
BIBB TAKEN FROM JAIL TO LOUISVILLE SLAVE MARKET (1839); JAIL

On the third day in jail Bibb was taken with his wife and daughter to the Louisville slave market under heavy guard. As they neared Louisville Bibb was thrown off the horse and injured; later marched through Louisville with his family to jail. The jail was described filthy with bed-bugs, fleas, lice, mosquitoes, etc., food poor. After a few days in prison "...Madison Garrison, the soul driver, bought me and my family to sell again in the New Orleans slave market. ... So he took me and my little family to the work-house, to be kept under lock and key at work until he had bought up as many as he wished to take off to the South." Garrison put Bibb and his family in a work-house which he described as horrible.

BIBB APPARENTLY COULDN'T READ AND WRITE VERY MUCH IN 1839; LEARNED something in prison
Shortly after they were put in prison "Garrison came and took my wife and child out," and Bibb assumed they were to be sold. Some days later Garrison brought his wife back and pushed her in the cell "pouring forth the most bitter oaths and abusive language." Malinda told Bibb their child had been taken away; they never expected to see her again. 

That night "I had a short interview with my wife" and she told him what had happened. "She said that Garrison had taken her to a private house where he kept female slaves for the basest purposes. It was a resort for slave trading profligates and soul drivers, who were interested in the same business." Garrison had made an"assault on her virtue, which she promptly repelled;..." The next day he made a 2d attempt. Garrison sent their child to another part of the Louisville; Frances was gone for several weeks, they thinking she had been sold, before she was returned.

Three months after he was sent to prison, in the fall of 1839, Garrison took Bibb and his family to a boat on the Ohio and moved them in hand-cuffs toward New Orleans. The water was low. It took 6 wks to get to New Orleans. "As all were chained together night and day, it was impossible to sleep, being annoyed by the bustle and crowd of the passengers on board;..." Bibb said he had several opportunities to break away: "While they were shifting us from one boat to another, my hands were some times loosed, until they got us all on board--and I know that I should have broke away had it not been for the sake of my wife and child who was with me."
g osofsky, ed, puttin' on ole massa, 1969, from narrative of h bibb, 1849

p 114/ Madison Garrison stopped at Memphis and attempted to sell Bibb and his family for 2500 dollars. Bibb said: "He could have sold my little family without any trouble, for the sum of one thousand dollars. But for fear he might not get me off at so great an advantage, as the people did not like my appearance, he could do better by selling us all together. They all wanted my wife, while but very few wanted me. He asked for me and my family twenty-five hundred dollars, but was not able to get us off at that price."

BIBB DESCRIBED THE NEW ORLEANS SLAVE MARKET

g osofsky, ed, puttin' on ole massa, 1969, from narrative of h bibb, 1849

p 114/ Bibb and family taken to New Orleans to slave prison. /begin p 115/ Says each day at 10 AM slaves were put up for sale. "They had to be in trim for showing themselves to the public for sale. Every one's head had to be combed, and their faces washed, and those who were inclined to look dark and rough, were compelled to wash in greasy dish water, in order to make them look slick and lively." They were forced to stand straight, and appear willing. He tells of much punishment for slaves at the New Orleans pen; says his wife was paddled by Garrison.
"After the lapse of several months, he found that he could not dispose of my person to a good advantage, while he kept me in that prison confined among the other slaves. I do not speak with vanity when I say the contrast was so great between myself and ordinary slaves, from the fact that I had enjoyed superior advantages, to which I have already referred."
BIBB RETURNED TO KY, SPRING 1841, WITH J. W. SMITH, TO WORK

J. W. Smith from Perrysburgh, Ohio, arrived in Portsmouth on his way to Kentucky to buy horses. Bibb knew him from his earlier escape to Canada. Smith hired Bibb to go with him. /p 153/ Smith bought horses and cattle, placed the cattle in charge of Bibb, which Bibb took to Perrysburg. /p 154/ During the winter of 1842 Bibb decided to go to Canada to go to school. Financial problems, grief for his family shortened his time in school. There is no clear-cut indication of how long he was in school; possibly weeks.

BIBB CONTACTED OLD SLAVEHOLDER-OWNER IN KY, 1844

Gatewood remembered Bibb as Walton H. Bibb. Gatewood wrote from Bedford, Trimble Co, Ky, gave news of his mother who is well. /p 155/ Gatewood said "...give my compliments to King, Jack, and all my friends in that country...." Dated Feb 9, 1844. with PS "You will please to answer this letter." Bibb wrote Gatewood saying he was free; if Gatewood visited him, Bibb would treat Gatewood better than Gatewood treated him. /p 156/ Bibb was quite harsh in his denunciation of Gatewood.
BIBB SPENT LIFE FROM 1844 ON OPPOSING SLAVERY; REMARRIES

p 156/ Bib said he gave his first public address in Adrian, Michigan, in May 1844, and spent the rest of his life opposing slavery. /p 163/ While in New York in May 1847, Bibb met Miss Mary E. Miles of Boston. /p 164/ He found their interests similar, he eventually proposed marriage, and after a 1 yr wait, they were married. She works with him.

SON OF BIBB'S FORMER OWNER DENOUNCES BIBB'S CHARACTER (1845)

But from the fact that he had a wife there, and Walton on his part promising every thing that my father could desire.

It was not long, however, before Walton became indolent and neglectful of his duty; and in addition to this, he was guilty, as the old man thought, of worse offences. He watched his conduct more strictly, and found he was guilty of disposing of articles from the farm for his own use, and pocketing the money.

He actually caught him one day stealing wheat—he had conveyed one sack full to a neighbor and whilst he was delivering the other my father caught him in the very act.

He confessed his guilt and promised to do better for the future—and on his making promises of this kind my father was disposed to keep him still, not wishing to part him from his wife, for whom he professed to entertain the strongest affection. When the Christmas Holidays came on, the old man, as usual in this country, gave his negroes a week Holiday. Walton, instead of regaling himself by going about visiting his colored friends, took up his line of march for her Britannic Majesty's dominions.
The circumstances in which I was then placed, gave me a longing desire to be free. It kindled a fire of liberty within my breast which has never yet been quenched. This seemed to be a part of my nature; it was first revealed to me by the inevitable laws of nature's God. I could see that the All-wise Creator, had made man a free, moral, intelligent and accountable being; capable of knowing good and evil. And I believed then, as I believe now, that every man has a right to wages for his labor; a right to his own wife and children; a right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and a right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. But here, in the light of these truths, I was a slave, a prisoner for life; I could possess nothing, nor acquire anything but what must belong to my keeper. No one can imagine my feelings in my reflecting moments, but he who has himself been a slave. Oh! I have often wept over my condition, while sauntering through the forest, to escape cruel punishment.

No arm to protect me from tyrants aggression;
No parents to cheer me when laden with grief.
Man may picture the bounds of the rocks and the rivers,
In 1833, I had some very serious religious impressions, and there was quite a number of slaves in that neighborhood, who felt very desirous to be taught to read the Bible. There was a Miss Davis, a poor white girl, who offered to teach a Sabbath School for the slaves, notwithstanding public opinion and the law was opposed to it. Books were furnished and she commenced the school; but the news soon got to our owners that she was teaching us to read. This caused quite an excitement in the neighborhood. Patrols were appointed to go and break it up the next Sabbath. They were determined that we should not have a Sabbath School in operation. For slaves this was called an incendiary movement.

The Sabbath is not regarded by a large number of the slaves as a day of rest. They have no schools to go to; no moral nor religious instruction at all in many localities where there are hundreds of slaves. Hence they resort to some kind of amusement. Those who make no profession of religion, resort to the woods in large numbers on that day to gamble, fight, get drunk, and break the Sabbath. This is often encouraged by slaveholders. When they wish to have a little sport of that kind, they go among the slaves and give them whiskey, to see them dance, "pat juber," sing and play on the banjo. Then get them to wrestling, fighting, jumping, running foot races, and butting each other like sheep. This is urged on by giving them whiskey; making bets on them; laying chips on one slave's head, and daring another to tip it off with his hand; and if he tipped it off, it would be called an insult, and cause a fight. Before fighting, the parties choose their seconds to stand by them while fighting; a ring or a circle is formed to fight in, and no one is allowed to enter the ring while they are fighting, but their seconds, and the white gentlemen. They are not allowed to fight a duel, nor to use weapons of any kind. The blows are made by kicking, knocking, and butting with their heads; they grab each other by their ears, and jam their heads together like sheep. If they are likely to hurt each other very bad, their masters would rap them with their
The poor and loafering class of whites, are about on a par in point of morals with the slaves at the South. They are generally ignorant, intemperate, licentious, and profane. They associate much with the slaves; are often found gambling together on the Sabbath; encouraging slaves to steal from their owners, and sell to them, corn, wheat, sheep, chickens, or any thing of the kind which they can well conceal. For such offences there is no law to reach a slave but lynch law. But if both parties are caught in the act by a white person, the slave is punished with the lash, while the white man is often punished with both lynch and common law. But there is another class of poor white people in the South, who, I think would be glad to see slavery abolished in self defence; they despise the institution because it is impoverishing and degrading to them and their children.

There is much superstition among the slaves. Many of them believe in what they call “conjunction,” tricking, and witchcraft; and some of them pretend to understand the art, and say that by it they can prevent their masters from exercising their will over their slaves. Such are often applied to by others, to give them power to prevent their masters from flogging them. The remedy is most generally some kind of bitter root; they are directed to chew it and spit towards their masters when they are angry with their slaves. At other times they prepare certain kinds of powders, to sprinkle about their masters’ dwellings. This is all done for the purpose of defending themselves in some peaceable manner, although I am satisfied that there is no virtue at all in it. I have tried it to perfection when I was a slave at the South. I was then a young man, full of life and vigor, and was very fond of visiting our neighbors slaves, but had no time to visit only Sundays, when I could get a permit to go, or after night, when I could slip off without being seen. If it was found out, the next morning I was called up to give an account of myself for going off without permission; and would very often get a flogging for it.
I got myself into a scrape at a certain time, by going off in this way, and I expected to be severely punished for it. I had a strong notion of running off, to escape being flogged, but was advised by a friend to go to one of those conjurers, who could prevent me from being flogged. I went and informed him of the difficulty. He said if I would pay him a small sum, he would prevent my being flogged. After I had paid him, he mixed up some alum, salt and other stuff into a powder, and said I must sprinkle it about my master, if he should offer to strike me; this would prevent him. He also gave me some kind of bitter root to chew, and spit towards him, which would certainly prevent my being flogged. According to order I used his remedy, and for some cause I was let pass without being flogged that time.

I had then great faith in conjuration and witchcraft. I was led to believe that I could do almost as I pleased, without being flogged. So on the next Sabbath my conjuration was fully tested by my going off, and staying away until Monday morning, without permission. When I returned home, my master declared that he would

punish me for going off; but I did not believe that he could do it, while I had this root and dust; and as he approached me, I commenced talking saucy to him. But he soon convinced me that there was no virtue in them. He became so enraged at me for saucing him, that he grasped a handful of switches and punished me severely, in spite of all my roots and powders.

But there was another old slave in that neighborhood, who professed to understand all about conjuration, and I thought I would try his skill. He told me that the first one was only a quack, and if I would only pay him a certain amount in cash, that he would tell me how to prevent any person from striking me. After I had paid him his charge, he told me to go to the cow-pen after night, and get some fresh cow manure, and mix it with red pepper and white people's hair, all to be put into a pot over the fire, and scorched until it could be ground into snuff. I was then to sprinkle it about my master's bedroom, in his hat and boots, and it would prevent him from ever abusing me in any way. After I got it all ready prepared, the smallest pinch of it scattered over a room, was enough to make a horse sneeze from the strength of it; but it did no good. I tried it to my satisfaction. It was my business to make fires
BIBB'S ATTEMPT TO USE "CONJURING" TO GET A GIRLFRIEND

in my master's chamber, night and morning. Whenever I could get a chance, I sprinkled a little of this dust about the linen of the bed, where they would breathe it on retiring. This was to act upon them as what is called a kind of love powder, to change their sentiments of anger, to those of love, towards me, but this all proved to be vain imagination. The old man had my money, and I was treated no better for it.

One night when I went in to make a fire, I availed myself of the opportunity of sprinkling a very heavy charge of this powder about my master's bed. Soon after their going to bed, they began to cough and sneeze. Being close around the house, watching and listening, to know what the effect would be, I heard them ask each other what in the world it could be, that made them cough and sneeze so. All the while, I was trembling with fear, expecting every moment I should be called and asked if I knew any thing about it. After this, for fear they might find me out in my dangerous experiments upon them, I had to give them up, for the time being. I was then convinced that running away was the most effectual way by which a slave could escape cruel punishment.

BLACK NAMED "JOB DUNDY" AIDS BIBB IN CINCINNATI DURING ESCAPE TO CANADA (1837)

He then commenced telling me of the facilities for my escape to Canada; of the Abolitionists; of the Abolition Societies, and of their fidelity to the cause of suffering humanity. This was the first time in my life that ever I had heard of such people being in existence as the Abolitionists. I supposed that they were a different race of people. He conducted me to the house of one of these warm-hearted friends of God and the slave. I found him willing to aid a poor fugitive on his way to Canada, even to the dividing of the last cent, or morsel of bread if necessary.

These kind friends gave me something to eat, and started me on my way to Canada, with a recommendation to a friend on my way. This was the commencement of what was called the under ground rail road to Canada. I walked with bold courage, trusting in the arm of Omnipotence; guided by the unchangeable North Star by night, and inspired by an elevated thought that I was fleeing from a land of slavery and oppression, bidding farewell to handcuffs, whips, thumb-screws and chains.

I travelled on until I had arrived at the place where I was directed to call on an Abolitionist, but I made no stop: so great were my fears of being pursued by the pro-slavery hunting dogs of the South. I prosecuted my journey vigorously for nearly forty-eight hours without food or rest, struggling against external difficulties with as no one can imagine who has never experienced the same:
hours of the night, and not a house in which I could enter to shelter me from the storm.

The second night from Cincinnati, about midnight, I thought that I should freeze; my shoes were worn through, and my feet were exposed to the bare ground. I approached a house on the roadside, knocked at the door, and asked admission to their fire, but was refused. I went to the next house, and was refused the privilege of their fire-side, to prevent my freezing. This I thought was hard treatment among the human family. But—

"Behind a frowning Providence there was a smiling face,"

which soon shed beams of light upon unworthy me.

The next morning I was still found struggling on my way, faint, hungry, lame, and rest-broken. I could see people taking breakfast from the roadside, but I did not dare to enter their houses to get my breakfast, for neither love nor money. In passing a low cottage, I saw the breakfast table spread with all its bounties, and I could see no male person about the house; the temptation for food was greater than I could resist.

I saw a lady about the table, and I thought that if she was ever so much disposed to take me up, that she would have to catch and hold me, and that would have been impossible. I stepped up to the door with my hat off, and asked her if she would be good enough to sell me a sixpence worth of bread and meat. She cut off a piece and brought it to me; I thanked her for it, and handed her the pay, but instead of receiving it, she burst into tears, and said "never mind the money," but gently turned away bidding me go on my journey. This was altogether unexpected to me: I had found a friend in the time of need among strangers, and nothing could be more cheering in the day of trouble than this. When I left that place I started with bolder courage. The next night I put up at a tavern, and continued stopping at public houses until my means were about gone. When I got to the Black Swamp in the county of Wood, Ohio, I stopped one night at a hotel, after travelling all day through mud and snow; but I soon found that I should not be able to pay my bill. This was about the time that the "wild-cat banks" were in a flourishing state, and "shin plasters"* in abundance; they would charge a dollar for one night's lodging.

After I had found out this, I slipped out of the bar room into the kitchen where the landlady was getting supper; as she had quite a number of travellers to cook for that night, I told her if she would accept my services, I would assist her in getting supper; that I was a cook. She very readily accepted the offer, and I went to work.
She was very much pleased with my work, and the next morning I helped her to get breakfast. She then wanted to hire me for all winter, but I refused for fear I might be pursued. My excuse to her was that I had a brother living in Detroit, whom I was going to see on some important business, and after I got that business attended to, I would come back and work for them all winter.

When I started the second morning they paid me fifty cents beside my board, with the understanding that I was to return; but I have not gone back yet.

I arrived the next morning in the village of Perrysburgh, where I found quite a settlement of colored people, many of whom were fugitive slaves. I made my case known to them and they sympathized with me. I was a stranger, and they took me in and persuaded me to spend the winter in Perrysburgh, where I could get employment and go to Canada the next spring, in a steamboat which ran from Perrysburgh, if I thought it proper so to do.

I got a job of chopping wood during that winter which enabled me to purchase myself a suit, and after paying my board the next spring, I had saved fifteen dollars in cash. My intention was to go back to Kentucky after my wife.

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I succeeded very well in selling out my goods, and when I arrived in Cincinnati, I called on some of my friends who had aided me on my first escape. They also opposed me in going back only for my own good. But it has ever been characteristic of me to persevere in what I undertake.

I took a Steamboat passage which would bring me to where I should want to land about dark, so as to give me a chance to find my family during the night if possible. The boat landed me at the proper place, and at the proper time accordingly. This landing was about six miles from Bedford, where my mother and wife lived, but with different families. My mother was the cook at a tavern, in Bedford. When I approached the house where mother was living, I remembered where she slept in the kitchen; her bed was near the window.

It was a bright moonlight night, and in looking through the kitchen window, I saw a person lying in bed about where my mother had formerly slept. I rapped on the glass which awakened the person in whom I recognized my dear mother, but she knew me not, as I was dressed in disguise with my false whiskers on; but she
came to the window and asked who I was and what I wanted. But when I took off my false whiskers, and spoke to her, she knew my voice, and quickly sprang to the door, clasping my hand, exclaiming, "Oh! is this my son," drawing me into the room; where I was so fortunate as to find Malinda, and little Frances, my wife and child, whom I had left to find the fair climes of liberty, and whom I was then seeking to rescue from perpetual slavery.

They never expected to see me again in this life. I am entirely unable to describe what my feelings were at that time. It was almost like the return of the prodigal son. There was weeping and rejoicing. They were filled with surprise and fear; with sadness and joy. The sensation of joy at that moment flashed like lightning over my afflicted mind, mingled with a thousand dreadful apprehensions, that none but a heart-wounded slave father and husband like myself can possibly imagine.

After talking the matter over, we decided it was not best to start with my family that night, as it was very uncertain whether we should get a boat passage immediately.

And in case of failure, if Malinda should get back even before daylight the next morning, it would have excited suspicion against her, as it was not customary for slaves to leave home at that stage of the week without permission. Hence we thought it would be the most effectual way for her to escape, to start on Saturday night; this being a night on which the slaves of Kentucky are permitted to visit around among their friends, and are often allowed to stay until the afternoon on Sabbath day.

I gave Malinda money to pay her passage on board of a Steamerboat to Cincinnati, as it was not safe for me to wait for her until Saturday night; but she was to meet me in Cincinnati, if possible, the next Sunday. Her father was to go with her to the Ohio River on Saturday night, and if a boat passed up during the night she was to get on board at Madison, and come to Cincinnati. If she should fail in getting off that night, she was to try it the next Saturday night. This was the understanding when we separated. This was.
The owners of my wife were very much afraid that she would follow me; and to prevent her they had told her and other slaves that I had been persuaded off by the Abolitionists, who had promised to set me free, but had sold me off to New Orleans. They told the slaves to beware of the abolitionists, that their object was to decoy off slaves and then sell them off in New Orleans. Some of them believed this, and others believed it not; and the owners of my wife were more watchful over her than they had ever been before as she was unbeliving.

This was in the month of June, 1838. I left Malinda on a bright but lonesome Wednesday night. When I arrived at the river Ohio, I found a small craft chained to a tree, in which I ferried myself across the stream.

I succeeded in getting a Steamboat passage back to Cincinnati, where I put up with one of my abolition friends who knew that I had gone after my family, and who appeared to be much surprised to see me again. I was soon visited by several friends who knew of my having gone back after my family. They wished to know why I had not brought back my family with me; but after they understood the plan, and that my family was expected to be in Cincinnati within a few days, they thought it the best and safest plan for us to take a stage passage out to Lake Erie. But being short of money, I was not able to pay my passage in the stage, even if it would have prevented me from being caught by the slave hunters of Cincinnati, or save me from being taken back into bondage for life.

These friends proposed helping me by subscription; I accepted their kind offer, but in going among friends to solicit aid for me, they happened to get among traitors, and kidnappers, both white and colored men, who made their living by that kind of business. Several persons called on me and made me small donations, and among them two white men came in professing to be my friends.
They asked me a great many questions. They wanted to know if I needed any help? and they wanted to know if it could be possible that a man so near white as myself could be a slave? Could it be possible that men would make slaves of their own children? They expressed great sympathy for me, and gave me fifty cents each; by this they gained my confidence. They asked my master's name; where he lived, &c. After which they left the room, bidding me God speed. These traitors, or land pirates, took passage on board of the first Steamboat down the river, in search of my owners. When they found them, they got a reward of three hundred dollars offered for the re-capture of this "stray" which they had so long and faithfully been hunting, by day and by night, by land and by water, with dogs and with guns, but all without success. This being the last and only chance for dragging me back into hopeless bondage, time and money was no object when they saw a prospect of my being re-taken.

Mr. Gatewood got two of his slaveholding neighbors to go with him to Cincinnati, for the purpose of swearing to anything which might be necessary to change me back into property. They came on to Cincinnati, and with but little effort they soon rallied a mob of ruffians who were willing to become the watch-dogs of slaveholders, for a dram, in connection with a few slavehunting petty constables.

While I was waiting the arrival of my family, I got a job of digging a cellar for the good lady where I was stopping, and while I was digging under the house, all at once I heard a man enter the house; another went up to the cellar door to where I was at work; he looked in and saw me with my coat off at work. He then rapped over the cellar door on the house side, to notify the one who had entered the house to look for me that I was in the cellar. This strange conduct soon excited suspicion so strong in me, that I could not stay in the cellar and started to come out, but the man who stood by the door, rapped again on the house side, for the other to come to his aid, and told me to stop. I attempted to pass out by him, and he caught hold of me, and drew a pistol, swearing if I did not stop he would shoot me down. By this time I knew I was betrayed.

I asked him what crime I had committed that I should be murdered.
These ruffians dragged me through the streets of Cincinnati, to what was called a justice office. But it was more like an office of injustice.

When I entered the room I was introduced to three slaveholders, one of whom was a son of Wm. Gatewood, who claimed me as his property. They pretended to be very glad to see me.

They asked me if I did not want to see my wife and child; but I made no reply to any thing that was said until I was delivered up as a slave. After they were asked a few questions by the court, the old pro-slavery squire very gravely pronounced me to be the property of Mr. Gatewood.

The office being crowded with spectators, many of whom were colored persons, Mr. G. was afraid to keep me in Cincinnati, two or three hours even, until a steamboat got ready to leave for the South. So they took me across the river, and locked me up in Covington jail, for safe keeping. This was the first time in my life that I had been put into a jail. It was truly distressing to my feelings to be locked up in a cold dungeon for no crime. The jailor not being at home, his wife had to act in his place. After my owners had gone back to Cincinnati, the jailor's wife, in company with another female, came into the jail and talked with me very friendly.

I told them all about my situation, and these ladies said they hoped that I might get away again, and went so far as to tell me if

I should be kept in the jail that night, there was a hole under the wall of the jail where a prisoner had got out. It was only filled up with loose dirt, they said, and I might scratch it out and clear myself.

This I thought was a kind word from an unexpected friend: I had power to have taken the key from those ladies, in spite of them, and have cleared myself; but knowing that they would have to suffer perhaps for letting me get away, I thought I would wait until after dark, at which time I should try to make my escape, if they should not take me out before that time. But within two or three hours, they came after me, and conducted me on board of a boat, on which we all took passage down to Louisville. I was not confined in any way, but was well guarded by five men, three of whom were slaveholders, and the two young men from Cincinnati, who had betrayed me.
But they were not satisfied with having recaptured me, because they had lost other slaves and supposed that I knew their whereabouts; and truly I did. They wanted me to tell them; but before telling I wanted them to tell who it was that had betrayed me into their hands. They said that I was betrayed by two colored men in Cincinnati, whose names they were backward in telling, because their business in connection with themselves was to betray and catch fugitive slaves for the reward offered. They undertook to justify the act by saying if they had not betrayed me, that somebody else would, and if I would tell them where they could catch a number of other runaway slaves, they would pay for me and set me free, and would then take me in as one of the Club. They said I would soon make money enough to buy my wife and child out of slavery.

But I replied, "No, gentlemen, I cannot commit or do an act of that kind, even if it were in my power so to do. I know that I am now in the power of a master who can sell me from my family for life, or punish me for the crime of running away, just as he pleases: I know that I am a prisoner for life, and have no way of extricating myself; and I also know that I have been deceived and betrayed by men who professed to be my best friends; but can all this justify me in becoming a traitor to others? Can I do that which I complain of others for doing unto me? Never, I trust, while a single pulsation of my heart continues to beat, can I consent to betray a fellow man like myself back into bondage, who has escaped. Dear as I love my wife and little child, and as much as I should like to enjoy freedom and happiness with them, I am unwilling to bring this about by betraying and destroying the liberty and happiness of others who have never offended me!"

I then asked them again if they would do me the kindness to tell me who it was betrayed me into their hands at Cincinnati? They agreed to tell me with the understanding that I was to tell where there was living, a family of slaves at the North, who had run away from Mr. King of Kentucky. I should not have agreed to this, but I knew the slaves were in Canada, where it was not possible for them to be captured. After they had told me the names of the persons who betrayed me, and how it was done, then I told them their slaves were in Canada, doing well. The two white men were Constables, who claimed the right of taking up any strange colored person as a slave; while the two colored kidnappers, under the pretext of being abolitionists, would find out all the fugitives they could, and inform these Constables for which they got a part of the reward, after they had found out where the slaves were from, the name of his master, &c. By the agency of these colored men, they were seized by a band of white ruffians, locked up in jail, and their master sent for. These colored kidnappers, with the Constables, were getting rich by betraying fugitive slaves. This was told to me
regaining my own liberty, and that of my wife and child. But my answer even there, under the most trying circumstances, surrounded by the strongest enemies of God and man, was most emphatically in the negative. "Let my punishment be what it may, either with the lash or by selling me away from my friends and home; let my destiny be what you please, I can never engage in this business for the sake of getting free."

I knew then the only alternative left for me to extricate myself was to use deception, which is the most effective defense a slave can use. I pretended to be satisfied for the purpose of getting an opportunity of giving them the slip. But oh, the distress of mind, the lamentable thought that I should never again see the face nor hear the gentle voice of my nearest and dearest friends in this life. I could imagine what must be my fate from my peculiar situation. To be sold to the highest bidder, and then wear the chains of slavery down to the grave. The day star of liberty which had once cheered and gladdened my heart
The work-house of Louisville was a very large brick building, built on the plan of a jail or State's prison, with many apartments to it, divided off into cells wherein prisoners were locked up after night. The upper apartments were occupied by females, primarily. This prison was enclosed by a high stone wall, upon which stood watchmen with loaded guns to guard the prisoners from breaking out, and on either side there were large iron gates.

When Garrison conducted me with my family to the prison in which we were to be confined until he was ready to take us to New Orleans, I was shocked at the horrid sight of the prisoners on entering the yard. When the large iron gate or door was thrown open to receive us, it was astonishing to see so many whites as well as colored men loaded down with irons, at hard labor, under the supervision of overseers.

Some were sawing stone, some cutting stone, and others breaking stone. The first impression which was made on my mind when I entered this place of punishment, made me think of hell, with all its terrors of torment; such as "weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth," which was then the idea that I had of the infernal regions from oral instruction. And I doubt whether there can be a better picture of it drawn, than may be sketched from an American slave prison.

In this prison almost every prisoner had a heavy log chain riveted about his leg. It would indeed be astonishing to a Christian man to stand in that prison one half hour and hear and see the contaminating influence of Southern slavery on the body and mind of man—

You may there find almost every variety of character to look on. Some singing, some crying, some praying, and others swearing. The people of color who were in there were slaves, there without crime, but for safe keeping, while the whites were some of the most abandoned characters living. The keeper took me up to the anvil block and fastened a chain about my leg, which I had to drag after me both day and night during three months. My labor was sawing stone; my food was coarse corn bread and beef shanks and cows heads with pot liquor, and a very scanty allowance of that.

I have often seen the meat spoiled when brought to us, covered with flies and fly blows, and even worms crawling over when we were compelled to eat it, or go without any at all. It was all spread out on a long table in separate plates; and at the sound of a bell, every one would take his plate, asking no questions. After hastily eating, we were hurried back to our work, each man dragging a heavy log chain after him to his work.

About a half hour before night they were commanded to stop work, take a bite to eat, and then be locked up in a small cell until the next morning after sunrise. The prisoners were locked in, two together. My bed was a cold stone floor with but little bedding! My
In view of the failure to hear anything of my wife, many of my best friends advised me to get married again, if I could find a suitable person. They regarded my former wife as dead to me, and all had been done that could be.

But I was not yet satisfied myself, to give up. I wanted to know certainly what had become of her. So in the winter of 1845, I resolved to go back to Kentucky, my native State, to see if I could hear anything from my family. And against the advice of all my friends, I went back to Cincinnati, where I took passage on board of a Southern steamboat to Madison, in the State of Indiana, which was only ten miles from where Wm. Gatewood lived, who was my former owner. No sooner had I landed in Madison, than I learned, on inquiry, and from good authority, that my wife was living in a state of adultery with her master, and had been for the last three years. This message she sent back to Kentucky, to her mother and friends. She also spoke of the time and manner of our separation by Deacon Whitfield, my being taken off by the Southern blacklegs, to where she knew not; and that she had finally given me up. The child she said was still with her. Whitfield had sold her to this man for the above purposes at a high price, and she was better used than ordinary slaves. This was a death blow to all my hopes and pleasant plans. While I was in Madison I hired a white man to go over to Bedford, in Kentucky, where my mother was then living, and bring her over into a free State to see me. I hailed her approach with unspeakable joy. She informed me too, on inquiring

whether my family had ever been heard from, that the report which I had just heard in relation to Malinda was substantially true, for it was the same message that she had sent to her mother and friends. And my mother thought it was no use for me to run any more risks, or to grieve myself any more about her.

From that time I gave her up into the hands of an all-wise Providence. As she was then living with another man, I could no longer regard her as my wife. After all the sacrifices, sufferings, and risks which I had run, striving to rescue her from the grasp of slavery; every prospect and hope was cut off. She has ever since been regarded as theoretically and practically dead to me as a wife, for she was living in a state of adultery, according to the law of God and man.

Poor unfortunate woman, I bring no charge of guilt against her, for I know not all the circumstances connected with the case. It is consistent with slavery, however, to suppose that she became reconciled to it, from the fact of her sending word back to her friends.
and relatives that she was much better treated than she had ever been before, and that she had also given me up. It is also reasonable to suppose that there might have been some kind of attachment formed by living together in this way for years; and it is quite probable that they have other children according to the law of nature, which would have a tendency to unite them stronger together.

In view of all the facts and circumstances connected with this matter, I deem further comments and explanations unnecessary on my part. Finding myself thus isolated in this peculiarly unnatural state, I resolved, in 1846, to spend my days in traveling, to advance the anti-slavery cause. I spent the summer in Michigan, but in the subsequent fall I took a trip to New England, where I spent the winter. And there I found a kind reception wherever I traveled among the friends of freedom.

Most of the inmates of this prison I have described, were white men who had been sentenced there by the law, for depredations committed by them. There was in that prison, gamblers, and even murders. There were also in the female department, harlots, pickpockets, and adulteresses. In such company, and under such influences, where there was constant swearing, lying, cheating, and stealing, it was almost impossible for a virtuous person to avoid pollution, or to maintain their virtue. No place or places in this country can be better calculated to inculcate vice of every kind than a Southern work house or house of correction.

After a profligate, thief, or a robber, has learned all that they can out of prison, they might go in one of those prisons and learn something more—they might properly be called robber colleges;
But it seems that I am not now beyond the reach of the foul slander of slaveholders. They are not satisfied with selling and banishing me from my native State. As soon as they got news of my being in the Free North, exposing their peculiar Institution, a libelous letter was written by Silas Gatewood of Kentucky, a son of one of my former owners, to a Northern Committee, for publication, which he thought would destroy my influence and character.

He has charged me with the awful crime of taking from my keeper and oppressor, some of the fruits of my own labor for the benefit of myself and family.

But while writing this letter he seems to have overlooked the disgraceful fact that he was guilty himself of what would here be regarded highway robbery, in his conduct to me as narrated [earlier in] this narrative.

A word in reply to Silas Gatewood's letter. I am willing to admit all that is true, but shall deny that which is so basely false. In the first place, he puts words in my mouth that I never used. He says that I represented that "my mother belonged to James Bibb." I deny ever having said so in private or public. He says that I stated that Bibb's daughter married a Sibley. I deny it. He also says that

the first time that I left Kentucky for my liberty, I was gone about two years, before I went back to rescue my family. I deny it. I was gone from Dec. 26th, 1837, to May, or June, 1838. He says that I went back the second time for the purpose of taking off my family, and eight or ten more slaves to Canada. This I will not pretend to deny. He says I was guilty of disposing of articles from the farm for my own use, and pocketing the money, and that his father caught me stealing a sack full of wheat. I admit the fact. I acknowledge the wheat.

And who had a better right to eat of the fruits of my own hard earnings than myself? Many a long summer's day have I toiled with my wife and other slaves, cultivating his father's fields, and gathering in his harvest, under the scorching rays of the sun, without half enough to eat, or clothes to wear, and at the same time his meat-house was filled with bacon and bread stuff; his dairy with butter and cheese; his barn with grain, husbanded by the unrequited toil of the slaves. And yet if a slave presumed to take a little from the abundance which he had made by his own sweat and toil, to supply the demands of nature, to quiet the craving appetite which is sometimes almost irresistible, it is called stealing by slaveholders.

But I did not regard it as stealing then, I do not regard it as such now. I hold that a slave has a moral right to eat drink and wear all that he needs on. And it would be going on his part to suffer and
If I, as a freeman, in a free country, I should consider myself guilty of doing wrong before God and man. But was I the slave of Wm. Gatewood to-day, or any other slaveholder, working without wages, and suffering with hunger or for clothing, I should not stop to inquire whether my master would approve of my helping myself to what I needed to eat or wear. For while the slave is regarded as property, how can he steal from his master? It is contrary to the very nature of the relation existing between master and slave, from the fact that there is no law to punish a slave for theft, but lynch law; and the way they avoid that is to hide well. For illustration, a slave from the State of Virginia, for cruel treatment left the State between daylight and dark, being borne off by one of his master's finest horses, and finally landed in Canada, where the British laws recognise no such thing as property in a human being. He was pursued by his owners, who expected to take advantage of the British law by claiming him as a fugitive from justice, and as such he was arrested and brought before the court of Queen's Bench. They swore that he was, at a certain time, the slave of Mr. A., and that he ran away at such a time and stole and brought off a horse. They enquired who the horse belonged to, and it was ascertained that the slave and horse both belonged to the same person. The court therefore decided that the horse and the man were both recognised, in the State of Virginia, alike, as articles of property, belonging to the same person—therefore, if there was theft committed on either side, the former must have stolen off the latter—the horse brought away the man, and not the man the horse. So the man was discharged and pronounced free according to the laws of Canada. There are several other letters published in this work upon the same subject, from slaveholders, which it is hardly necessary for me to notice. However, I feel thankful to the writers for the endorsement and confirmation which they have given to my story. No matter what their motives were, they have done me and the anti-slavery cause good service in writing those letters—but more especially the Gatewood's. Silas Gatewood has done more for me than all the rest. He has labored so hard in his long communication in trying to expose me, that he has proved every thing that I could have asked of him; and for which I intend to reward him by forwarding him one of my books, hoping that it
may be the means of converting him from a slaveholder to an honest man, and an advocate of liberty for all mankind.

The reader will see in the introduction that Wm. Gatewood writes a more cautious letter upon the subject than his son Silas. "It is not a very easy matter to catch old birds with chaff," and I presume if Silas had the writing of his letter over again, he would not be so free in telling all he knew, and even more, for the sake of making out a strong case. The object of his writing such a letter will doubtless be understood by the reader. It was to destroy public confidence in the victims of slavery, that the system might not be exposed—it was to gag a poor fugitive who had undertaken to plead his own cause and that of his enslaved brethren. It was a feeble attempt to suppress the voice of universal freedom which is now thundering on every gale. But thank God it is too late in the day.

GENERAL: SLAVE TRADING IN LOUISVILLE

F. Bancroft, Slave Trading in Old South, 1931

1. Slave-trading in Louisville was, indeed, more conspicuous after than before 1845. The annexation of Texas was the general explanation. In the 'twenties, 'thirties and early 'forties much of the business was conducted by small traders, who did comparatively little advertising. Other persons, with more enterprise and better standing, combined slave-trading of different kinds with real estate transactions, lending money or handling divers sorts of merchandise, and regularly so advertised. According to circumstances, they were called agents, general agents, general commission merchants or auctioneers. Consequently it has often been assumed that they were not also traders. The illogic of this may be illustrated thus:—A. and B. separately conducted wholesale businesses and each annually sold liquors to the amount of $100,000. A. dealt in nothing else. Because B.'s sales of liquors were a part of his wholesale grocery business, he was also a grocer. But was he any less a liquor-dealer because he also sold dry groceries? So with agents, general commission merchants and auctioneers that dealt in slaves: they were slave-traders whatever else they may have been or been called. Before as well as after 1845 they were numerous
Apparently not Louisville but Lexington had the best equipped slave-markets in the State, although its inhabitants in 1860 numbered less than 10,000, of whom about one-third were colored. The slave population of Fayette county, in which Lexington is situated, was rivaled by only two counties in the State: Jefferson county, in which Louisville is located, contained a few more slaves and Christian county, near the southwestern corner, had a few less. Fayette and neighboring counties of central Kentucky supplied most of the slaves that were gathered in Lexington pens for the "Southern markets".

In several of the rooms I found very handsome mulatto women, of fine persons and easy genteel manners, sitting at their needle work awaiting a purchaser. The proprietor made them get up and turn around to show to advantage their finely developed and graceful forms." $1,600 was the price of one of the girls."

Do you wonder why the trader did not have them display their needle-work instead of their "finely developed and graceful forms"? Obviously they were of the class everywhere known as "fancy girls", prospective concubines—common in all large markets, but rarely so advantageously displayed. Except New Orleans, Lexington was perhaps the best place in all the South to specialize in them; for it was a great center or a favorite resort for prosperous horse-breeders, reckless turfmen, spendthrift planters, gamblers and profligates, whose libertinism was without race prejudice.
An English traveler found five slave-pens there in 1858. The one visited was described as "very clean and comfortable"; it contained 40 slaves; and from it about 100 had recently been sold and "had traveled by railway chained together".

The Lexington Directory for 1859-60 had a department called the "Business Mirror", where men of respectable occupations were grouped under such words as attorneys, auctioneers, banks and bankers, barbers etc., etc., but there was no reference to bars, saloonkeepers etc., for obvious reasons. Yet four firms of "slave dealers", composed of at least seven principals, were reflected in that representative mirror; and eleven traders were designated in the body of the Directory, apart from silent partners. At least three firms were large interstate traders.

R. H. Thompson, formerly a buyer and agent, had been so successful that he had bought and "just opened and refitted the old and well known Mart previously occupied by Bolton, Dickins & Co.", his former employers. He would give the usual superlative prices in cash "for all kinds of sound and likely negroes"; he would also buy and sell on commission and generously reward anyone that furnished him with information "as to where I can purchase negroes". "Markers in the manner analogous..."
SLAVE DEALERS IN LEXINGTON

f bancroft, slave trading in old south, 1931

safely and on liberal terms and was indicative of the relative extent of the traffic in Lexington.« Unmirrored but hardly less conspicuous were several other prosperous traders:—Joseph H. Northcutt, who ceased to employ two well-known slave-trading agents named Robard and took two partners, Silas and George S. Marshall. The Robards were promptly engaged by R. W. Lucas, who throughout the year would purchase a large number of negroes.» He had a roomy pen, conveniently opposite the county jail, and kept it well-stocked with a good assortment of house servants, field-hands and mechanics, so as to supply all comers. He advertised as far away as Nashville, and made a specialty of selling “low for cash,” to attract the farmers and planters of the near or remote South-west, who could buy slaves in Kentucky more conveniently than in Virginia and almost as cheaply. Of these six traders only Silas Marshall was noticed in the Directory.

METHODS BY WHICH KY SLAVE TRADERS GOT SLAVES

f bancroft, slave trading in old south, 1931

How did all these sixteen or more traders, and perhaps several times as many petty traders in Fayette and neighboring counties, find slaves for their traffickings? Exactly like their fellows in Maryland and Virginia. Scores of original owners, eager for high prices and cash, responded to the traders' advertisements and oral solicitations. In every county slave-holding estates of descendants were put up at auction for the usual reasons. Overdue loans, secured by deeds of trust or mortgages with power of sale, were almost automatically bringing slaves into the market. Opportunities were all about. The regular and volunteer assistants, to whom all large traders promised generous rewards, knew how to find them. And the leading newspapers were always helping.
Each of the following nine States, after one or more prohibitions of the interstate traffic in slaves as merchandise, finally took off all restraints, except, of course, as to criminals etc.: Maryland, 1850; Virginia, 1819; North Carolina, about 1818; South Carolina, 1848; Georgia, 1855-56; Tennessee, 1855; Alabama, 1832; Mississippi, 1846; Louisiana, 1834. Missouri and Arkansas were so eager for slaves that they never prohibited the trade except in criminals, the vicious etc., and Florida and Texas barred criminals only. Kentucky's wholly exceptional law of 1833, prohibiting residents to buy and import slaves even for their own use, allowed bona-fide immigrants (called "emigrants to this state") to do so, and it also expressly permitted residents to bring in slaves to whom title was obtained "by will, descent, distribution, or marriage, or gift in consideration of marriage". That the law prohibiting residents to buy and import for their own use was much disregarded is evinced by the fact that its repeal in 1849 provided for the absolution of the persons that had violated it.

The exportation of slaves from Kentucky has also been erroneously represented. Much as Jesse Burton Harrison welcomed Dew's estimate about Virginia's exportations, so Cassius M. Clay, an antislavery leader, welcomed that of Robert Wickliffe, a proslavery politician, made in a speech in the Kentucky legislature in 1840—that over 60,000 slaves had been exported in the seven years 1833-40, or 8,571 annually. For different reasons the figures suited both sides. Apparently thinking them too large, but inadverently employing the word sales instead of exportations, Professor Asa Earl Martin wrote: "The evidence, however, seems to indicate that such sales exceeded 5,000 per year". Even this was excessive.

For the three decades 1790 to 1820 Kentucky's importations—counting the natural increase of each decade at 25 per cent, instead of the excessive percentages of the United States Census, which include all importations, legal and illegal, from abroad and Florida's 15,501, counted in 1830—were respectively, in round numbers, about 22,000, 26,000 and 23,000. Similar figuring, without counting any exportations, shows that Kentucky's importations and
less than 3,375, which would raise the 6,798 to 10,173. Dividing by 1.125 gives the apparent importations as 9,042, less whatever the number of the emancipated and successful runaway slaves.

But it is the exportations during 1830-40 that are to be estimated. The greater prices and agricultural attractions in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Missouri were lessening Kentucky's importations and augmenting its exportations. Its slave population in 1830, 165,213, with a natural increase of 24.2 per cent, should have become 205,194 by 1840, but it was only 182,258, which indicates exportations and their increase, without counting the importations, amounting to 22,936. From 1833, importations were forbidden, except by immigrants coming with their slaves and by residents obtaining title "by will, descent, distribution, or marriage, or gift in consideration of marriage." Residents and traders, in anticipation of the prohibition of 1833, may have imported 2,000 and thereafter have smuggled in not less than 1,000. During the decade 1,000 more may have come from inheritances etc., and actual settlers may have brought in 1,000, making the total importations 5,000, which the natural increase for five years would have raised to 5,605. This would make the apparent exportations and their increase 28,541. Our calculations have assumed that more than the natural increase was evidence of importations and that less denoted exportations. In a slave State the increase of free negroes beyond a natural percentage signified that there had been emancipations. These lessened the slave population and seemed to indicate exportations but, of course, were not. To correct this discrepancy they must be deducted from exportations. Kentucky's free negro population of 1830, 4,917, would normally have increased by 1840 to 6,106, but it was actually 7,317, showing a surplus of 1,211, made up of emancipated and successful runaway slaves and their increase. All these
Subtracting this number from 28,541 we obtain the number of the exportations and their increase 26,041. Dividing this by 1.121 gives the number of the exportations during 1830-40, 23,230, or 2,323 annually—not one-third as much as Wickliff's estimate and less than half that of Professor Martin.

Kentucky's slave population of 1840, 182,258, with an increase of 26.6 per cent, should have become 230,738 by 1850, but it was only 210,981, or 19,757 less. As the prohibition against residents buying and importing for use was not repealed until 1849, perhaps their lawful and all unlawful importations did not amount to more than 2,000, and the importations by settlers and from inheritances etc. may each have been about 1,000, thus making a total of about 4,000. These with their natural increase amounted to about 4,532 and raised the apparent exportations to 24,289.

The free negro population of 1840, 7,317, would normally have increased to 9,263, but it was 10,011, or 748 more. Probably there were enough more, with increase, north of the Ohio to require a deduction of 1,500, which would reduce the exportations and their increase to 22,789.

This divided by 1.133 gives the actual exportations as 20,113, or an annual average of about 2,000. If this seems too low an estimate, it should be remembered that there was a general decline in the movement of the slave population in that decade.

Kentucky's slave population in 1850, 210,981, with a 23.4 per cent increase, should have become 260,350 in 1860, but it was only 225,483, showing apparent exportations and natural increase amounting to 34,867. Although there were no longer any restrictions on importations, except for sale, it is doubtful, on account of greater attractions to Missouri and especially to Texas, if Kentucky's importations of all kinds were more than 4,000 (half of the number being involved in slave-trading), which a natural increase of 11.7 per cent would raise to 4,468.
eral assembly should pass laws to prevent slaves from remaining in the State after emancipation. This was complied with in 1851 and 1852. The effect is shown by the fact that the free negro population of 1850, 10,011, which ought to have increased by 1860 to 12,353, was actually only 10,684, which shows that 1,669 expected to be in Kentucky were elsewhere. Except those that were increase, most may have been negroes that had obtained their freedom in a previous decade and had been frightened away. In any case, the decrease gives no clue to the number of runaway and emancipated slaves during 1850-60. As the laws and the growing sentiment against free negroes may have increased the number of successful runaways and not lessened that of emancipations, it seems reasonable to assume that they and their increase were as numerous as in the previous decade, 1,500. Subtracting 1,500 from 39,335, we get the supposed total of the exportations and their increase, 37,835; and dividing this by 1.117 gives the number of the exportations, 1850-60, 33,871, or an annual average of nearly 3,400.

As in Maryland, the growth of a moral sentiment against slavery was probably increasing emancipations, at least by wills, and warning needy slaveholders that it would be best to sell for export while prices were high.

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ORVILLE BROWNING DESCRIBES LEXINGTON NEGRO JAIL: APPARENTLY USED IN PROSTITUTION

dated May 9, 1854 (page 139, vol I) Browning was visiting in Lexington when he visited a "negro jail": "After dinner visited a negro jail--a very large brick building with all the conveniences of comfortable life, including hospital. Tis a place where negroes are kept for sale--Outer doors & windows all protected with iron grates, but inside the appointments are not only comfortable, but in many respects luxurious. Many of the rooms are well carpeted & furnished, & very neat, and the inmates whilst here are treated with great indulgence & humanity, but I confess it impressed me with the idea of decorating the ox for the sacrifice. In several of the rooms I found very handsome mulatto women, of fine persons and easy genteel manners, sitting at their needle work awaiting a purchaser. The proprietor made them get up & turn round to show to advantage their finely developed & graceful forms--and slaves as they were this I confess rather shocked my gallantry. I enquired the price of one girl which was $1600."

ftn 3 stated: "Violet ink has been used to set off the passage beginning 'inside the appointments,' and ending 'one girl which was $1600.'"
The early explorers of Mammoth Cave included many black men. In 1845, one black slave, Stephen Bishop, published one of the earliest and most complete maps of the cave. In the pre-Civil War period, two black brothers, Matt and Nicholas Bransford, also helped in the exploration of Mammoth Cave. The sketch above, published in a 1871 newspaper, shows William Garvin, the black guide, with the lanterns used in early cave explorations. Garvin was leading a group of whites through the cave.

In Kentucky first history book, written by John Filson in 1784, black men appear in two different Indian raids. In May, 1782, an Indian party assaulted Ashton's Station, killed one man and took a black prisoner. Upon discovering the raid, Captain Ashton pursued and overtook the raiders, and in the ensuing battle killed eight and wounded four Indians.

The following October, Indians entered the cabin of Settler Woods in the Crab Orchard District where Mrs. Woods and her daughter, Hannah, were protected only by a lame black slave. While one Indian fought with the slave, Hannah seized the axe and decapitated the assailant. The slave and Mrs. Woods managed to bar the door just as neighbors, hearing the commotion, came to drive the Indians away.
In 1777, Captain John Cowan made a list of the number of settlers living in Harrod's Fort. He recorded:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men in Service</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men no in service</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children above ten years old</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children under ten years old</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaves over ten years old</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro children under ten years</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Coleman, Slavery Times, p 3

In the Am Rev G. R. Clark had about 200 soldiers in the "north and west of Kentucky" with headquarters at the falls of the Ohio. In his spring 1778 "Northwest campaign" Rogers captured 4 forts, etc; "Reports written by men who took part in this campaign tell us that there were a few black soldiers with the American troops." Not sure whether or not they were slaves. General Henry Hamilton, whom Rogers captured, while imprisoned at the Falls of the Ohio, said the settlement contained 11 families and one black slave.
MONK ESTILL: FAMOUS BLACK FRONTIERSMAN (1782)

ky's black heritage, 1970

p 4/ "On March 20, 1782, a group of Wyandot Indians raided Estill's Station and tomahawked the daughter of one settler. They captured Captain Estill's slave, Monk, an intelligent, powerfully-built young man.+

"with a hastily gathered force of settlers, Captain Estill overtook the Indians at Little Mountain (near present-day Mount Sterling). As the battle began, Captain Estill heard Monk call from inside the Indian camp, 'Don't give way, Massa Jim, there's only about twenty-five of the red-skins, and you can whip 'em.' +

"some of the settlers did give way, however, and those who remained suffered a terrible defeat. Thirteen of the settlers, including Captain Estill, were killed. In the confusion of battle, Monk escaped from the Indians and carried a wounded survivor most of the twenty-five miles back to Estill's Station.+

"Captain Estill's son granted Monk his freedom in recognition of his courageous actions. The black man remained at Estill's Station where he proved to be a most valuable citizen. Having learned how to manufacture gunpowder, Monk supplied both Boonesborough and Estill's Station with powder made from saltpeter he found in a cave in Madison County."

RICHARD HIND: BLACK EXPERIMENTED WITH CROPS AT BOONESBOROUGH

ky's black heritage, 1970

p 5/ "Another free Black, Richard Hind, was a respected pioneer at Boonesborough. An inventive farmer, Hind experimented with new crops. He is credited with being the first person to cultivate watermelons in Kentucky. Hind's Bend on the Kentucky River was named for this black pioneer."
"The Voice of the Fugitive, the bi-monthly paper of which Bibb was editor, was the organ of the Refugee Home Society. That organization, whose aim was to purchase a thirty-thousand acre tract of government land and resell plots to refugees, was probably born as the result of Henry Bibb's work at a convention of colored people at Sandwich, Canada, in the fall of 1850. The AMA feared that the project, while 'not too large for the present and prospective wants of the people,' was 'too large in its demands upon the benevolence of their friends, and too large ... for their present ability to manage wisely.' The AMA officers had no intentions of entering upon any such project, but recommended such efforts to the friends of the Association as a far better use of money than the purchase of a few slaves. The money recently spent on such efforts would have bought ten thousand acres of land--enough to settle a thousand families in Canada."

"In the life of Gabriel Burdett, AMA missionary and trustee of Berea College, can be traced the rationale for the great migration of black Americans to Kansas and the West at the end of the century. Burdett was a native of Kentucky, where he had spent thirty-four years of his life as a slave and two as a soldier in the Union Army. An unusual man, Burdett had managed to acquire an education of sorts and taught in the lower forms at Berea College as well as in a district school. In 1867 he re-organized the Camp Nelson Church of Christ (an independent organization with congregational polity) that had been begun by a white missionary and broken up by white mobs. He re-established the school that had been destroyed by 'Regulators.' He was responsible for organizing it as a Normal School, leaving the district school (then taught by his daughter) to provide the fundamentals of education for the children of the area. He was determined to make Camp Nelson a viable black community."

"Burdett was the Republican elector from the seventh district of Kentucky (Henry Clay's old area) and a leader of his people. The overwhelming defeat of the Republicans there in 1876, however, discouraged him to the point of eventually leaving Kentucky for the West. He could see no future for the black people of Kentucky so long as their white oppressors forced on them a 'mere mud sill' existence. For twelve years after the war he worked in the Camp Nelson church, ..." Dissatisfied with income, etc. left for Kansas in 1877.
"A few masters did not furnish adequate rations, despite the irrationality involved in such a course. Some of these owners did so purposely, relying on their bondsmen to steal from neighboring farms and thus save them the cost of provisions. Some masters also failed to protect their servants from the cold. John Eubanks, a slave in Kentucky, complained that blacks on his plantation 'didden have much clothes' and 'no shoes': 'Come de wintah, it be so cold mah feet weah plumb numb mos' o' de time and many a time--when we git a chanct--we druve the hogs . . . from outin the bogs an' put ouah feet in the wahmed wet mud. . . . The skin on the bottoms and in de toes weah cracked and bleedin' mos' o' time, wit bloody scabs but de summah healed them again."

Blacks are telling of difficulty with employers. "Another former slave from Kentucky reported success in a similar situation, but appealing to the Northern troops often involved substantial costs. Mary Biddle had to leave her farm and seek a new employer, and the former slave in Kentucky had to 'put herself under the protection of the police until we could get away.'"
Escott says that "Close to 85 percent of the former slaves in the narratives stayed within their state during Reconstruction,..." but some reported long journeys to other parts of the south. "The greatest amount of reported outmigration was from Virginia, with Kentucky and Tennessee not far behind."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>% who left</th>
<th>% who stayed</th>
<th># of Migrants</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>66.4</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ala</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenn</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>81.3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In describing British views of slavery, Berger says of James Sterling: "Stirling had accepted slave-owners', tales as to the happiness of their slaves until one day in Kentucky he overheard the screams of a female mulatto servant being lashed by his innkeeper for failing to serve Stirling's breakfast on time."

Source, Jas Stirling, Letters from the Slave States, 49.
"Clinton B. Fisk was east to work into the Bureau. As a child he had lived in two abolitionist homes, and in his teens he had conducted runaway slaves on the underground railroad through Michigan to the Detroit River and freedom. In later years he had not been so active an abolitionist, but he had continued to despise slavery, and during the war he had become a prominent member of two large freedmen's aid societies. As commanding general in Missouri he had tried to save the newly freed Negroes from the wrath of the notorious guerilla, Jim Jackson, who Fisk firmly believed was urged by the late slaveowners to 'hang or shoot every negro he can find absent from the old plantations.' With the prestige of a general officer he combined the influence of a successful businessman, and he possessed the confidence of benevolent societies interested in the Negroes. Howard accordingly asked him to head the Freedmen's Bureau in Kentucky and Tennessee." Fisk was also a prohibitionists, and could only remember having sworn twice in his life.

"As Congress did not appropriate any money for the Freedmen's Bureau until July 1866, the Bureau operated in its first year under the handicap of inadequate and uncertain financing. Its chief source of income was rent from abandoned lands, but this source dried up rapidly as President Johnson pardoned the plantation owners and restored their property to them. ... Kentucky's branch of the Bureau relied on fines, forfeitures, and fees."
Howard's order of Dec 11, 1867, ordering all officers and agents in Md, Ky, W. Va, and Tenn, "except school superintendents, be discharged from the Bureau.... Howard's order had met with such a storm of protest that he had rescinded it. Assistant Commissioner Sidney Burbank had sent his chief superintendent to Washington to rescue the Kentucky branch of the Bureau. Tennessee's congressional delegation had pleaded with Secretary Stanton to overrule Howard's order, and petitions to the same effect had been signed by hundreds of Negroes in Kentucky and Maryland. Howard had concluded that the Freedmen's Bureau should be continued until the reconstructed state governments were 'in practical operation,' and had reported to Eliot that, where he had withdrawn the Bureau, justice was denied to the Negroes and their schools were forced to close."

see House Repts, 40 Cong, 2 sess, no 30, Serial 1357, p 29.

FREEDMEN'S BUREAU ASST. COMMISSIONERS & DATE THEY TOOK OFFICE

Kentucky

Clinton B. Fisk, June 26, 1865 — (June 26, 1865 — June 13, 1866)
Jeff C. Davis, June 13, 1866 — (June 13, 1866 — March 1, 1867)
Sidney Burbank, March 1, 1867 — (March 1, 1867 — Jan 7, 1869)
Benjamin P. Runkle, Jan 7, 1869